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**Reading Horace's lyric
a tenth-century annotated manuscript in the British Library (Harley 2724)**

Taraskin, Paulina

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**Reading Horace's lyric: a tenth-century annotated manuscript
in the British Library (Harley 2724)**

Paulina Taraskin
King's College London
Thesis submitted for Doctor of Philosophy examination

Reading Horace's lyric: a late tenth-century annotated manuscript in the British Library, Harley 2724**Abstract**

The thesis presents a detailed analysis of scholia found in the late tenth- or early eleventh-century Bavarian Horace manuscript, British Library Harley 2724. I append a full transcript of scholia found in the lyric part of this manuscript.

The Harley annotations are distinguished by extensive verbatim use of texts and commentaries, particularly Orosius, Eutropius, Paul the Deacon, Dares, Dictys, Solinus, Cicero's *De Senectute*, Isidore's *Etymologiae*, Macrobius' *In Somnium*, Servius, Remigius' commentary on Martianus Capella, scholia on Statius' *Thebaid*, Bede's commentary on the *Acts of the Apostles*, and other sources.

On the basis of the examined evidence, I suggest that the annotations form a unified body. The annotator(s) favours extensive narrative; the choice of material is not restrained by relevance to Horatian lemmata; there is a tendency to collect and compile material from multiple sources; the approach is encyclopedic, not rhetorical or stylistic.

Harley 2724 is annotated in multiple hands, but these cannot be connected with the use of specific sources. It is clear from manuscript and textual evidence that the original compilation predates Harley 2724, yet seems close to Harley in place and date.

In addition to the distinctive annotations described above, Harley 2724 also includes some Horace scholia, such as we find in other Horace manuscripts. Results of a comparative study of Harley 2724 and Horace manuscripts of the Vatican and the Bavarian State Libraries are presented in Chapter 1 and the Transcription.

Only a small proportion of medieval Horace scholia have been scrupulously studied or edited in their entirety. The most extensive study of the medieval reading of Horace, undertaken by Friis-Jensen, focuses on popularly copied 'school-room' commentaries, which apparently emerged in the twelfth century.

The Harley scholia share none of the school-room characteristics identified by Friis-Jensen, but show a Horace being read as part of a wider scholarly culture.

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1.1 Ancient annotations on Horace

Nothing is known about the Horatian scholarship of Hyginus' freedman Modestus or the Domitianic grammarian Claranus.¹ Two snippets of the Hadrianic grammarian Q. Terentius Scaurus are cited by Charisius and one more – by his successor, Porphyrio.² Of Helenius Acro's lost second-century commentary, we have only one fragment and one mention by Porphyrio.³

Substantial samples of late antique material, Porphyrio and Pseudo-Acro, owe their survival to the industry of Carolingian scholars. The school-room context of this material is apparent from its content, style, and method.⁴

The work of Pomponius Porphyrio, probably written in the third century, reaches us in revised and reduced form.⁵ It is transmitted separately from Horace's text in two ninth-century manuscripts; some of the twenty-odd humanist copies might represent a third lost Carolingian archetype.⁶

¹ Modestus is the earliest of the three commentators named in an Horace *Vita*, which forms part of the Carolingian 'Pseudo-Acro' scholia compilation (*Commentati in illum sunt Porphyrio, Modestus et Helenius Acron; Acron omnibus melius*); his personal circumstances are known from Suetonius (*de Gram.* 20). Claranus is mentioned by the later Horace commentator Porphyrio (*ad Serm.* 2.3.83), but nothing further is known about him. Claranus' *terminus ante quem* is Martial (10.21.1-2), who mentions both Claranus and Modestus as commentators, without specific reference to Horace. Equally unknown are the scholars, to whom Porphyrio refers at *ad Sat.* 1.3.21 and 90: "*qui de personis Horatianis scripserunt*". Borzsák (1998, p. 18) points out that the work in question need not be a treatise on Horatian *personae*.

² Keil (1857) **Gramm. 1.202.26=263.11 B: IMPARITER** Horatius Epistularum [Ars 75] 'versibus impariter iunctis', ubi Q. Terentius Scaurus in commentariis in artem poeticam libro X 'adverbium' inquit 'figuravit'; **Gramm. 210.19 = 272.27B: PRIMUS** pro 'in primis' ut Maro, [Aen. 1.1] 'Troiae qui primus ab oris'; ubi Q. Terentius Scaurus commetariis in artem poeticam libro X 'non qui ante omnes' inquit 'sed ante quem nemo est', et addit 'quo genere plures primi accipi possunt'. **Porph. Sat. 2.5.92 STES CAPITE OBSTIPO.** Tristi ac seuero. Scaurus 'inclinato' dicit.

³ **Pseudo-Acro ad Odes 4.9.37 [VINDE AVAR<A>E FRAVDIS]** Acron interpretatur: Lollius; **Porph. ad Sat. 1.825: memini me legere apud Helenium Acronem Saganam nomine fuisse Horati temporibus Pompei sagam senatoris, qui a triumviris proscriptus est.** Borzsák (1998, p. 19) draws our attention to a gloss on *zanga* published from 'Glossae Scaligeri' by Goetz (volume V, 1894, p. 613: *zanga pellis Acro nigris medium impediit crus pellibus*), which names Acro and corresponds to a Pseudo-Acronian note (*Sat.* 1.6.28 <PELLIBUS> calciamentis, zangis). ACD observes that this gloss could have been filled out by Scaliger.

⁴ Porphyrio and Pseudo-Acro scholia place a strong emphasis on language (the prerogative of the *grammaticus*), contain numerous 'ordo est...' and 'sensus est...' explanations, and address students, urging them to observe, understand, and avoid.

⁵ For Porphyrio's date, see Schmidt in the *Kleine Pauly* (vol. IV, 1972, p. 1063). In his edition, Holder (1894) collects ancient, medieval, and some Renaissance references to Porphyrio in the *Testimonia de Porphyrio* appendix. For the marginal origin of Porphyrio's commentary, Munk Olsen (2009, Vol. IV.1, p. 68) refers to Rauthe (1971, pp. 90-98), which I have not yet consulted in person. Recent discussions are provided by Diederich (1999) and Kalinina (2007). Summary descriptions are offered by Borzsák in the third volume of the *Enc. Oraz.* (1998, pp. 19-21) as well as Nisbet and Hubbard (1970, p. xlviii-xlix). Noske (1969, pp. v-vii) gives a comprehensive bibliography of 19th- and early 20th-century scholarship.

⁶ Carolingian manuscripts of Porphyrio:

The text published as ‘Pseudo-Acro’ by Keller, whose 1902-4 edition remains canonical to this day, is transmitted in the margins of numerous Horace manuscripts. A version detached from the Horace text was first produced by the humanists;⁷ it received the attribution to Acro circa 1400.⁸ In fact, ‘Pseudo-Acro’ is no single commentary but a Carolingian compilation. Its two components were identified by Noske (1969) as fifth-century *Expositio A* on lyric and ninth-century *Paragraphon* scholia on *opera omnia*, based on a six-century commentary.⁹ Both *Expositio A* and *Paragraphon* subsumed Porphyrio material verbatim; consequently, some Porphyrio notes enjoyed wider circulation in the margins of Horace manuscripts.

Lyric *Expositio A* is transmitted in its pure form in one manuscript and in one fragment. Manuscript A, the ca 900 Italian Par. Lat. 7900, formed the basis of Keller’s 1902 edition of lyric scholia.¹⁰ Scholia on *Epodes* 15-17, which are lacking in A, were edited from other manuscripts.¹¹ The Hamburg fragment of pure *Expositio A* on *Epodes* 16.33-17.50 was discovered only after Keller’s first volume had been printed.¹² Keller

1) V = Vat. Lat. 3314, s. ix inc. (Bischoff 1974, pp. 81, 104-5) central Italy; Munk Olsen (1982-9, vol. 1, pp. 520-1); *Codices Horatiani* (1992, pp. 234-6); Villa (1994, p. 129);

2) M = Mun. Clm 181, s. x (Bischoff), western Germany, Augsburg? (Bischoff, 1960, p. x; 1974, pp. 98-9); *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum* 1.1 (1868, p. 29); Villa (1994, p. 128); Munk Olsen (1982-9, vol. 1, p. 517; vol. 3.2, p. 77);

3) Tarrant (1983, p. 186) notes that a group of 15th-century Italian manuscripts may descend from a third Carolingian manuscript. This manuscript is identified with the codex brought to Rome in 1455 by Enoch of Ascoli (Holder’s sixth *Testimonium de Porphyriane*, 1894, p. 613). The best representatives of the hypothetical family are Wolfenb. Gud. Lat. 85 (W) and Vat. Chig. H VII 229 (P), both of which are used in Holder’s edition. Noske (1969, p. 191, note 14), however, denies the need to postulate a third branch of the tradition, arguing that the superior text of these manuscripts is due to interpolation and emendation. The debate is summarised by Kalinina (2007, p. 17f.).

⁷ We have one 14th-century and forty-eight 15th-century manuscripts of ‘Acro’.

⁸ For the attribution to Acro, see Munk Olsen (2009, vol. IV.1, pp. 35-36); cf. Keller (1903) and (1904, pp. ix-x). The manuscript containing the original attribution is described by Noske (1969, p. xvi-xvii).

⁹ The evidence for the dating of *Expositio A* can be summarised as follows. Langehorst (1908, p. 30) demonstrated Servius to be the *terminus post quem* of *Expositio A*. The 5th-century date is confirmed by the commentator’s reference to the Huns (*Odes* 2.11.1), the glossing of *Getae* as *Gothi* (*Odes* 4.15.22), the description of pagan customs as past, and by other internal evidence. (Noske’s source for the date of Theodoretus, the grammarian cited at *Sat.* 1.5.97, is unclear to me.) Assuming complete inactivity during the ‘Dark Ages’, and noting the corrupt and mutilated state of *Paragraphon* by the 9th century, Noske (1969, pp. 271-2, 275) dates the commentary between 500 and 568, tentatively suggesting northern Italy or Gaul as possible locations.

¹⁰ The discussion of A’s possibly Milanese origin is summarised by Massaro (1993, p. 227, note 3).

¹¹ Keller prints two parallel sets of scholia: one – from 11th-century Vat. Lat. 3257 (V) s. xi, and manuscripts of the Γ family; the second – from 15th-century manuscripts Wolfenb. Aug. 81.31 (c) and Par. Lat. 7988 (p), supplemented with the extremely patchy 11th-century German Dessau HB1 (v).

¹² The discovery is noted in the preface to Keller’s second volume (1904, pp. 1-2). Keller’s incomplete report of the fragment (1904, pp. 510ff.) is replaced by Noske’s edition (1969, pp. xxxv-xxxvii).

considered Vat. Lat. 3257 (V), an eleventh-century Italian (?) codex, to be second best because of its similarity to A. Furthermore, he thought that V (and related manuscripts) contained a *recensio aucta* of A, extending to all Horatian works. Keller named these full scholia *Paragraphon*.¹³

Noske established the true identities of *Expositio A* and *Paragraphon* as two separate traditions. He showed that the lacunae of mutilated *Paragraphon* were filled out with other Horace scholia: notes on *Odes* 1.1-4.2 were supplied from *Expositio A* (but not manuscript A), lacunae in the *Epistles* were supplemented with Φ scholia (to be discussed presently). This augmented redaction was apparently produced in late ninth-century France, the home of *Expositio A* and Φ manuscripts.¹⁴

There exists an intrinsic similarity between *Expositio A* and *Paragraphon*, which is unrelated to their ninth-century fusion. Comparing *Expositio A* and *Paragraphon*, where both commentaries are available (i.e. *Odes* 4.3-4.15; *Epodes* 1-14, fragment of 16-17, *Carmen Saeculare*), Noske (pp. 264-7) shows that these commentaries used a common source or sources other than Porphyrio. The two commentaries differ in character, *Paragraphon* being particularly compilatory in its content and variable in its quality.¹⁵ Since the bulk of *Paragraphon* lyric scholia have not been published, Noske's description remains invaluable.¹⁶

Publishing the *Carmen Saeculare* annotations of Vat. Lat. 3866 (s. xi 2/4, Tegernsee), Massaro (1993) identified this manuscript as another *Paragraphon* witness. He ascribed its scholia to the Γ tradition (p. 235), because they resemble the two main Γ representatives identified by Noske (1979, pp. 280-1), Par. Lat. 7975 = γ (s. xi, Italian) and 9345 = r (s. x. ex., Echternach). Massaro also found very similar annotations in Flor.

¹³ Keller (1904) pp. iv-v

¹⁴ Noske (1969) pp. xi, 269

¹⁵ Noske (1969) provides a characterisation of both commentaries: pp. 272-276 for *Expositio A*; pp. 269-272 for *Paragraphon*. Important pre-Noske descriptions of Pseudo-Acro include Nisbet and Hubbard (1970, pp. 1-li); Keller (1864-7, p. 499 ff.); Pauly (1893-, 7.2841ff.); Schanz-Hosius (3rd edn, vol. 3, 1922, pp. 166f.). A post-Noske description is offered by Borzsák (1998).

¹⁶ Keller prints *Paragraphon* lyric scholia only for *Epodes* 15-17 (lacking in A), elsewhere citing those readings of V and "Γ manuscripts", which agree with A. Noske (1969, p. 95) also observes that Keller did not report V's interlinear glosses. The 'Γ Appendix' is the only place where Keller prints specifically interlinear glosses. (This Appendix in fact contains scholia from both Γ and non-Γ manuscripts.)

Laur. Plut. 34.1 = L (s. x ex., French?) and less extensive coincidences in several other manuscripts.¹⁷ The readings of these manuscripts are reported in Massaro's apparatus.

Φ scholia were published by Botschuyver in 1935 from three related French manuscripts λφψ (Par. Lat. 7972 s. x, 7974 s. xi or xii, and 7971 s. x). A slim volume of addenda – called volume III, although no second volume was published – appeared in 1939, offering a selection of scholia from ρζπυ.¹⁸ These scholia were also re-examined by Noske, who suggested that they were composed in the ninth century, that is before the appearance of π in the 840s-850s, on the basis of older material related to Pseudo-Acro (pp. 189-91).¹⁹ The scholia survive in many later manuscripts which have not yet received due attention.²⁰ According to Noske (p. 152, cf. 142-7), a Φ scholia redaction fuller than the archetype of λφψ was used to supplement the Θ branch of the *Paragraphon* commentary.²¹

The popularity of scholia transmitted in the margins is difficult to estimate, since no catalogue attempts a systematic census of marginalia content.²² Their 'diffusion' results from selective copying of various quantities and diverse combinations of material.²³ It remains to be noted that the slender direct tradition of Porphyrio and the patchy marginal transmission of 'Pseudo-Acronian' scholia may well have encouraged

¹⁷ A few coincidences were found in Θ representatives, Bamb. Class. 32 = b (s. xi, French) and Leeuw. B.A.Fr.45 = f (s. xi-xii, eastern France). Massaro also reports readings from Reginenses 1703 = R (ca 830, Alsace, scholia s. x) and 1672 = R₂ (s. xi, France).

¹⁸ ρ = Par. Lat. 9345 s. x German, Echternach (Schroeder) or St Maximin de Trier; ζ = Leid. Voss. 21 s. xi German or French; π = Par. Lat. 10310 s. ix 2/3 (Bischoff) France, Prov. Autun cath.; υ = Par. Lat. 7973 s. xi, France.

¹⁹ The *terminus post quem* of Φ scholia is Isidore. Wessner (1921) attributed the collection to the 9th-century master Heiric of Auxerre. Botschuyver postulated a 6th- (1935) and, later (1939), a 7th-century date on the grounds of imperfect Latinity and information. Botschuyver also detected German linguistic mannerisms and suggesting Metz as a possible place of origin. Borzsák (1998, p. 22) noted insular influence at *Ars Poet* 50: *tunicae... quales adhuc Scotti gestant*. (Insular influence is also visible in the 1100 Mont-St-Michel commentary found in Par. Lat. 17897 at *Odes* 1.18.19: *inebriantur sicut Scotti*.) Keller (1904, p. xii) and Botschuyver (1935, p. ix) noted Φ's indebtedness to Porphyrio. Noske (1969, p. 189f.) observed that the Porphyrio used by the scholiast was older than the text which reaches us, and must belong in the 8th century.

²⁰ Noske (1969, p. 181) notes that λφψ are not enough to represent Φ and that Botschuyver's sample of πζυ is small and subjective (Note 2).

²¹ Noske (1969, pp. 72-176) identifies three branches of the *Paragraphon* tradition: N, Γ, and Θ. Two of these were further enlarged: N – with the remaining half of Expositio A (namely *Odes* 4.2 – C.S), Θ – with Φ scholia. On this account Θ was ignored by Keller.

²² Munk Olsen's (1982-90) catalogue alerts us to the presence of marginal annotations, states their quantity, and specifies the content of the analysed manuscripts. Villa's (1994) catalogue of Horatian manuscripts singles out only Renaissance manuscripts containing a separate text of Pseudo-Acro.

²³ The peculiarities of the exegetic genre, its compilation, transmission, and editing are discussed in detail by Zetzel (2005), especially in Chapters I and VII.

the appearance, from the ninth century onwards, of original medieval commentaries on Horace. Ancient material was both subsumed and replaced by contemporary medieval scholarship.²⁴ Interest in ancient annotations was revived in the Renaissance. It was then the turn of medieval scholia to lie largely ignored until the twentieth century. The fate of medieval commentaries will, therefore, be discussed in the context of modern scholarship in Section 0.1.3. For the present, I pursue the fate of ancient scholia in Renaissance and later publications.

1.2 Printed editions of Porphyrio and ‘Acro’

Here I examine the place of ancient scholia in relation to Horace’s text and to contemporary commentaries.²⁵ A chronological index of editions containing ancient scholia is presented in Appendix 0.1.1.²⁶ My observations are based on the physical appearance of the editions, on their content, and, above all, on any prefatory remarks made by the editors and their collaborators. The format of this discussion permits only brief citation of the prefaces, but the # symbol followed by a number indicates that a more extensive excerpt can be consulted in Appendix 0.1.2.

The first two editions of Horace scholia appear in 1474. The Milanese publisher Antonio Zarotto (Zarothus), sponsored by Marco Roma,²⁷ supplements the printing of Horace’s works (16th March) with a volume of ‘Acro’ (13th August).²⁸ In Rome, Francesco Marchese (Marchisius) and Angelo Sabino, with the financial backing of

²⁴ Munk Olsen (2009, vol. IV.1, p. 13) observes that the number of manuscripts containing (recompiled) ancient commentaries drops dramatically from the 12th century.

²⁵ Noske (1969, p. 117) identifies the Z family of Pseudo-Acro as the source of ‘Acro’ text used in 15th- and 16th-century editions.

²⁶ I have so far come across no catalogue of Horace scholia editions, but an extensive index of publications of Horace’s text with and without commentary is provided in Zeune’s preface (1825, London, vol. 4, pp. 1941-1991); a more recent, but less comprehensive and not entirely reliable list is offered by Lenchantin de Gubernatis (1945, pp. liii-lvi = 1958-1960, vol. 1, pp. xlv-xlvii). Overviews of commented Horace editions, without a specific focus on ancient commentaries, are offered by Niotta (1993), Rocca (1996), and, in greatest detail, by Iurilli (1994); all three scholars note the fortune of ancient commentaries in early editions. Iurilli’s enlarged 2004 study mainly focuses on the Italian reception of Horace, but the final chapter summarises Horace’s fortuna in the 18th century, mentioning Baxter 1701 and Baxter-Gesner 1752 editions (p. 78). The third volume of the *Enciclopedia Oraziana*, containing articles on individual scholars, commentators, printers et al., similarly focuses on early commented editions; it offers little on Badius, nothing on Bentinus etc.

²⁷ Ganda (1980) pp. 111, 125.

²⁸ The method of publishing commentary separately from the text was a feature of five early Servius editions (1470-1475), catalogued by Mambelli (1954).

Giovanni Luigi Toscani, bring out an edition of Horace's lyric and *Ars Poetica*,²⁹ where the commentaries of Acro and Porphyrio follow each poem. A full text of Horace with both commentaries is soon produced ca 1481, in Venice or Treviso, by the poet Ludovico Strazzaroli Pontifico (de Strazarolis) and Raffaele Regio, who taught in Padua and Venice.³⁰ Unlike the Roman edition, it accompanies Horace with Acro alone; Porphyrio, edited by Regio, is placed separately at the front. Zarotto emulates this format in his second edition of 1485,³¹ but the 1486 reprint, edited and sponsored by Alessandro Minuziano, brings a change: Porphyrio's commentary, labelled 'Porphyrio' in capitals, follows the (unlabelled) Acronian notes after each poem.³²

The Roman, Trevisan, and 1486 Milanese editions contain prefatory letters of dedication, which reveal something of the publishers' concerns. In the 1474 Roman edition, Toscani facetiously remarks to his colleague Marchese that their undertaking will be criticised as adulterous, irreverent, and off-putting for the student; the daring juxtaposition of the poetry with two commentaries will be ridiculed in Horace's own words as adding a human head to a horse's body (#1).³³

In the same edition, Marchese complains about the corrupt state of the text and the need to rely on a single Acro exemplar (#2).³⁴ Regio refers to this Roman edition of lyric and the *Ars* in his dedication ("*Romae nuper impressa duntaxat demidiata*") and urges the reader to compare it with the superior quality of his own new text. From the dedication of the Horace-cum-Acro part of the same volume, however, we learn that Strazzaroli is dissatisfied with the three Acro manuscripts available to him:

²⁹ Bianca (1987, p. 234) and Iurilli (1994, p. 582) note that the popularity of lyric is a post-Petrarch fashion, when lyric also becomes the subject of contemporary commentary. For the popularity of the *Ars* in the 15th century see Friis-Jensen (1995b, pp. 229-230).

³⁰ The place of printing is unknown. Catalogues, including the *Indice generale degli incunaboli delle biblioteche d'Italia* (vol. 3, 1954) and *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* vol. IX (2008), identify Venice as the likely location. Treviso (home town of de Strazarolis 'Travisanus') and Padua (from where Regio addresses his dedication to Venetian noble Morosini) have been suggested as alternatives. The edition is referred to as 'Paduan' in Pauly's 1858 publication of the scholia; the same identification is cited by Diederich (1999).

³¹ Zarotto apparently borrows the *titulus* to the newly added Porphyrio from the 1481 Venice/Treviso edition.

³² Minuziano draws attention to this layout in his dedication to Bartolomeo Calco (1486, Milan): *ita expositores in poetae marginibus collocavi, ut facile cognitu sit omnibus, quid Acro quid eruditus Porphyrio super eodem sentiant.*

³³ Iurilli (1994, p. 582) points out the novelty of combining two commentaries.

³⁴ ACD observes that this *exemplar* of Acro may well be Zarotto's edition.

de Acrone autem, cuius tria habebamus volumina, nullum fere verbum, ne dicam sententiam, aderat in uno quod idem in aliis aut adesset aut non depravatum si aderat legeretur : perinde ac si non unum sed diversos exponerent Horatios...

The situation with Porphyrio's text is much the same. In words which will be echoed by many after him, Regio praises Porphyrio to the skies and bewails the poor state of his commentary, hoping that his own efforts at emendation may prove satisfactory (#3). The 1486 reprint of Zarotto's 1485 (second) edition is prompted by the discovery of a new exemplar. In the dedication to Bartolomeo Calco, Alexander Minuziano regrets the corrupt state of the former unique exemplar and boasts of his new find:

...itaque hos libros studiosissime quantum sub unico exemplari, eoque temporum iniuria exeso librariorumque incuria mendosissimo, recognovimus. caeterum impressis libris et recognitione iam publicata, venit ad manus meas Porphyrio quidam antiquissimus...

It is notable that ancient scholia, whatever the quality of their text, were considered a worthwhile investment for the printer.

The fifteenth century saw the appearance of several new commentaries: on the *Ars* by Tommaso Schifaldo and Martino Filetico, on lyric by Antonio Calcillo (Chalcidius).³⁵ Calcillo had lectured on Horatian lyric in Rome in 1465-1466. The commentary arising from Filetico's ca 1470-1471 course on the *Ars* may be dedicated to none other than Toscani.³⁶ Yet the early printing of Horace, notes Iurilli (2004, p. 24), does not seem to be connected with contemporary scholastic activity.

The first Renaissance commentary to appear in print is that of the Florentine professor Cristoforo Landino, printed by Antonio Miscomini in Florence in 1482.³⁷ Landino – unlike most contemporaries – not only covers Horace's entire opus but claims to rival the ancient scholia.³⁸ This popular commentary had its critics. Minuziano, in the 1486 Zarothus reprint, acidly remarks, in words much quoted by modern scholars, that it is his duty to remedy the damage inflicted by a certain recent commentary (#4).

³⁵ Villa's manuscript catalogue (1994, p. 134f.) names several more Renaissance commentators: Giovanni Cuffarino, Franciscus Buti of Pisa, Andrea Volsco (dub.). It is clear from the same catalogue, that at least one medieval commentary, the 12th-century French *Materia* commentary published by Friis-Jensen (1990), continued to be copied: it is found in six, presumably Italian, 15th-century manuscripts. (See also Friis-Jensen 1995b).

³⁶ Bianca (1996) passim, esp. p. 276.

³⁷ Landino had already produced a commentary on the *Aeneid* in 1478.

³⁸ Cf. Cardini (1974, vol. II, p. 249)

Landino's commentary was never printed in Milan,³⁹ but before the century was out it had featured in at least nine editions published elsewhere. In Venice (1490/1), Giovanni Francesco Superchio (Philomusus) combined Landino with the ancients, surrounding small sections of centre-page Horace text with copious Acro, Porphyrio, and Landino (in that order), punctuated by marginal 'lemmata' and pointers.

A year later, Antonio Mancinelli added a second modern commentary (on lyric) to the three printed so far. Mancinelli's 1492 edition was repeatedly reprinted and fathered a long line of Venetian publications of Horace '*cum quattuor commentariis*',⁴⁰ to which further contemporary commentaries, notes, metrical explanations and *vitae* were prefixed and appended. The layout of Mancinelli's edition differs from Superchio's in one subtle detail: Mancinelli places his own exegesis first, followed by Acro, Porphyrio and Landino. The place of Acro's *vita* and *expositio metrica* is taken by *Ode quid per Ant. Mancinellum* and *Horatii Venusini Vita per Ant. Mancinellum edita*.

The first non-Italian scholar to engage in commenting on Horace was the Flemish humanist Josse Bade van A(s)sche (Jodocus Badius Ascensius).⁴¹ Badius' *Silvae Morales* anthology, published in 1492 in Lyon, contained excerpts from Horace and other authors, accompanied by his own commentary.⁴² At the turn of the century, Badius published the whole of the *Satires* and *Epistles* with Acro's and his own commentaries (1499/1500, Lyon). In 1516 Badius' lyric commentary appeared in Giovanni Britannico's Venetian edition (printed by Alexander Paganini) together with Porphyrio, Mancinelli, and Britannico's hexameter commentary. Badius' own complete commented Horace, printed in Paris by Petit in 1519, replicates the Venetian '*cum quattuor commentariis*' pattern. Following the Venetian example, here Badius replaces the gothic typeface of his Lyonesse Horace with Roman type.

In 1533 the Parisian printer Robert Estienne (Stephanus) brought out another Venetian-style publication, Bernardino Martirano's edition of the *Ars Poetica*. Acro and Porphyrio are flanked by commentaries by Martirano's Calabrian compatriot Giovan

³⁹ For subsequent critics, including Ugolino Verino, Badius, Celio Rodigino, see Bausi's 'Landino' article in the *Enciclopedia Oraziana* (vol. 3, pp. 307-9).

⁴⁰ The 1543 Venetian edition '*cum quinque commentariis*' contains three modern commentaries.

⁴¹ At this time, the German scholar Jakob Locher (Philomusus) returned to Strasbourg from his Italian travels and produced, in 1498, the first major German publication of Horace's works equipped with his own commentary. Unlike Badius, Locher did not (to my knowledge) publish any ancient scholia.

⁴² 1492 Lyon (J. Trechsel) *Silvae Morales cum interpretaetione Ascensii: In XII libellos divisae...*

Paolo Parisio (Aulus Janus Parrhasius), deceased 1522, and the Swiss poet scholar and musician Heinrich Loriti (Glareanus).⁴³ After one reprint of this *Ars Poetica* volume (1536, Paris), in 1544 Glareanus and Parrhasius joined a long list of commentators in the enlarged Venetian edition of *opera omnia*.⁴⁴

The popularity of Horace editions with multiple ancient and modern commentaries is obvious from the prolific number of reprints through the sixteenth century.⁴⁵ It is clear from the appearance of the books, that they are designed for a scholastic market: the complete Horace volumes are of folio size (excepting the 1506 hexameters and 1533 *Ars Poetica*) and their margins are filled with copious commentary notes. Contemporary commentaries forming the bulk of these books are designed for teaching. They aim to give a much more systematic and detailed explanation of the text, than is offered by ancient scholia; their level is fairly elementary. Mancinelli makes his purpose explicit in the dedicatory epistle to Pomponius Laetus:

hinc illud fateri audeo in Odis ipsis et in Epodis Carmi<n>eque Saeculari per me enucleatis
(prius autem a tribus aliis Acrone Porphyryone Landino haud satis) nihil pene deesse ad
rerum aut sensus cognitionem.

Similarly, Badius prefaces his commentary (1503) with an exhortation to students (“*Adhortatus sum vos, adolescentes optimi, sepe numero antehac...*”). In the dedication of his *Ars Poetica* commentary, Glareanus disparages the youth of his day and sees his mission in educating: “*ut iuventus utilissimis imbuta initiis frugem aliquando ferret uberem*”. It is revealing that, although ancient scholia were not considered sufficient on their own, they nonetheless continued to occupy a firm position in the teaching context, alongside modern exegesis.

The ancient commentaries gradually gain prominence over their modern neighbours. In the preface to his 1499/1500 Lyon edition of Horatian hexameters, Badius describes his own commentary as a humble scholastic auxiliary, but Acro – as a prize for the experienced reader:

⁴³ Parisio’s commentary was published separately by Martirano in 1531 (Naples, J. Sultzbach); Glareanus’ edition of Horace, accompanied by his own notes and Niccolo Perotti’s metrical treatise, was printed in 1533 (Freiburg, J. Faber Emmeus).

⁴⁴ Martirano’s edition was reprinted once more almost a century later (1621, Lyon).

⁴⁵ I have traced seven Venetian and two Milanese reprints of Mancinelli’s 1492 edition, four of Britannico’s 1516 Venetian, three of Badius’ 1519 Parisian editions, and eleven of the 1544 Venetian *opera omnia*.

non etenim aliud nobis propositum fuit quam verborum ordinem non sine facili
 explanatione contexere; ne tamen doctioribus maturae desint fruges, Acronis viri
 argutissimi commentarium praeposuimus.

In his 1519 Paris edition, Badius puts Acro and Porphyrio first in the *titulus*; in the text itself they appear ahead of both Badius and Mancinelli, altering the order of Mancinelli's own 1492 edition.⁴⁶ The Venetian editions of Badius examined by me (1536, 1545, 1546) retain the traditional order, whereby Acro and Porphyrio are sandwiched between modern commentators, but from 1543 Venetian *tituli* replicate the Parisian ones, headed by Acro and Porphyrio.

The apex of ancient commentators' prominence among the moderns is the Basel editions printed by Heinrich Petri (Henricpetri) in 1545 and 1555. A third commented edition was issued in 1580, the year following Henricpetri's death, by his son Sebastian. Like the Paris and Venice publications, these folio volumes are produced for teaching,⁴⁷ but Petri revises the presentation of both commentary and text. In the 1545 edition, a wide column of Horace is accompanied by a narrow *italic* column of commentary,⁴⁸ which spills into full page after the poem. Acro and Porphyrio are praised in the *titulus* (...*Acronis et Porphyriionis optimorum, sine controuersia, autorum...*), and their scholia are placed before a selection of contemporary commentators, varying from poem to poem.⁴⁹

The two-volume 1555 Petri Horace, edited by Georg Goldschmidt (Fabricius), is particularly remarkable. In the first volume, Acro and Porphyrio alone accompany

⁴⁶ In Badius' 1506 edition of the *Epistles*, his own commentary, marked 'Ascen' in the margin, likewise follows Acro.

⁴⁷ The 1545 Basel edition recommends Horace for the teaching of both morality and Latinity: *Qui igitur volent teneros puerorum animos ita formare, ut iis gaudeant, quibus oportet ..., quique volent studiosorum ingenia pura elegantique eruditione et lingua excolere, hunc poetam pueris tradant assidue versandum*. The sentiment is echoed by the 1580 edition, extolling Horace among other classical authors as teacher of both morality and eloquence. The *titulus* of the 1580 edition advertises its usefulness for both scholars and teachers: *Vt igitur omnes studiosi legere, iunioribusque interpretari sine remora possint*. The 1555 editor, Georg Goldschmidt (Fabricius), not only considers Horace a particularly suitable school-room author (*lectione inprimis dignum et adolescentibus explicandum semper iudicavi*), but commemorates the building of a new school in his dedication (*quod bonarum artium studiis honorem habetis eximium, id quod nuper pulchris aedificijs, in extruendo a fundamentis ludo novo, declarastis*).

⁴⁸ Italic fonts were used for the commentaries by Estienne in his 1533 edition of the *Ars Poetica*.

⁴⁹ Additional modern material agglomerated at the front and back of 'cum quattuor commentariis' editions is here incorporated into the body of the commentary after the relevant poem.

Horace's text;⁵⁰ contemporary commentaries are relegated to the second volume, with the exception of the Freiburg professor Johan Hartung, who precedes Horace in volume I. Like others before him, Fabricius attempts to improve the text of scholia with the help of manuscripts. He approaches scholia on a par with ancient authors:

cum autem interpretum Horatianorum libri corruptiores fuerint quam ullius adhuc Latini scriptoris monumenta fuisse compererim, multis saepe locis, et in Italia et in Germania, codices manuscriptos inquisivi.

An annotated codex sent by George, Prince of Anhalt-Dessau, enabled Fabricius to produce a much improved Acro (#5). Less fortunate with Porphyrio manuscripts (#6), Fabricius notes, which elements appear to be lacking from his commentary:

desideratur enim narratio Porphyronis de vita Horatii, cuius ipse mentionem ad Sermones facit libri primi, Satura sexta: desiderantur graeca epigrammata, quae ab eodem commentatore aliquoties adducuntur, et plurima fortasse alia.

Here Fabricius calls to witness Porphyrio's commentary itself (ad *Sat.* 1.6.41); we shall presently see him exploit grammatical texts as evidence for the identity of the scholiasts.

The third Basel Horace, produced by Petri's son in 1580, was edited by Nicolaus Hoeniger.⁵¹ This single-volume edition endeavours to represent a greater number of commentators than the two previous Petri publications, the ancient scholiasts retaining pride of place. Eulogising Henricpetri in his preface, Hoeniger mentions still more ardent admirers of ancient scholia, who would have ancient annotations alone as a sufficient tool for interpreting Horace (#7).

One such champion of ancient scholia is a slightly earlier Basel editor of Horace, Michael Bentinus. I have postponed the discussion of his 1527 edition, which stands out among its contemporaries. In contrast to the folio 'text-book' editions, this octavo volume contains the text of Horace and a single commentary of Acro placed at the back, much in the style of today. Unlike '*cum quattuor commentariis*' editions, this presentation did not take on and, to my knowledge, was never reprinted. (Bentinus died of the plague in the autumn of 1527.) Fashion notwithstanding, Bentinus considered Acro's commentary a useful and self-sufficient tool for the study of Horace. In his

⁵⁰ Acro and Porphyrio take pride of place even in the index (1555, Basel): "...in Acronis et Porphyronis tum aliorum authorum commentaria..."

⁵¹ The *Short-title catalogue of books printed in the German-speaking countries...* (1962, vol. I, p. 416) names Fabricius (deceased 1571) as the editor of the 1580 publication. The 1580 volume includes Fabricius' 1555 dedication among other old prefaces, but it is not clear to me, what contribution – if any – Fabricius made to this new edition before his death.

dedication to Konrad Heresbach (Herzbachius), tutor to the dukes of Cleves, Bentinus explains why he singled out Acro:

Porro interpres et si non vetustissimum, utpote Prisciani et Servii, quem semel aut iterum citat aetate posterior, certe omnium iudicio inter Horatianos interpretes facile primum sibi locum vindicat. Nam Porphyrius bonam partem desideramus. C. Aemilius†, Modestus, Gelenius et caeteros, de nomine tantum novimus, quorum si extarent commentarii, facile paterer recentiores, si ita videretur, obsolescere. Verum cum hic unus ab interitu vix servatus sit, indignus sane visus est, qui contemptu et typographorum incuria totus periret.

There are two interesting points. Firstly, Bentinus is dissatisfied with what is available of Porphyrio (#8). Secondly, he mentions two new names among the scholiasts: Aemilius and Gelenius. The source of his information is ‘*Q. Horatii Flacci vita ex vetusto quodam exemplari descripta*’ placed before the Horace text and ending with the words

“...commentati sunt illum Porphyrio, Modestus, Gelenius, Acron, omnium optime C. Aemilius.” The same brief *vita* printed in the earliest editions by Regius (1481) and Zarothus (1485) ends with a more familiar list: “...commentati in illum sunt Porphyrio Modestus Helenus[,] et Acron omnibus melius.” Bentinus obtained his *vita* from a codex lent him by Johannes Sichardus (#9). The end of the codex Sichardi *vita* is cited by Schweikert (1865, p. 3, note 9): “commentati sunt illum Porphyrio, Modestus, I. Gelenius, Acron omnium optime Acron.” Schweikert points out that *omnium optime C. Aemilius* arose from a collation of Sichardus’ *omnium optime Acron* and the standard *Acron omnibus melius*.⁵²

The error perseveres in the subsequent Basel editions, up to and including Hoeniger’s (1580). In Fabricius’ 1555 edition, ‘C. Aemilius’, together with Julius Modestus and Terentius Scaurus, receives an acknowledgement in the *titulus* to volume I: “*admixtis interdum C. Aemilii. Julii Modesti et Terentii Scauri annotatiunculis*”. In his preface, Fabricius lists the ancient scholiasts, stating, in true scholarly fashion, the source of his knowledge about each (#10). In most cases, the evidence consists of a citation or a mention by the grammarians, but the name of Aemilius is known to him from a fragment used in the earlier Basel edition, that is by Bentinus (#11). While stating clearly that the writings of ‘Aemilius’, Modestus and Scaurus are lost, Fabricius expresses the hope that some portion of their material might survive – within ‘Acro’. Over-optimistic though this suggestion may be, Fabricius’ open-minded observations about ‘Acro’ are valuable. He

⁵² Inexplicably Schweikert (1865, p. 3, note 9) blames Fabricius and his 1555 edition for this error.

suggests Acro as a possible repository for older material, because it often combines several explanations of the same point (#12).

The correct version of the *vita* was ‘re-discovered’ in manuscripts of St Peter’s Abbey at Blandijnberg (Mont-Blandin) near Gent by Cruquius, to whose editions of Horace we shall turn presently. In the 1565 *Epodes* edition, Cruquius refers to the *vita* for the trio of ancient commentators (*comentatoribus... quos tres invenio in vita Horatii manuscripta, Porphyronem, Helenium[,] Acronem, et Julium Modestum*); the *vita* itself appeared in his 1578 edition of Horace’s complete works.

Interesting as the ‘Aemelius’ corruption may be, even more significant is the attitude towards ancient commentary that is visible behind it: the very identity of the scholiast has become a subject of enquiry. These investigations were no doubt facilitated by the publication of the late-antique grammarians.⁵³ Fabricius refers to Charisius as witness for the existence of Modestus and to Priscian for Porphyrio.

While ancient scholia enjoyed a privileged position in the Basel editions, other contemporary publishers put them to purely utilitarian use. Printing an octavo Horace in 1533, the Lyonese printers, Melchior and Gaspar Trechsel, drew on Acro, Antonio Mancinelli, and Matteo Bonfini to provide a brief marginal note about each poem (*‘interlineares ... notulas’*). The Trechsel brothers named the three commentators on the title page, but other commented editions produced in the same period – for example Lyon 1536 and 1557, Venice 1548, H. Estienne’s 1549⁵⁴ – do not name a single commentator. By contrast, the slender octavo volume produced in 1556 by the Cologne printer Gualterus Fabricius boasts a catalogue of commentators comparable to the Basel edition of 1545 (adding Pietro Vettori and Francesco Luigini, omitting Servius). The commentary following each poem and occasionally appearing in the narrow margin is, however, of necessity brief and selective. Commentators are only occasionally mentioned by name at the end of a note. This edition was reprinted through the sixties: twice in

⁵³ Priscian was printed in 1470. Charisius, discovered at Bobbio at the end of the century, was printed in 1532.

⁵⁴ 1536 Lyon (S. Gryphius) *Q. Horatii Flacci Venusini, poetae lyrii poemata omnia, doctissimis scholiis illustrata*; 1548 Venice (F. Bidonus, M. Pasinus) *Quinti Horatii Flacci Venusini poetae lyrii poemata omnia scholiis doctissimis illustrata*; 1549 Paris *Q. Horatii Flacci Poëmata, scoliis et argumentis ab Henr. Stephano illustrata. Jam recens recognitæ simul ac adnotatiunculis, quæ brevis commentarij vice esse possint, illustratæ*; 1557 Lyon (T. Paganus) *Q. Horatii Flacci Venusini poetae lyrii poemata omnia, ad castigatissimi cujusque exemplaris fidem quam accuratissime restituta, scholiisque doctissimis illustrata*.

Cologne and twice in Leipzig. Unacknowledged annotations in sixteenth-century editions and the role played in them by ancient scholia remain subject to investigation. It is clear, however, that these editors had little concern for the identity of the commentators.

The age and identity of ancient commentators, affirmed by Fabricius, were re-evaluated by the Flemish scholar Jacob van Cruucke (Jacques de Crucque, Cruquius). The title of his first commented edition, *Odes* 4 (1565, Antwerp), draws attention to the false attribution of scholia: ... *cum commentariis falso adhuc Porphyrii et Acroni adscriptis*. Dissatisfied with the content and corrupt state of the scholia he found in Blandinian manuscripts, Cruquius refuses to attribute them to the great and famous ancient scholars (#13). Instead, marginal material amalgamated from several manuscripts is published under the non-committal label ‘Commentator’ (#14). *Odes* 4 were followed by the *Epodes* in 1567, the *Satires* in 1573, and the complete works in 1578. The ‘Commentator’ precedes Cruquius’ own notes in all these editions.

The importance of ‘Commentator’ lies in its preserving material from the Blandinian manuscripts destroyed in the fire of 1566. This material consists of Horace variants⁵⁵ and scholia, of which the former have predictably attracted far more scholarly attention. The evidence of the ‘Commentator’ was judged worthless by scholia editor Keller (vol. II, 1904, pp. x-xiv), because Cruquius had compiled and edited marginal material.⁵⁶ Nisbet and Hubbard (1970, p. li) follow Keller’s judgment, but Pasquali (1952 p. 381-2) re-asserts the value of the ‘Commentator’.⁵⁷ A specific example of ancient material preserved by Cruquius is cited by Borzsák.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ The accuracy of Cruquius’ Blandinian variants is doubted, because Cruquius’ report of non-Blandinian Leidensis 127, also known as *Codex Divaei* or *Curionis*, was found unsatisfactory by 19th-century scholars. A list of passages demonstrating Cruquius’ incompetence was produced by F. Matthias in the final chapter of his dissertation (*Quaestionum Blandinianarum capita tria*, Halis Saxonum, 1882), known to me only through Endt’s report (1906, p. 3). The debate is summarised by Lenchantin (1937, pp. 147-8). Cruquius’ report was re-evaluated by Pasquali (1952, pp. 381-5).

⁵⁶ Comparing the ‘Commentator’ to scholia recently published by Keller and Holder, Keller’s pupil Endt (1906, Vorwort) suggests that Cruquius used Greek and Roman authors as well as Renaissance Horace commentators to improve his ‘Commentator’.

⁵⁷ Modern prejudice associated with Cruquius’ ‘Commentator’ is pinned down precisely by Massaro (1993, p. 229, note 7): the ‘Commentator’ is all too readily dismissed as an amalgamation, while vestiges of ‘authorial’ presence continue to linger around Pseudo-Acro – at least, I may add, as long as Keller’s ‘Pseudo-Acro’ remains the standard edition.

⁵⁸ Borzsák (1998 p. 23) points out that Cruquius not only cites the *fugio campum lusumque trigonem* reading at *Sat.* 1.6.126 of the ‘Blandinus Vetustissimus’, but also preserves a scholion about the same game at *Sat.* 2.6: *solebant autem Romani in Campo Martio ludere pila trigonali*. (The Pseudo-Acronian note on the same lemma is similar, but lacks the crucial description of the ball.)

The margins of Henri Estienne's (Stephanus') 1575 pocket edition of Horace (re-edited in 1588 and 1600) contain his brief explanations and variant readings. A collection of *Diatribae*, that is discussions of Horatian textual problems, is appended to the text.⁵⁹ The second edition (1588) also includes an assortment of Porphyrio emendations: '*In veri Porphyrii commentarios emendationes, necnon quaedam ad eosdem accessiones: ex quodam veteri libro sumptae*' (pp. 151-168). Estienne begins his discussion of Porphyrio with an unexpected statement: "*ex doctis aliquot viris, a quibus docti olim in Horatium commentarii scripti fuerunt, superest tantum Porphyrio*". Acro is clearly considered beneath mention, while Porphyrio is praised to the skies: "*quanto magis Porphyrii sive commentarios sive scholia evolvere, tanto pluris illum faciam*". Estienne adduces a number of textual arguments to prove the great age and value of the commentary: explanations of pagan rites, old linguistic usage, a copious display of Greek. Porphyrio is treated not as material to be published alongside Horace in order to elucidate the poet's text, but as a critic's palaestra, in other words, a text in its own right.⁶⁰

Some of the editions described above continue to appear in the following century: Cruquius' edition of *opera omnia* is reprinted in 1611, Martirano's *Ars Poetica* – in 1621. In 1632 the Cologne Jesuit Philippe Bebius prepares, for use in Jesuit schools, a 'purged' edition of Horace's lyric, which is essentially grounded in the sixteenth-century tradition. Horace was added to the Jesuit curriculum some seventy years earlier;⁶¹ in 1569 the Roman printer Vittorio Eliano produced an Horace purged for Jesuit schools. This became a model for northern, mostly German, *Horatius Romae expurgatus* publications, still printed in the eighteenth century.⁶² Bebius' Horace stands out among these, being accompanied by several commentaries: Ceruti's Paraphrase, Acro, Porphyrio, Chabot, Lambin and van der Beke (Torrentius). The commentaries are placed

⁵⁹ Despite this critic's sharp eye for error, the second and third editions (1588 and 1600), which post-date Cruquius', still contain the erroneous *vita*.

⁶⁰ It is not clear to me if '*veri Porphyrii*' merely expresses Estienne's high regard for the commentator, or responds to (Cruquius'?) doubts about attribution of scholia.

⁶¹ Comparing Jesuit syllabuses from 1551 and 1565, Gendler (1989, p. 241) notes the addition of Terence, Horace, Ovid, and other authors in the 1565 syllabus. The syllabuses are published by Lukács (1965-1981).

⁶² The original 1569 Roman (V. Helianus) edition is accompanied by Aldo Manuzio's notes: *Quintus Horatius Flaccus ab omni obscaenitate purgatus ad usum Gymnasiorum Societatis Jesu. Aldi Manutii de metris Horatianis: eiusdem annotationes in Horatium*.

after the text, not around it, but the use of multiple commentators recalls sixteenth-century Venetian-style editions.

The format of the next edition containing ancient scholia is radically different. As advertised in its title, the 1653 octavo Horace produced by the Leiden printer Franciscus Hackius contains a selection of notes by ancient and modern scholars (*...cum commentariis selectissimis variorum...*) in addition to the very popular commentary of Bond, reproduced in full (*...et scholiis integris J. Bond*). The commentary of John Bond – physician and once Master of the Free School, Taunton – was first printed in London in 1606, saw some twenty reprints in England and on the continent prior to the Leiden edition, and continued to appear in the eighteenth century. Both in Bond’s original edition and in its reprints, the annotations are presented in the form of footnotes. In his preface, Bond boasts of his numeric system connecting each note to the text, just as we do today: *ita tamen ut singulas annotationes ad figuras arithmeticas referas in contextu...* Hackius uses line numbers in preference to footnote numbers, but otherwise retains Bond’s format and incorporates notes by other scholars into the footnotes, acknowledging each by name. Hackius’ Horace was followed by three reprints over the next twenty years. Bond’s format set the trend for the eighteenth century, starting with William Baxter’s Horace printed in London in 1701.

The title of Baxter’s edition “*...una cum scholiis perpetuis, tam veteribus quam novis; praecipue vero antiquorum grammaticorum, Helenij Acronis, Pomponiique Porphyrii...*” and the educational purpose suggested in his preface (“*publicoque eruditorum usui proponere*”) raise expectations of a detailed commentary. In fact, the comments provided in the Bond-style footnotes of this octavo volume are necessarily select and brief. Baxter cites the ancient scholia collectively as ‘Vet. Schol.’, offering no explanation for this label. Baxter’s high regard for ancient scholia is clear from his *Instituti operis ratio*, beginning with their praise:

in hoc commentario veterum scholiorum reliquiae, quas tanquam tabulas e navifragio summa cum diligentia ex imperitis rudioris aevi compilatoribus collegimus, merito suo facem praeferunt.

Baxter backs modern judgment with ancient authority: for instance, “*Muretus, Lambinus, Torrentius cum Vet. Schol.*”. Baxter is also interested in the identity of the ancient commentators, for he notes that Porphyrio subsumed earlier commentaries including that

of Acro – presumably deducing this from the mention of Acro in Porphyrio’s text. Baxter goes on to explain that ancient commentaries were re-edited by later ‘*magistri*’ and ‘*librarii*’, including ‘Pseudo-Acro’, ‘Pseudo-Porphyrio’, and the particularly valuable ‘*interpres Cruquianus*’, *caeteris multis in rebus et plenior et purgator* (#15). Apparently, Baxter does not realise that the Cruquian ‘Commentator’ is the editor’s creation, but he coincides with Cruquius in the opinion that Acro’s and Porphyrio’s commentaries are lost. Indeed Baxter’s reluctance to attribute ancient scholia may arise from the same principles as Cruquius’ use of ‘*Commentator*’.

Half a century later, Baxter’s Horace was revived by the German schoolmaster, Johann Matthias Gesner. His 1752 Leipzig edition, printed by Caspar Fritsch, was followed by several reprints. In his preface, Gesner affirms the need for a succinct commentary explaining proper names, mythical, historical, geographical, and genealogical allusions (#16). Like Baxter, Gesner sees ancient scholia as valuable, but too fragmentary to serve this purpose on their own (#17). The second reprint (1788) was edited by Johann Carl Zeune, who enlarged the apparatus, provided an index of proper names, and also added annotations, especially on the hexameter works. The purpose of the edition remains scholastic. Ancient scholia retain their modest place: only contemporary works of scholarship are mentioned in the preface (#18). Zeune does not seem to use manuscripts, for his Horace variants are drawn from printed editions.⁶³ The Gesner-Zeune augmented edition was also published in Glasgow and London from 1796 onwards. Among the six British editions, at least the one printed in London in 1822 clearly advertises its school-room destination, *in usum scholae Carthusianae*. Re-making the *in usum Delphini* series, the London printer Abraham John Valpy used the Gesner-Zeune edition, together with Despez 1669 *in usum Serenissimi Delphini* original, as the basis for his 1825 four-volume commented Horace.⁶⁴ No ancient scholia are visible in the new Delphin apparatus.

⁶³ Zeune (1788, Leipzig): *Textum nonnullis in locis, sed caute et parce, ad fidem librorum mutavi...* Sources of variant readings named by Zeune are Bentley, the 1559 Venetian edition, Glareanus (1536), Chabotius (1615), Lambinus (1596), and Crusius’ annotations (in his copy of Glareanus’ edition).

⁶⁴ In his 1752 edition, Gesner already saw himself as fulfilling the task begun by the original Delphin editors. Without referring specifically to the 1669 *in usum Delphini* Horace, in his preface Gesner notes that those series, however laudable their intent, left much to be desired (#19).

In 1788, the year Zeune's Horace appeared in print, the Cambridge classicist Henry Homer and the physician Charles Combe embarked on a larger edition, which would include a comprehensive variety of deserving commentaries (#20). Homer died in 1791, before the first volume was completed, and the monumental two-volume Horace was published as Combe's edition (1793-1794, London). Making use of a dozen earlier editions and commentaries (listed under the heading *Nomina auctorum et operum, ex quibus notas desumsi*), Combe chose as his basis the 1772 reprint of Gesner's Baxter Horace (#21). While Combe himself made no reference to ancient scholia, he inherited 'Schol. Vet.', together with other annotations, from Gesner's edition.

After over two centuries of sporadic and partial publication, ancient scholia regain their prominence in the nineteenth century. Two Germanic editions of the *Ars Poetica* appear in 1824. A scholastic edition produced by Franz von Paula Hocheder – then a Würzburg schoolmaster, later professor in Munich – prefaces Horace's text with 'Acron' and Porphyrio summaries of Horace's *praecepta* (p. xvii). Hocheder accompanies Horace with his own notes in German, but also reproduces Porphyrio's commentary from a 'tenth-century' Munich manuscript (presumably Clm 181 s. ix m.) in the Appendix (Dritte Anhang). In the Vorrede (p. vii) Hocheder explains that reading Porphyrio's text as it stands will help to sharpen his students' critical acumen (#22). Similarly, Emerich Hohler's Viennese edition provides an apparatus of German footnotes and Porphyrio's commentary, printed separately at the back (pp. 76-84). In his introduction, Hohler refers to Porphyrio on points of interpretation and, in passing, calls him a precious commentator.⁶⁵

Braunhard's 1831-8 Leipzig edition of Horace's *opera omnia* contains both Porphyrio and 'Acro', appearing by instalments before each Horatian work. Unlike Baxter, Braunhard is optimistic about the survival of ancient scholia:

qui Acroni et Porphyrii abiudicant omnia et semper nescio quem Pseudoacronem et Pseudoporphyrionem in ore habent, nae illi parum se praestant criticos. nam neque argumentis firmant hanc suspicionem, neque satis adtente legisse eos oportet scholiastas. hoc enim si fecissent, vidissent sane, plurimas eorum adnotationes antiquissimam aetatem et stantem adhuc deorum cultum prodere.

⁶⁵ Hohler (1824, Vienna) preface, p. 1: ...nach Porphyrius, von welchem ein schätzbarer Commentar ueber dieses Gedicht aus dem Alterthume uebrig ist, soll hier der erstgenante L. Calpurnius Piso gemeint seyn...

Braunhard does not see scholia as a text, which needs to be edited: if we are to trust the preface, he prints the scholia from a single manuscript.⁶⁶

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the scholia appear once more, for the first time since the fifteenth century, as separate texts in their own right. Pauly's 1858 edition claims to be the first to pick up the work of Fabricius (1555): *Scholia Horatiana quae feruntur Acronis et Porphyrii post G. Fabricium nunc primum emendatiora edidit F. Pauly*. Pauly uses a single manuscript for Porphyrio (Wolf. Aug. 85) and, for Acro, one manuscript (Wolf. Gud. 81.38) supplemented by early editions ('Patavia' 1481, Milan 1486, Fabricius, Cruquius 1579). Pauly's work is described by Schmidt (1995, p. 261) as the last pre-modern edition. Germanic scholarship of Pauly and his contemporaries is described and evaluated by Noske (1969, pp. 3-12).

While these and later nineteenth-century publications do not satisfy the modern concept of a critical edition, they serve the same purpose: their aim is to publish the text of scholia, rather than use it to illustrate Horace.

1.3 Medieval Horace scholia in modern scholarship

We now turn to modern scholarship concerned with medieval scholia, only a small proportion of which have been edited and studied in their full form. It is not yet clear how the texts published so far fit in the wider picture. Munk Olsen's study of pre-thirteenth century manuscripts of classical authors has made the first crucial step towards improving this situation.⁶⁷

The limits and limitations of Munk Olsen's catalogue are clearly set out in the preface. Temporal limits apply not only to manuscripts, but also to authors: with the valuable exception of Dares and Dictys, the catalogue draws the line at the beginning of the fourth century (p. xii) and omits a number of authors widely read alongside the classics and used to expound them (grammarians, Isidore, Macrobius, Martianus Capella, Claudian, Avianus' *Fabulae*, and later historians). The catalogue signals the presence of

⁶⁶ Braunhard (1831-8, Leipzig) preface, p. 7: *neque mihi deerat codex Lipsiensis primus.... unde etiam Acronis et Porphyrii scholia ad Horatium accepi*.

⁶⁷ Munk Olsen (1982-1989). Munk Olsen analyses the assembled information in a monograph (1991) and an article (1996). The former interprets the data in connection with school-room reading; the latter assesses evidence other than the manuscripts themselves and tabulates, in the appendix, comparative manuscript statistics for various classical authors and eras within the 9th-12th century period.

marginalia, indicating their quantity; manuscripts containing separate commentaries without author text are listed after the relevant author.⁶⁸ The latest volume of the study (2009, IV.1) focuses on material auxiliary to the study of the classics, offering a synthesis of the manuscript evidence and an overview of current scholarship. Much attention is devoted to accessus and commentaries (pp. 68–79 for Horace).

All surviving Horace manuscripts are catalogued in a series of articles by Villa (1992-4), the last of which lists manuscripts of Porphyrio, Pseudo-Acro, medieval and humanistic scholia.⁶⁹ Villa's list does not include scholia transmitted in the margins of Horace manuscripts, for the simple reason that most of them have not been fully analysed.⁷⁰

Modern studies of Horace scholia are dominated by the work of Friis-Jensen, who focuses on commentaries, which appear to have been standard and most influential in the shaping of 'medieval' Horace. Friis-Jensen (1997) also provides a helpful overview of scholarship on the subject. Let us review the state of scholarship on medieval Horace scholia as it stands today.

The impetus for the study of medieval scholia in general and of Horace scholia in particular came not from classical scholarship, but from the fields of medieval literature, culture, and language.

Prior to my examination, Harley 2724 received the most detailed attention from scholars of the vernacular. Old High German glosses in Harley were discovered by Thoma (1951) and scrutinised in comprehensive detail by Siewert (1985), to whom we owe the identification of Bavaria as its likely provenance.⁷¹

A number of investigations were inspired by an interest in medieval education. The place of the classical authors in the medieval schoolroom was demonstrated by Glauche (1970) and Munk Olsen (1991); the connection between the reading of the

⁶⁸ A list of Horace commentaries contained in separate pre-1200 manuscripts is provided by Munk Olsen (1982-9, vol. I, pp. 512-22). A collection of Horatian *parerga* were published by von Christ (1893, pp. 57-152) from Mun. Clm 375, a 12th-century German manuscript placed at Augsburg by Bischoff. Massaro (1993, pp. 244-5) published 'genre' definitions (*proseutice*..., *proponetice* etc.) from Vat. Reg. 1703 (ca 830, German) and 1672 (s. xi, France?).

⁶⁹ Villa (1994) pp. 127ff.

⁷⁰ Villa (1994) p. 127, note 3

⁷¹ German glosses in Horace manuscripts have been studied by Pyritz (1931), Wegstein (1987), and catalogued most recently by Bergmann and Stricker (2005, pp. 881-883 for Harley 2724).

classics and the ‘*ethica*’ branch of education had previously been established in a series of articles by Delhaye (1948, 1949, 1958). Two commentaries on Horace promoting moral education were published by Friis-Jensen (1988); a characterization of another such commentary was given by Bischoff (1971). Reynolds used a sample of Horace glosses in her study of reading skills and methods (1990, 1996).⁷² A special type of Horace annotations, namely neumes, was discussed by Wälli (2002).

The literary reception of classical authors in the middle ages is a vast field of scholarship, which accords an understandably modest place to scholia.⁷³ An important exception to this are two studies of medieval literary criticism: Minnis (1988) makes use of medieval *accessus*; Minnis and Scott (1988) publish samples of medieval scholia.⁷⁴ Furthermore, it is to the study of vernacular literature that we owe our first publication of a medieval Horace commentary.

Zechmeister’s edition of *Scholia Vindobonensia* on the *Ars Poetica* (1877) was inspired by an interest in medieval poetry hand-books, which are indebted to Horace’s poem and its interpretation. This text of Horace has held a privileged position since the high middle ages, fitting as it did into the advanced educational category of *Artes*, as opposed to the rudimentary *auctores*.⁷⁵ *Scholia Vindobonensia* survive in a single eleventh-century manuscript. The scholia themselves, assigned to the ninth century by Zechmeister, were re-dated by Fredborg to the second half of the eleventh century, on

⁷² Reynolds (1996, pp. 33-41) prints glosses on *Satires* 2.8.1-12 from a 12th-century manuscript, Vat. Reg. Lat. 1780 (R), fol. 90.

⁷³ Modern studies of Horace reception are exemplified by Mariotti’s collection of articles (1996-7, vol. 3). Quint’s (1988) monograph on the subject is considered derivative, ill-informed and worthless by its reviewer, H. Hofmann (1990, *Rhetorik* 9:160-2). To my uninitiated eye, it provides at least a helpful assemblage of material; Friis-Jensen (2007) likewise evaluates it as ‘useful’. The literary influence of Horace in the high Middle Ages is discussed by Villa in a brief overview of 12th-15th-century commentaries on the classics (1997, pp. 29-32).

⁷⁴ A few miscellaneous *accessus* were edited by Jeudy (1971) and Huygens (1970).

⁷⁵ St Gall 868, whose commentaries are ascribed by Bischoff to a late 11th-century scholastic community active in the French-German border region, explains the *Ars Poetica* in no fewer than three sets of glosses (1971, p. 265). Villa (1992) discusses the *Ars Poetica* commentaries from the 11th century onwards in the context of contemporary rhetorical doctrine. For the medieval and Renaissance *fortuna* of the *Ars*, see Friis-Jensen (1995 *bis*), also Iurilli (1994, p. 594). Nardello’s doctoral thesis on the late 14th-century *Ars Poetica* commentary by Francesco da Buti also reviews da Buti’s predecessors (Padua 2008, pp. 33-52, <http://paduaresearch.cab.unipd.it>). Commented editions covering Horace’s individual works are usefully catalogued in Bebius’ 1636 Horace discussed above. Bebius itemises no fewer than 18 separate commentaries on the *Ars Poetica*, as against 6 on lyric and 4 on the hexameters.

account of their style and references to the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*.⁷⁶ *Scholia Vindobonensia* are evaluated by Friis-Jensen as showing “the fusion of rhetorical and grammatical doctrine so characteristic of the later independent arts of poetry.”⁷⁷

Another commentary on the *Ars Poetica*, named the *Materia* by its publisher Friis-Jensen (1990), must have been a standard reference text of its period, for it features in over twenty manuscripts. This commentary was written in France before 1175, when Mathew of Vendome used it in his own treatise on poetry-writing. It appears to be the work of a single master, detailed and literary, explaining points of poetic doctrine, grammar, and antiquarian matters. Fredborg (1980) was the first to note that the twelfth-century *Anonymous Turicensis* commentary, later published by Hajdù (1993), is closely related to both *Materia* and *Scholia Vindobonensia*. Friis-Jensen (1997) specifies the place of *Anonymous Turicensis* as occupying the middle ground between *Materia* and *Scholia Vindobonensia*.⁷⁸ All three commentaries were written in the style of continuous exegesis and are transmitted separately from the text of Horace.

The next landmark in medieval Horace scholia publication after Zechmeister, were Botschuyver’s two sets of scholia from Parisian Horace manuscripts, referred to as Φ (1935) and ξ (1942) by the name of their main witnesses.⁷⁹ As discussed above, Φ scholia were redefined by Noske as a Carolingian compilation based on earlier material. The ξ commentary, on the other hand, is a medieval composition. Its eponymous manuscript, Par. Lat. 17897 = ξ, was written ca 1100 at Mont-St-Michel in north-western France.⁸⁰ ξ appears to be the work of a single master; unusually, it covers the entire

⁷⁶ Zechmeister (1877, p. i-ii); Fredborg (1980, p. 585). See also Manchini (1903), showing the similarity of *Scholia Vindobonensia* to a Lucca manuscript.

⁷⁷ Friis-Jensen (1997) p. 53

⁷⁸ Hajdù (1993), p. 238f. and p. 241f; Friis-Jensen (1997) p. 54. The entire commentary survives in two manuscripts, Zür. Rh. 76 (s. xii², Germany) and Bruss. B.R. 4988-4990 (s. xiv), but the opening part (*accessus*-1.9) also appears in the older Bruss. B.R. 10063-100065 (s. xii med.).

⁷⁹ Massaro (1993, p. 230) observes that Botschuyver’s publications have intrinsic value in spite of any deserved criticism: they represent the few source manuscripts much closer, than, for example, does Keller’s edition of Pseudo-Acro. All scholia published by Botschuyver are transmitted together with the text of Horace.

⁸⁰ Friis-Jensen (1997) p. 53; Botschuyver (1942) published the commentary from Par. Lat. 17897 (ξ) and 8223 (α, s. xv, French), which he believed to be a copy of ξ (p. viii). Par. Lat. 17897 (ξ) was located at Mont-St-Michel by F. Avril.

Horatian oeuvre; it handles earlier (Pseudo-Acronian) material freely and bears a stamp of Christianity.⁸¹

The ‘*Oxford commentary*’ (M), found in an early or mid twelfth-century English manuscript (Magd. Lat. 15), is not in fact a continuous commentary, but a series of *accessus* prefaces to every Horatian poem. However, according to its editor Friis-Jensen (1988), explanations of difficult words and passages within the *accessus* suggest that a fuller commentary was intended or perhaps even existed. (The latter proved to be the case with the *Auctor-iste-Venusinus*, alias *Vatican commentary*, which will be discussed presently.) The content of the *Oxford commentary* is related to *scholia*; its moralising agenda is particularly pronounced.

Bischoff (1971) discusses an unpublished anthology of Persius and Horace commentaries from St Gall manuscript 868, which he ascribes to a late eleventh-century scholastic community active in the French-German border region (perhaps Liege).⁸²

The only complete commentary on hexameter works other than the *Ars Poetica* published in full, is the twelfth-century *Sciendum commentary* on the *Satires*, edited by Marchionni (2003). Passages from an unpublished *Proposuerat commentary* on the *Epistles* are cited by Friis-Jensen (1993) in his study of medieval perceptions of Horace’s persona. Friis-Jensen believes the *Proposuerat commentary* to be roughly contemporary with the *Sciendum commentary* on the *Satires* and the *Materia commentary* on the *Ars Poetica* and, like those, a standard commentary of the period.⁸³ Friis-Jensen not only provides samples of otherwise unpublished scholia, but uses scholia to evaluate the medieval understanding of Horace and medieval attitudes towards Horace. The Horace that emerges from his analysis is ‘a poet of human development’, whose various works, on the one hand, reflect the various stages of the poet’s own life, and, on the other hand, are suitable for readers of those respective generations.⁸⁴

⁸¹ For Christian references, see Botschuyver (1942, p. ix.).

⁸² See also Bischoff’s catalogue entry in Cranz and Kristeller (1976, pp. 239–43). This location and date are corroborated by Siewert (1985). Friis-Jensen (2007, p. 295) notes that originally all these commentaries began with *accessus* introductions, some of which are now fragmented; more *accessus* are transmitted on their own.

⁸³ Friis-Jensen (1993), pp. 266, 271, 273

⁸⁴ Friis-Jensen (1993) *passim*, for instance pp. 274–5

It was popularly believed that in the Middle Ages Horace's hexameter works took precedence over lyric.⁸⁵ Munk Olsen (1991, p. 37) argues that the hexameters were selected for the school-room in the twelfth century, but his manuscript survival statistics show an equal presence of both hexameters and lyric in twelfth-century manuscripts (1996, Appendix). Detailed examination of manuscript annotations can provide further evidence for the relative prominence of Horace's works and the date to which any shifts of popularity may be assigned.⁸⁶

In 1907 Curcio noted that the myth concerning the exclusive popularity of the hexameter works could not be reconciled with the attention given to lyric by medieval copyists and annotators. A further practical step towards evaluating scholia evidence was taken by Friis-Jensen (1997), who compared a sample of six discussions of the *Odes* in commentaries dating from 1050 to 1300. Among these are the French ca 1100 *scholia*, the *Oxford commentary* (M) from an early or mid twelfth-century English manuscript, the early twelfth-century *Auctor-iste-Venusinus commentary* (P) on lyric,⁸⁷ the *St Gall commentary* ascribed by Bischoff to the late eleventh-century scholars from the French-German border, and two twelfth-century commentaries on lyric from Parisian manuscripts.⁸⁸

Comparison of commentary structure, *accessus* introductions, and *Odes* 1.20 sample of exegesis, lead Friis-Jensen to observe similarities of methodological approach and interpretation between these commentaries. They show no particular interest in allegory or natural philosophy, important for other contemporary commentaries on the classics. Their main aim is to explain Horace's meaning at syntactic level and, perhaps, mitigate the effect of some of his most outspoken poems by the device of a fictitious

⁸⁵ For persistent currency of this view in modern scholarship, see Friis-Jensen (1993, pp. 258-9).

⁸⁶ Hugo von Trimberg's *Registrum multorum auctorum*, describing the *Odes* and *Epodes* as more *recherché* works, was written circa 1280 (ll. 66-9 *Sequitur Horatius prudens et discretus, / Vitiorum emulus, firmus et mansuetus, / Qui tres libros etiam fecit principales / duosque dictaverat minus usuales / Epodon videlicet et librum Odarum / quos nostris temporibus credo valere parum.*)

⁸⁷ The *Auctor-iste-Venusinus commentary* awaits full publication. Friis-Jensen discovered the portion pertaining to the *Odes* separately and published it in 1988 as the *Vatican Commentary*. He has since found the entire commentary, covering the *Epodes* and *Carmen Saeculare*, which comprises a full literal explanation, detached from Horace text, in two later manuscripts. The scholiast's use of Bernard of Utrecht's late 11th-century commentary on Theodulus demonstrates its post-1100 date. See Friis-Jensen (1997, p. 65) for information regarding date and possible English influence.

⁸⁸ Two lyric commentaries found in Paris manuscripts: Par. Lat. 8241, s. xii ex., described by Munk Olsen as French or German (1982-9, p. 519); Par. Lat. 7641, s. xii m., described by Munk Olsen as French, perhaps from Normandy (1982-9, p. 518).

persona that embodies a moral warning to the reader.⁸⁹ Friis-Jensen argues that these commentaries are a product of the school-room. The *accessus* often claim that Horace wrote the *Odes* for the young, drawn by love and entertainment.⁹⁰ The commentaries also exhibit moralising tendencies, particularly strongly felt in the *Oxford commentary*. The text contains addresses to ‘you’ in the plural, suggestive of a lecture script. Contemporary parallels and Christian references are a common feature; Friis-Jensen sees these as a conscious attempt to make Horace’s text more accessible to the students.

My investigation of scholia found in the margins of Harley 2724 uncovers a medieval approach to Horace differing from the attitudes shown by commentaries published to date. Harley notes share none of the school-room characteristics of Friis-Jensen’s lyric sample: language notes and explanations of meaning occupy a relatively small place, there are no addresses to students or *accessus* expounding educational purpose, moralising is conspicuously absent. The Harley scholiast shows little interest in literary analysis or allegory. Instead, he supplies a large quantity of narrative notes on a variety of subjects, including myth, history, geography, ethnography, natural history and etymology. This new contrasting perspective, offered by Harley, documents the reading of Horace beyond the schoolroom as part of a wider adult culture.

⁸⁹ For the concept of persona in 13th-14th-century exegesis and suggestions of late-classical origin of the idea, see Friis-Jensen (1993, p. 288) specifically on Horace, and in general – Minnis (1991, pp. 14 ff.).

⁹⁰ Cf. Friis-Jensen (1993), esp. p. 275, also pp. 266-9, 273, 285-88

2.1 Choice of manuscript

Harley 2724 was selected from among six annotated manuscripts of Horace's lyric held at the British Library,¹ as it offers plentiful legible annotations, whose character differs from Horace scholia discussed to date. The manuscript has not been studied, except for a handful of vernacular glosses examined by Thoma (1951) and Siewert (1985).

2.2 Summary manuscript description

- Location:** London, British Library
- Date:**² s. x-xi
- Origin:**³ south German (Tegernsee?)
- Provenance:**⁴ once in the possession of Nicholas of Cues (1401–1464); date of addition to Harley's collection entered 1ro by librarian, H. Wanley: *18 die mensis Ianuarii A.D. 1723/4*
- Format:**⁵ 136 fols, 245 x 205 mm (text 185 x 110); missing a quire after fol. 25 (*Odes* 2.19-3.9); fols 68-9 are a small insert
- Contents:** 2ro – 130ro Horace, *Odes* (2ro–46vo), *Ars Poetica* (47ro–54vo), *Epodes* (55ro–66ro), *Carmen Saeculare* (66ro–67ro), *Epistles* (67ro–94vo), *Satires* (94vo–130ro); fols 68-69 (small insert) contain scholia only; 1vo table of '*modi locutionis*'; 130ro–135vo auxiliary material, of which clearly related to Horace are *vitae* (incl. Suet.), metrical treatises (incl. PsA.),

¹ The other annotated Horace manuscripts in the British library are Harl. 2609 s. xii, Spanish or Italian, containing the *Odes*, defective at the end (few Pseudo-Acro annotations); Harl. 2688-III s. x, containing the *Epodes*, *Carm. Saec.*, and hexameter works (φλψ annotations); Harl. 2725 s. ix/x, France?, containing *opera omnia* (φλψ annotations); Harl. 3534 s. xii ex., France?, containing *opera omnia* (few annotations).

² Institut für Cusanus-Forschung dates the Carolingian minuscule to the end of the 10th century. Munk Olsen follows Thoma's 11th-century date (1951).

³ The annotations, roughly contemporary with the manuscript, openly advertise their German origin: *Germania in qua nos sumus...* (40ro on *Odes* 4.5.26). German origin is confirmed by vernacular glosses, discovered by Thoma (1951, pp. 243-5) and comprehensively analysed by Siewert (1985, pp. 318-27). Few in number, but written on several pages (fols. 56ro, 73vo, 76ro, 99ro, 117vo, 129ro) in four different hands (Siewert, 1985, p. 319) these glosses seem to represent more than one instance of annotation. Siewert identifies features of Bavarian dialect and suggests Tegernsee as their possible home. Interchange of voiced and voiceless consonants, noted as characteristic of German Horatian manuscripts by Borzsák (1975, pp. 320, 329), is a ubiquitous feature of Harley scholia. In the following cases, mostly from the opening of *Odes* 4, spelling affects meaning: *fava* for *faba* at *Odes* 1.8.7, *negato* for *necato* (4.2.2), *rebelli[t]* for *repelli* at (4.3.3), *Libiam* for *Liviam* at (4.4.26), *signabit* for *signavit* at *Odes* 4.5.1, *convectam* for *confectam* at *Epodes* 3.11 and 17.30, *feraces* for *veraces* at *C.S.* 27.

⁴ Ullmann (1938) pp. 194-197

⁵ For codicological detail, see Munk Olsen (1982-9, p. 461).

accessus, “*Colores*”, also glossaries related to Martianus, brief excerpts from Boethius, Isidore et al.

Layout: text of Horace neatly written, single verse to a line; rubricated poem headings and initials; layout of scholia parsimonious

Annotation:⁶ copious interlinear and marginal notes in several hands not much later than the manuscript; including several German glosses

2.3 Physical appearance of Harley 2724 scholia

Examining the physical appearance of scholia I record its coverage and seek initial evidence for the process of their accumulation. I raise the question of whether Harley 2724 is the manuscript in which the scholia were compiled. I end with a note on my use of the terms ‘scholiast’ and ‘annotator’ throughout this work.

2.3.1 Layout

The layout of the scholia is untidy on the initial pages, where the glossators not only fill the margins, but fit further comments between these and the Horace text. Many pages are densely filled, in some cases using the top and bottom margins (e.g. 13vo-14vo, 16vo, 21vo-22ro; 65vo). Two sections of Horace’s lyric are unglossed: *Odes* 4.8-15 (41vo-46vo) and *Epodes* 8-13 (59vo-62vo).⁷ The order of notes on the page rarely follows the sequence of Horace’s text.⁸ Not all notes are written next to the poem they gloss;⁹ some have become separated from their lemmata altogether.¹⁰

2.3.2 Sigla

⁶ The Institut für Cusanus-Forschung (1963, p. 57) and Siewert (1985, p. 319) observe that the style of some scholia has a 10th-century appearance. Siewert identifies one of the glossing hands as the scribe of an auxiliary text on 131vo.

⁷ Interlinear notes on the *Odes* thin out from *Odes* 2.2, 18ro (See 1.2).

⁸ See Appendix 0.2.1 for a sample of marginalia for *Odes* 1.5 and 1.6 (4vo-5ro) presented in the order of their appearance.

⁹ The occasional note is separated from its lemma by a page-turn. For example, the Pseudo-Acronian *Apulia dicta est...* on fol. 11ro glosses line 14 of *Odes* 1.22, which follows four lines later on the reverse of that page; an Orosius passage about German tribes featuring at the start of *Epode* 16 (63vo) could only be fitted in the 65ro margin of this extensively glossed poem.

¹⁰ The following notes have no apparent relevance to adjacent poems and seem to be misplaced: 2ro *cum Neptunus...*; 9vo *ΦANTASCMA...*; 9vo *Herculis fabulam...*; 14ro *metrum tribus...*; 27vo *cervi plurimi*; 34vo *Andromedam Cepheo...*

A very small number of Harley notes – mostly found on the opening pages (2vo 4vo; *Odes* 1.2-1.4) – begin with the Horatian lemmata they expound. Many more marginal notes are connected to their lemmata by sigla, indicated in the Transcript by a #. The use of sigla in Harley 2724 is sporadic: not on every page, nor necessarily applied to every comment on any given page. Harley also contains a number of ‘idle’ sigla matched by no scholion, whether because the desired information was unavailable or because the scholiast made a selection from a greater volume of material offered by his exemplar. Symbols include Latin letters,¹¹ signs resembling Tironian notes, occasional Greek letters.¹² Sigla belonging to different systems can appear side by side on the same page.

Latin letter sigla form readily discernable alphabetical series.¹³ None of the series are complete. For example, on 2vo-3ro, where we first encounter sigla in Harley, *Odes* 1.2 is marked with four ‘signs’, all with matching comments, and a series of 16 letters, four of which are commented.¹⁴ The 16 letters follows the order of Horace lines: B 14, F 20, G 22, H 23, I 24, K 25, L 28, M 30, N 31, O 32, P 35, R 37, S 41, T 45, V 47, X 50. The series lacks A, C, D, E, Q (possibly Y and Z, which are used elsewhere in Harley). Presumably, the original sequence had all the letters and comments to go with them, but lost several items at some stage of copying.¹⁵

In this context, I must mention material beyond the scope of my lyric investigation: the small piece of parchment forming folios 68-9 at the opening of the *Epistles*. This insert contains no Horace, but continuous scholia, punctuated into individual notes by sigla. The initial portion of these notes appears also on the adjacent folios of the manuscript proper (67vo-70ro) – apparently copied from the insert.¹⁶ Harley 67vo-70ro notes are, in all cases but one, marked by the same sigla as those on the insert:

¹¹ On one occasion, letters of the alphabet are used not as sigla, but to indicate the prose order of Horace’s poetic sentence: on f. 28ro, at *Odes* 3.14.21f. (“*dic et argute properet Neerae/ murreum nodo cohibere crinem*”) we find a-et, b-dic, c-argute, d-Neerae, e-properet, f-cohibere.

¹² Harley sigla are comparable to manuscripts of *Paragraphon* scholia noted by Noske (1969, p. 72).

¹³ It is not clear if the few Greek letters are remnants of alphabetical series. In the following two cases, θ seems to be used as a non-sequenced symbol: on 9ro two thetas are used in close proximity to flag comments written in different hands (lines 21 and 26 of *Odes* 1.15); two more thetas mark comments slotted into a Latin alphabetical series on fol. 68 (small insert).

¹⁴ M and V connect marginal notes (*Iuppiter mite...* and *V neve t. n. v. i*), F and P, unusually, interlinear ones (*uxori deditus* and *Romanos dixit*). All four notes must have been marginal in Harley’s exemplar.

¹⁵ Another incomplete series (A to X) spans *Odes* 1.3-4: of the six letters appearing in Harley, two are commented.

¹⁶ Unlike the fol. 68 original, the Harley θ note contains a lacuna.

insert fols 68-9 sigla	a, θ, d, e, f, g, h, k, θ, s, l, m, n, o, p ¹⁷
fols 67vo-70ro sigla	x, θ, d, e, f, g, h

Comment ‘a’ was copied from the insert into Harley in a hand different from the rest. The Harley scribes left the copying unfinished, stopping at note ‘h’; the ‘insert’ itself was bound into the manuscript.

2.3.3 Harley scholia as a copy

The presence of misplaced scholia and incomplete series of alphabetical sigla suggests, that at least part of the scholia under discussion were not compiled in Harley 2724, but copied into it from better ordered and more complete exemplar(s). I shall return to this issue in the Conclusions, once I have examined the content and sources of the Harley annotations.

Two Harley notes convey instructions to the copyists. In the middle of a lengthy note in the outer margin of 29ro (*Emathius qui primus...* on *Odes* 3.16.14), we find the words *hinc incipe*. The scribe’s hand does not change after these words. It is not clear if this instruction was written by the Harley annotator or a later scribe copying the Harley note. The same phrase, *hinc incipe*, appears above the second line of *Odes* 2.1. In this case, it is not clear if the reminder pertains to the text of Horace or the annotations. It may be relevant, that this poem is the last of the *Odes* to be glossed with interlinear notes.

2.3.4 ‘Scholiast’, ‘annotator’, ‘compiler’

I must draw the readers’ attention to my use of ‘scholiast’, ‘annotator’, and ‘compiler’ as interchangeable terms. I trust this does not cause unnecessary confusion. These generic singular labels are not meant to exclude the possibility of multiple agents, multiple stages of compilation, and use of multiple exemplars.

As note above (2.2 and Note 6), Harley annotations were written by several scribes, who cannot be identified with the original annotator(s) (2.3.3). In the Conclusions, after examining the content and sources of Harley scholia, I shall consider whether any scribe was responsible for copying a particular type of material.

¹⁷ The series is incomplete, missing b, c and i, and supplemented with three further comments: one s and two thetas. Theta appears to be regarded as a ‘neutral’ non-alphabetical sign (cf. 9ro sigla discussed above).

2.4 Summary description of scholia content

Many Horace manuscripts, including Harley 2724, contain scholia. I shall refer to Horace scholia collectively as Σ .

The purpose of Σ is two-fold: to explain Horace's language and to provide background information.

In the absence of a vernacular translation,¹⁸ Σ help to convey Horace's meaning to the reader: unusual vocabulary is explained, syntactical relations are clarified, missing verbs or prepositions are supplemented (*subaudi...*), whole passages are paraphrased (*sensus est...*), and poetic word order is rearranged (*ordo est...*). Σ often supply other language-related information on grammar, prosody and etymology.

Proper names require information on geography and ethnography, history, myth, astrology etc. Σ explain features of Roman culture, including political, religious and legal practices, which are no longer familiar to the reader.

Since Σ originated as school-room commentaries, they put the greatest emphasis on explaining the poet's meaning and accord only a modest place to encyclopedic information. Harley 2724, in contrast with other Horace manuscripts, offers a great volume of encyclopedic information. In addition to Σ , the Harley scholiast reproduces verbatim extensive extracts from historians and various specialist works as well as scholia on other Latin poets. In other words, Harley annotations are distinguished not by the individual exegetic input of the scholiast, but by his use of the library.

I end with three notes on the material beyond the scope of the present discussion.

2.4.1 Auxiliary material related to Horace (130ro–135vo)

As noted above (0.2.2), the back pages of Harley 2724 are filled with miscellaneous material, catalogued by the Institut für Cusanus-Forschung (1963, pp. 57-61). I shall refer to those parts of this miscellany, which are related to lyric scholia under discussion. The most relevant part is the *Expositio metrica* (132vo-133vo).¹⁹ As noted in

¹⁸ The scale and purpose of vernacular glosses is in no sense comparable to Latin scholia: for instance, Harl. 2724 contains nine old high German glosses in total (Siewert, 1985, 321ff.).

¹⁹ Two versions of this treatise have been published. In Keil's *Grammatici Latini* (vol. IV, 1864, 468-72K), the treatise is dedicated by a Servius to a certain Fortunatianus. For the debate over the date of the

the Transcript, several marginal notes (on *Odes* 1.4, 1.7, and 1.14) contain material matching this treatise. It is not clear whether the *Expositio* was excerpted by our scholiast or had been imported into marginal scholia at an earlier stage.²⁰

2.4.2 Tituli and their independence from scholia

In Harley most poems are preceded by a *titulus* in rubricated capitals, containing one or several of the following items of information: the poem's addressee, its 'genre' (*prophetice, paranetice* et sim.),²¹ its metrical composition (*monocolos, dicolos, tetracolos*), content and setting. Harley *tituli* match or closely resemble those found in other Horace manuscripts.²² Such *tituli* existed in late antiquity.²³ They were originally connected with the Horace text, rather than Σ, and occur in both unglossed and commented manuscripts.²⁴ *Tituli* retain their independence from the annotations in Harley: while Σ stop at *Odes* 2.1, *tituli* continue throughout.²⁵ Although *tituli* lie outside the scope of my investigation, they are included in the Transcript, in accordance with the practice of previous editors of Σ.

2.4.3 Old High German glossing: addendum

The following gloss is omitted from Siewert's 1986 edition: at *Odes* 1.31.16 (14vo) *malvae* are glossed as *pappulum*.

treatise and its attribution to Servius, see Geymonat (1998, note 1) and Brugnoli (*Enciclopedia Virgiliana* IV, 1988, p. 806). Harley, on the other hand, matches the version published by Keller (1902, pp. 4-12), which lacks the dedication to Fortunatianus and offers some supplementary detail. Noting the differences between Keil and Keller, Noske (1969, p. 133, Note 74) suggests that Keller's version either depends on Keil's or originates from a common source. Noske also observes that the tradition of the *Expositio Metrica* belongs not to *Paragraphon*, but to Ψ manuscripts or Φ scholia.

²⁰ I have come across *Expositio* extracts in the margins of another Horace manuscript, the Bavarian Vat. Lat. 3866, written in the second quarter of the 11th century. This manuscript does not contain a complete text of the *Expositio*.

²¹ Two lists of 'genres' give at the opening and the back of the manuscript, are discussed in Appendix 0.2.2

²² The greatest variety of *tituli* is reported in Keller and Holder's 1909 edition of Horace.

²³ Massaro (1993, p. 246) cites 4th-century testimony of Diomedes, referring to a *titulus* of *Odes* 1.3 in *de metris Horatianis* section of his *Ars Gram.* (1.522.7 K. *nona decima ode ... constat ex glyconio et asclepiadeo, quod supra scriptum est in ecloga proseutice Vergilii*). The history of 'genres' terms is summarised by Klingner (1935, pp. 253-4), their origin in ancient poetical theory is discussed by Färber (1937).

²⁴ Porphyrio, the bulk of whose transmission is independent of Horace text, has no *tituli*. *Tituli* are found in lyric *Expositio* A, Φ and Ξ scholia. Noske (1969, pp. 65, 280) observes that *tituli*, like metrical notes, were not originally part of *Expositio* A.

²⁵ It is also clear from the layout that the following *tituli* were written in after the scholia: 8ro *Odes* 1.14; 11ro *Odes* 1.21, 1.22; 13ro *Odes* 1.28.

I came across similar glosses in Vatican manuscripts Reg. 1703 (ca 830, Alsace?) and Lat. 3866 (s. xi 2/4, Tegernsee?) as well as Munich manuscripts Clm 14685 (s. xi, south German) and 375 (s. xii, Augsburg). The Vatican and Munich glosses are recorded by Siewert: in Vat. Lat. 3866 at *Odes* 1.31.16 in (*pappulon*, p. 219); in Reg. Lat. 1703 both at *Odes* 1.31.16 (*bappalun*, p. 280) and *Epode* 2.58 (*papelun* p. 289); in Clm 375 both at *Odes* 1.31 (*pappulun*, p. 90) and *Epode* 2.58 (*pappulun*, p. 122); in Clm 14685 at *Epode* 2.58 (*pappalun*, p. 376).

3.1 Criteria for determining sources

*** pointing to a particular source**

1. explicit naming of source by the scholiast
2. extensive verbatim overlap
3. contextualising reference within the source text ("here Horace says" etc.)
4. rare information, such as a literary fragment that reaches us via a single source

*** helping to choose between potential sources**

5. textual corruption and variants
6. relative availability of sources to the scholiast

*** pointing to an external, non-Horace related source**

7. citation of the Horace poem under discussion is redundant in an Horace manuscript; its presence suggests, that the comment was drawn from an external source

*** corroborating the use of a particular source**

8. accumulation of material
9. adjacency:
 - 9a. several notes from the same source glossing the same Horace poem
 - 9b. extracts adjacent within the source text used at different points in Harley

3.2 The question of direct use: tralatician sources

One further consideration, intrinsic to Quellenforschung, is whether any given text was used directly or via an intermediary source. As we shall presently see, Harley scholia contain many extensive extracts from both literary and non-literary works. Non-literary texts, such as commentaries on classical poets, are particularly tralatician by nature. Paradigmatically, Servius' commentaries on Virgil and Isidore's *Etymologiae* (drawing on Servius among other sources) were for centuries used as works of reference. As a result, one cannot be sure whether the scholiast used Servius and Isidore directly. The identification of tralatician material is generally less secure, than that of literary material. In some cases, the identification of literary material can be equally uncertain for the same reason. We shall encounter this problem when dealing with the barely distinguishable historiographic works of Eutropius and his successor Paul the Deacon as sources of Harley notes.

3.3 The scholiast's sources identified in this thesis

Using the above criteria, I have identified the sources of most Harley annotations.

In addition to Σ , which occupy a relatively modest place, the Harley annotator uses Servius' (non-*auctus*) commentaries on Virgil (126 notes), Remigius' commentary together with Martianus Capella's *de Nuptiis* (39 notes), and *Thebaid* scholia (11 notes, totalling 640 words). Large-scale excerpts are drawn from Orosius (20), Eutropius and Paul the Deacon (7), Dares Phrygius (6), Dictys Cretensis (5), Solinus (16), and Isidore's *Etymologiae* (24). While all the above are used on a considerable scale, the certainty of each identification depends on how tralatitiant that particular source is. Thus, the scholiast's direct use of Orosius is more certain than his use of Isidore or *Thebaid* scholia.

Several more works match a small number of Harley notes: the *Apocalypse* cited once, Cicero's *de Senectute* (2 notes, totalling 520 words), Macrobius' *In Somnium* (2, 270), Lucan (2, 80), Statius' *Thebaid* (1, n/a), Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1, 40), Sallust's *Jugurtha* (1, 50), Hyginus' *de Astronomia* (1, 60), Macrobius' *Saturnalia* (1, 70), and Bede's *Expositio Actuum Apostolorum* with its appendix *De nominibus* (1+4, 30+70). I describe these as 'small scale sources'.

Some Harley material cannot be attributed to the source it matches verbatim, because that source is tralatitiant and little documented in Harley. Among such sources, are Lucan scholia (2, 80), Persius scholia (2/3, 50), Terence scholia (1.5, 48), Boethius scholia (1, 20), Gregory *Moralia* (1, 50), and Priscian's *Institutio Grammaticae* (1, 40). All this material almost certainly reached the scholiast as anonymous marginalia.

3.4 The focus and structure of the present investigation

It is clear from the above list, that Harley annotations are characterised by large-scale use of several texts unrelated to Horace. My study of Harley scholia centres around its sources, identifying the texts used, demonstrating how they were treated and applied to Horace. I therefore structure my discussion by source or group of sources. The conclusion reviews Harley annotations as a unified body of material. In addition, a comprehensive picture of Harley lyric scholia can be obtained from the appended Transcript.

My discussion begins with Σ , including previously unpublished material. I continue with the material distinguishing Harley annotations from other Horace manuscripts. The scholiast's extensive use of the historians is discussed in Chapter 2. The following Chapter is devoted to Solinus' natural history. Chapter 4 gathers together 'small scale sources'. I then turn to highly tralatician sources: Isidore's encyclopaedia (Chapter 5) and scholia on Virgil, Martianus Capella, and Statius' *Thebaid* (Chapters 6-8). Chapters 6-8 are placed at the end of my discussion for two reasons: firstly, the material offered by commentaries is particularly complex, rich, and varied; secondly, these commentaries offer models, with which we can compare our scholiast's work. Miscellaneous passages of uncertain origin are collected in the final Chapter 9.

The chapters vary in length, according to the amount of material drawn from a given source or sources. My discussion is illustrated with a selection of examples, but all Harley passages matching each source are fully catalogued in the introduction to the relevant chapter.

3.5 Editions, variants, tradition

In order to demonstrate the scholiast's use and treatment of each source, I reproduce passages of source texts in parallel with Harley scholia. It would be most pertinent, but unfortunately impossible, to compare Harley scholia with the source texts as they were known to the scholiast.

The following two considerations affected my choice of text to be printed.

Firstly, my knowledge of source text manuscripts depends on the apparatus criticus of modern editions. The majority of classical editions offer limited information about textual variants, since editors aim to provide a 'good' text, rather than to report every known reading. The picture can be clarified, to some extent, by multiple editions of the same text, since different editors often report different readings from the same manuscript. Nonetheless, attempts to print the text of a particular manuscript on the basis of a critical edition are likely to produce a hybrid, which never existed in any manuscript.

Secondly, it is not always possible to determine, which family of a given source text was used by the scholiast. Only sources excerpted verbatim on a large scale, provide a sufficiently large sample of material for comparison of variants. The

variants are often a mixed bag, because the traditions of the popular works used by the scholiast are predictably contaminated.

I have chosen to print the bulk of source texts, as they appear in modern editions, specified at the beginning of each chapter. I shall note all Harley variants, already recorded in the source tradition. In a few cases only, where a strong pattern of shared variants is apparent, I attempt to reconstruct a particular branch of the source text tradition from the apparatus criticus of the source edition. Such departures from normal practice are indicated in every individual instance as well as chapter introductions.

4.1. The Transcript: order of lines, sigla, folio numbers, lemmata

In the Transcript, comments are printed in the order of Horace's lines. The place of line numbers may be taken by the following symbols:

?	the lemma is unclear
T	titulus
M	metrical note
G	no lemma indicated, relevant to the poem in general

after the line number indicates that a siglum connects the comment to its lemma.

All notes are marginal, unless marked IL (interlinear) after the line number.

Folio numbers refer to the poem rather than its scholia, which may be written on the opposite page or even be misplaced.

Lemmata are printed in CAPITALS. I supply lacking lemmata from the Horace text of Harley 2724 and enclose them in square brackets [LEMMA].

4.2 The Transcript: indicating sources and parallels

Quotations of classical authors within Isidore and scholia on Horace, Virgil, and Statius are acknowledged in square brackets [e.g. Stat. *Theb.*2.244]; misquotations, including jumbled word order, are marked 'cf.' [e.g. *cf.* Stat. *Theb.* 2.244].

Sources excerpted by the Harley scholiast, usually verbatim and often at length, are indicated in the footnotes.

Σ, for the most part, do not require acknowledgement. Examining unpublished Σ, I sought to document coincidences between Harley and other annotated Horace manuscripts (cf. 1.1 below). In my Transcript, unpublished Σ are either accompanied by superscript sigla of coinciding manuscripts, or an asterisk*, where I have not yet noted a parallel.

In indicating parallels with other manuscripts I observe the following principle: multiple Harley scholia on the same line are separated by a semicolon; parallels, indicated in superscript, extend only to each separate comment. In reporting variants from other manuscripts, I ignore minute discrepancies, such as addition or absence of *idest*, *pro*, *scilicet*.

Passages discussed in the thesis are marked in the footnote with a curly bracket, followed by the relevant chapter number: for example, '{9 App.' means 'Chapter 9 Appendix'. Highly tralatitiant sources, matching Harley verbatim, but unlikely to have

been used by the scholiast directly, are introduced by an = sign: for example, ‘= Persius Scholia’.

4.3 Spelling, abbreviations, capitalization, punctuation

The manuscript’s spelling is retained. Greek words are transcribed using a mixture of Greek and Latin characters, representing as closely as possible their appearance in the manuscript. Abbreviations are expanded, although ‘s.’, standing for either *scilicet* or *subaudi*, retains its abbreviated form (s.) when its meaning is ambiguous.¹ Proper names are capitalised regardless of their appearance in the manuscript. Metrical terms are not treated as proper names and appear in miniscule. Beginnings of sentences are standardised to miniscule. Punctuation is modernised at my discretion, replicating, where possible, modern editions of source texts.

4.4 Indicating errors and discrepancies

I [delete] dittography, and <supply> lost letters. For brevity, an *obelus* (†) is used in place of a *sic* to signify spelling errors and endings, which do not fit the syntax. I leave unmarked the notoriously variable spelling of proper names (which may alter within a sentence), the perpetually shifting double/single consonants, and the interchanging voiced/voiceless consonants (cf. 0.2.2). Corrections in a different hand or different ink are footnoted. Corrupt text is marked with crosses (+). Missing and illegible text is marked indiscriminately <...>.

Comparing Harley scholia with identified source text, I underline the discrepancies between them. Some of the underlined discrepancies represent variants already found in the source tradition and are noted as such in each instance (cf. 0.3.5). I do not mark the numerous variations of word order.

¹ The two words can appear together: for example, *Odes* 1.9.17IL [VIRENTI] *subaudi tibi scilicet*; *Odes* 1.24.11IL *subaudi scilicet ut reddatur*. *Subaudi* indicates Horatian words to be ‘understood’ from a nearby line: for example, *Odes* 1.12.56IL [SERAS ET INDOS] *populos*; *subaudi a superiore* ‘regnes secundo Cesare’. *Scilicet* commonly introduces an explanation in the scholiast’s own words: for example, *Odes* 1.1.36IL [FERIAM] *pulsabo, scilicet usque ad deos perveniam*.

CHAPTER 1: Harley 2724 and other Horace scholia (Σ)

This chapter examines Harley Σ (cf. 0.2.4). The opening section (1.1) places Harley among other annotated Horace manuscripts. I outline the extent of Harley Σ (1.2) and the state of the Σ text (1.3). The final section describes Harley Σ, which have not appeared in published collections (1.4).

1. Harley 2724 and other glossed Horace manuscripts

Harley shares scholia with published Pseudo-Acro, Porphyrio, and λφψ collections.

Another British Library manuscript, Harley 2725, contains a few unpublished Σ coinciding with Harley 2724 (cf. 0.2.1, note 1).

Harley 2724 shares with Vat. Lat. 3866 many of the *Carmen Saeculare* Σ published by Massaro (1995). The *Odes* 1.6 Σ sample published by Curcio (1907a) shows that the annotations of two other Vatican manuscripts, Reginenses 1703 and 1672, also coincide with Harley 2724.¹

Encouraged by these observations, I undertook a brief study of annotated Horace manuscripts in the Vatican library. In order to appreciate the geographical context of Bavarian Harley 2724, I also examined south German manuscripts in the Bavarian State Library. My survey covers all the pre-thirteenth-century annotated Horace manuscripts available at both libraries.²

Appendix 1 contains a list and a summary description of the examined manuscripts.

The scope of my study of these manuscripts was defined by the extent and content of Harley 2724 Σ. Where possible, I inspected all annotations on *Odes* 1.1-2.2 and the *Epodes*, since those areas are covered by Σ in Harley 2724. *Carmen Saeculare* Σ, already studied by Massaro, were excluded from my investigation.

The object of my search was two-fold. Firstly, I looked for the use of non-Horace related sources comparable to Harley 2724 and spotted only a few minor

¹ Curcio (1907) draws attention to the fact that Reginenses 1672, 1675, 1701, and 1703 contain not only Pseudo-Acro and Porphyrio, recently edited by Keller and Holder, but also other Σ. A large proportion of Curcio's new material has since appeared in Botschuyver's edition of λφψ (1935).

² While the Σ of some 12th-century manuscripts differ significantly from Harley 2724, 12th-century Bavarian manuscripts clearly perpetuate the Σ tradition seen in Harley 2724. Therefore the cut-off date for this survey is drawn at 1200.

parallels.³ Secondly, I sought to document the coincidence of Harley 2724 unpublished Σ with the Σ of other manuscripts and found numerous matches, which are recorded as superscript sigla in the Transcript. Unpublished Σ, for which I have noted no parallel so far, are marked with an asterisk*.

My survey shows that Harley 2724 unpublished Σ are shared not only by Bavarian manuscripts, but by many other manuscripts of French origin (cf. Appendix 1). The greatest quantity of matches is offered by Vat. Lat. 3866, Vat. Reg. 1672, Vat. Chig. H. V. 165, Vat. Lat. 3257, Vat. Reg. 1675, Mun. Clm 375, Lond. Harl. 2725, and also by sporadically annotated Mun. Clm 14498-II, Vat. Reg. 1703 and Vat. Reg. 1675. Each of these manuscripts would repay individual investigation, as they contain further unpublished Σ absent from Harley 2724.⁴

³ The Remigian note glossing the fates at *Odes* 2.3.15 in Harley 2724, is also used in the Bavarian Vat. Lat. 3866, s. xi 2/4, at *C. S.* 25 (Massaro, 1993, p. 252, notes p. 272). German Clm 375, s. xii, shares with Harley 2724 the note on the Tyrrhenian sea at *Odes* 1.11.5f., matching a Boethius scholion, and the note on Pythagoras at *Odes* 1.28.10, matching a Persius scholion.

⁴ I report only those Σ of the Vatican and Munich manuscripts which appear in Harley 2724. Occasionally a fuller Vatican or Munich note is quoted to clarify the meaning of the Harley text.

2. The scale and coverage of Σ in Harley 2724

Σ cover *Odes* 1.1-2.1 continuously. There are no further Σ on the *Odes*, excepting *Odes* 2.13 (Pseudo-Acro).¹ Interlinear notes become less numerous following *Odes* 1.18 (10ro); from *Odes* 2.2 onwards we encounter only identifications of proper names (*nomen proprium*, *populus*, *locus*).² The note on *Odes* 4.5.25, to which I shall return in Chapter 3, is the only exception (3.2). Σ accompany *Epodes* 1-7 and 14-17; *Epode* 8 has a few interlinear glosses. The *Carmen Saeculare* is glossed continuously with copious Σ.

Predictably, the poems, most heavily annotated with Σ, are the opening eight odes of the manuscript. The presence of plentiful scholia at *Odes* 1.24, 1.28, and 1.29 could reflect the popularity of these three poems, the availability of glossing material on them, or both.

Σ, where they are present, do not gloss every line and every lemma.

¹ *Odes* 3.10 and 3.18 receive one unpublished note each. No marginalia accompany the latter part of *Odes* 4, from *Odes* 4.8 (42ro). *Odes* 2.19-3.9 are lacking in Harley altogether.

² As noted in the manuscript description (0.2.3), *hinc incipe* written above line 2 of *Odes* 1.2 might indicate the scribe's intention to continue annotating.

3. Transmission of Σ in Harley 2724

Harley annotations show symptoms of both mechanical copying and deliberate editing. I begin with examples of scholia misplaced and corrupted through copying (3.1) and continue with a selection of textual variants, which may be of interest to an editor of Σ (3.2).

3.1 Accidental misplacement and corruption

Mechanical copying causes misplacement and corruption of scholia.[1] Interlinear glosses are occasionally written in the wrong line, frequently in the right line but not directly above the lemma.[2] A single block of marginalia may combine several notes on different lines. Such blocks were clearly formed by accident rather than design, combining distant notes, sometimes losing material and reducing the text to nonsense.

There is, for example, a high concentration of error on folios 13vo-14ro, glossing *Odes* 1.28-30 (cf. Transcript). The inner margin of 13ro contains three notes on the opening of *Odes* 1.28 in jumbled order: a note on line 4 (*idest nihil profuit...*), followed by a metrical note, then followed by a *Georgic* quotation, illustrating line 1 (*ut est* “quem qui...”). In the outer margin of 13vo, two Pseudo-Acronian notes on *Odes* 1.28 (31 *studeo commercandi...*, 35 *ut* “hic tibi...”) are juxtaposed with one more on *Odes* 1.29 (2 [ut] *admovet† periculorum*). The comment on *Odes* 1.29.2 (*admonet periculorum...*) reappears in the same margin, directly following two other comments on that poem (1 *ad Iccium...*, 5 [et] *NECTIS CATENAS...*). In the outer margin of 14ro, the Pseudo-Acronian *ordo* gloss on *Odes* 1.29.10 is unfinished: the scribe’s eye skipped from *tu pollicitus meliora tendis mutare Hiberis loricis* to the same Horatian words in the note on line 14. The Pseudo-Acro note on line 14 ends with a proverb (*elocutio vero nota est ‘philosophiam militia mutare’*), but in Harley the proverb is missing, and *elocutio vero nota est* is followed directly by the Pseudo-Acro accessus to *Odes* 1.30 (*quasi eppigramma [id] est hoc in dedicationem...*).

Omissions through careless copying are by no means confined to these pages. The Pseudo-Acro story of Hypsipyle at *Odes* 1.7.23 ends with *quam fabulam narravit Statius in carmine*, but the Harley note breaks off abruptly with *narravit*. Similarly, the Pseudo-Acronian Harley note on *Odes* 1.5.6 quotes a line of Virgil and promises another quotation from the same author (*idem de perfid<i>a mulierum*), but breaks off without giving that second quotation. The Virgil quotation, adduced in an interlinear note on *Epode* 1.16.4, is split: its (incomplete) ending appears two lines

earlier, above line 2 (...*ingentique urbem*...). The Harley note on *Odes* 1.2.42 makes little sense because it omits the names of Venus and Maia: *ne alme filius* <...> *Cupido putaretur, ideo <di>xit filium* <...> *ut Mercurium ostenderet*... Glossing *Odes* 1.27.4, Pseudo-Acro explains Horace's phrase *prohibete rixis* and illustrates it with Virgil's similar usage of *arcete periclis*; in Harley the explanation is absent, but the Virgil quotation remains.[3]

The Harley note on the Genitive form *Ulixei* at *Odes* 1.6.7 is meaningless, whether through loss of text or careless abbreviation:

Priscianus dicit eu dyptangon transire in longum <...>, ut in hoc loco Priscian is not used elsewhere in Harley, but Reginensis 1672 quotes a passage of Priscian verbatim, without naming the grammarian, at the same lemma:

Prisc. Inst.Gram. 1 p.13 l. 13

Eu transit in e longam, ut 'Achilles' pro 'Achilleus', 'Vlixes' pro 'Vlixheus', quod ostenditur ex genetivo 'Ulixei'. Horatius in carminum primo [*Odes* 1.6.7]: “*Nec cursus duplices per mare Vlixei.*”

Reginensis 1672 Odes 1.6.7 ULIXEI

ey diptongus transit in e longam, ut Ulixes pro Ulixeu, quod ex genetivo ostenditur, ut Ulixei.

The Harley and Reginensis notes arise from a shared archetype: the original scholiast was presumably attracted by the Horace line in Priscian, excerpted the passage verbatim, and named his source.

Footnotes

[1] Some textual problems are resolved with the help of other Horace manuscripts (reported in the apparatus), but the following instances remain unclear to me: *Odes* 1.2.33 *SIVE TU MAVIS*...; *Odes* 1.4.15 *INCHOARE LONGAM*...; *Odes* 1.31.16IL [*CICHORIA*] *milia*; *Odes* 1.33.8IL [*LUPIS?*] *iura*; *C.S.*12IL [*NIHIL/MAIUS?*] *colonia*.

[2] For example, at *Odes* 1.15.11 the gloss *scutum Palladis*, intended for *aegida*, is written above *galeam*; the gloss on *auritas* in *Odes* 1.12.11, *sensum audiendi habentes*, is not written as a single phrase, but is spread out over the line, as if offering multiple glosses on different words.

[3] Not all ‘gaps’ in Harley’s Pseudo-Acronian notes reduce the text to nonsense. For example, systematic omission of Pseudo-Acro’s Juvenal and Virgil quotations at *Odes* 1.5.14 suggests deliberate abbreviation.

3.2 Textual variants

I note several instances where Harley scholia offer an interesting variant unrecorded in Holder, Keller, and Botschuyver editions of Porphyrio, Pseudo-Acro, and λφψ scholia respectively.

- a) The Harley scholion on *Odes* 1.1.34 reads *a Alceo* where Keller prints *ab eo*:

propter Alceum et Safo quos aput Lespum natos esse constat; aut a
Alceo Lespio qui primus fuit lyricus scriptor; aut a Per<i>andro rege Lippii
 cui primum Mercurius liram ostendit.

This ‘scholion’ represents an accumulation of three autonomous notes divided by semicolons. The Harley reading *Alceo* should not, therefore, be rejected as a repetition of something already stated in the first note. Unless the second note in truth preserves a *recherché* reference to a Lesbian lyric poet pre-dating Alcaeus, *ab Alceo* is the likely reading.

b) At *Epode* 16.11f. Horace pictures a barbarian treading on the cinders of Rome: *barbarus heu cineres insistet victor et Vrbem/ eques sonante verberabit ungula...* The Harley note on this lemma is fuller than Pseudo-Acro published by Keller:

PsA Ep. 16.11

voti compos. ideo insultavit, quod
 bellis ciuilibus
 affligitur, ut a quocumque
postea barbaro possit opprimi.

Harl. Ep. 16.11

voti compos. insultavit ideo quod bellis
 civilibus urbem inventurus exaustam; sic,
 inquit, urbs bellis civilibus affligetur, ut a
 quocumque barbaro possit opprimi.

Keller published two traditions of scholia for *Epodes* 15-17. The above note comes from the tradition of Vat. Lat. 3257 (V) and the Γ manuscripts Par. Lat. 7975 (γ), Par. Lat. 9345 (r). Keller’s printed text does not represent V, which I found to be identical to Harley. Keller apparently judged the middle part of the V note to be a medieval accretion. The reasoning behind his evaluation baffles me. I believe V and Harley represent the original full text of the scholion, not a later augmented version.

c) Sometimes marginal scholia preserve snippets of Porphyrio, which are superior or more complete than the separate tradition of Porphyrio edited by Holder. Noske (1969, p. 191) and Massaro (1993 p. 236) observe the same in λφψ and Vat. Lat. 3866 respectively. I find one further example in Harley.

The Harley gloss on *candidum* in *Epode* 3.9, also shared by Vat. Lat. 3866 (U), contains three Virgil quotations:

pulchrum, ut [Aen. 8.138] ‘*candida Maia*’, [Ecl. 5.56-57] ‘*candidus Daphnis*’,
 [Aen. 5.571] ‘*candida Dido*’.

These three quotations originate from Porphyrio’s note *ad locum*:

Candoris autem nomine et Vergilius in significatione pulchritudinis semper utitur, ut [*Ecl.* 5.56] ‘*Candidus insuetum miratur limen Olympi*’, et [*Aen.* 5.571] ‘*Candida Dido*’, et [*Aen.* 8.138] ‘*Candida Maia*’.

In Holder’s Porphyrio, the *Eclogue* 5 quotation is more extensive than in Harley, but lacks the name of Daphnis. Perhaps, originally Porphyrio quoted the complete pair of Virgilian lines about Daphnis:

Candidus insuetum miratur limen Olympi
sub pedibusque videt nubes et sidera Daphnis.

4. Characteristics of unpublished Σ found in Harley 2724

Since practically all unpublished Harley Σ on the *Carmen Saeculare* feature in Massaro’s annotated edition (1995), this portion of lyric is excluded from the present discussion. There remain two portions of Σ: notes on *Odes* 1.1-2.1 and notes on the *Epodes*. I shall examine each portion separately because of the difference in sample size: notes on the *Epodes* are more numerous and extensive than those on the *Odes*.

4.1 Odes 1.1-2.1

I begin my description with the external characteristics. Not many notes in the unpublished *Odes* sample extend beyond a brief gloss; the few substantial notes can be catalogued by poem and *incipit*, as follows:

- 1.1.12 Attalus; 1.1.35 bene inseres; 1.1.36 SUBLIMI
- 1.2.16 TEMPLAQUE; 1.2.19 LABITUR; 1.2.33 SIVE TU; 1.2.47 NEVE T.
- 1.3.26 gens humana
- 1.4.8 VULCANUS; 1.4.15 INCHOARE; 1.4.16 pro fabularum; 1.4.17 FABULEQUE
- 1.6.7 Priscianus; 1.6.13 adamans
- 1.7.3 unde iste...; 1.7.7 propter Minervam
- 1.13.16 vi cause sunt
- 1.15.22 Nestor
- 1.17.16 dicit cornu

Predictably, the majority of these notes are grouped around the opening poems.

Seven notes, glossing *Odes* 1.1, 1.2, and 1.4, include Horatian lemmata. Lemmata also feature in several Harley Σ on the opening poems, found in Keller’s ‘Pseudo-Acro’ edition. Noske (1969, pp. 25-39) observes that the quantity of lemmata varies from manuscript to manuscript; they appear most systematically in A, but are not unique to that strand of the tradition (p. 27). It is by no means clear, whether the Σ containing lemmata form a body distinct from other Harley Σ on these poems.

Let us consider the content and the style of these scholia. Three notes contain unparalleled information, which in two cases is probably inspired by Horace. The detail of Attalus’ desire for an heir, who would outstrip him in wealth, was perhaps invented by the scholiast in order to gloss Horace’s phrase ‘*Attalicis condicionibus*’ at *Odes* 1.1.12.¹ At *Odes* 1.17.16 the detail of Achelous’ horn being filled by Ceres

¹ The presence of a similar note at the same lemma in another Horace manuscript (Vat. Lat. 3260, s. xii, Italy) confirms the connection between this peculiar story and Σ (1ro): *Attalus rex ditissimus fuit*

rather than any other deity,² ‘*ipsum Ceres implevit omni bono et ille semper abundantia manabat*’, apparently paraphrases Horace’s ‘*hinc tibi copia/ manabit ad plenum benigno/ ruris honorum opulenta cornu.*’³ The reason for Nestor being described as father of Calchas at *Odes* 1.15.22 is not clear, but this strange detail surely arises from a misunderstanding.

One piece of antiquarian lore, namely the note glossing *templaque Vestae* in *Odes* 1.2.16, is absent from Σ published so far. Conspicuously, this scholion begins not with Vesta’s temple (the lemma quoted within the note itself), but with Numa:

TEMPLAQUE V. Numa Pompili<ius> ipse enim templum Veste fecit et domum ubi virgines Vestales habitabant.

This could mean that the scholiast drew the note from an (unknown) external source and did not adjust it to the Horatian lemma.⁴ Alternatively, the Harley scholion could be a corrupt version of a Σ note originally phrased on the lines of *REGIS Numae Pompilii TEMPLAQUE V. ipse enim* etc.

Several notes offer a literary evaluation of Horace’s poetry. There are two items of terminology: *metaphora* at *Odes* 1.1.36 and *epitheton* at *Odes* 1.4.8. Twice the scholiast pronounces his approval with ‘*bene*’ (*Odes* 1.1.35, 1.1.36). Noske (1969, p. 253) observes that ‘*bene*’ is a particular favourite of the *Expositio A* commentator. One explanation takes the form of instructions to the reader on how that verse is to be recited (*Odes* 1.2.33): *non +adonus+ pronuntiare ‘ridens Ericina’...* Borzsák (1998, pp. 19-20) points out, that such instructions to the reader are a trait of Porphyrio.

One notable stylistic feature of the scholiast’s prose is the question-and-answer format of the following two notes:

- a) 1.2.19# LABITUR R. I. N. [S. B.] quare dicit ‘*Iove non probante*’ cum superius dixerit ‘*et rubente dextera sacras iaculatus arces terruit urbem*’? sic debemus intellegere quod Iuppiter +et~ra+ voluerit <...> evertere.
- b) 1.4.17 ET DOMUS EXILIS non domus exilis – quem admodum exilis que tantum recepit populum? – sed exilium umbrarum habitaculum.

qui dedignatus est habere heredes nisi illoꝛ qui habundasset in divitiis, et quia Romani inventi sunt diviciores omnibus facti sunt eius heredes.

² The horn is associated with several deities, although the source of its plenteousness is rarely explicit. In Ovid, the horn is associated with the Naiads (*Met.* 9.87f. *Naiades hoc, pomis et odoro flore repletum/ sacrarunt; divesque meo Bona Copia cornu est.*), in Hyginus with the Hesperides or Nymphs (*Fab.* 31.7 *...quod cornu Hesperidibus siue Nymphis donavit, quod deae pomis replerunt...*). Boethius (*Cons.* 2m2.6) incorporates Horace’s phrase *pleno copia cornu*.

³ Alternatively Ceres could be a slip for Copia, bounty personified (cf. *C.S.* 57-60, *Epist.* 1.12.28f.).

⁴ Numa’s connection with Vesta’s temple is mentioned in several texts, none of which explicitly mention the Vestals’ living quarters (PsA and λφψ *ad loc.*; Serv. *Aen.* 7.153 (cf. *Aen.* 9.4); Ovid *Fasti* 6.259f., *Trist.* 3.1.29f.; Festus’ epitome of Flaccus’ dictionary sub *Rutundum*ꝛ; Isid. *Chron.* 152.).

This style is clearly connected with the school-room.⁵ Noske draws attention to questions as a feature of *Paragraphon* scholia.⁶ The body of the *Paragraphon* tradition documented so far lacks *Odes* 1.1-4.2. It is just possible that the above two Harley notes belong to the lost beginning of that commentary.

4.2 the *Epodes*

If we set aside basic explanation of meaning, what remains are notes on poetic language and notes offering additional information.

Scholia explain poetic tropes (*υπολλαγη* *Epode* 1.25, *epitheton* 2.16 and 3.17, *figura anastrophe* 2.50, *nova figura* 15.19), poetic syntax (*Epode* 5.39 *non ‘semel fixe’ ...*; 55 *non ‘formidulosus silvis’ ...*), a Greek accusative (*Epode* 15.22). Three notes pronounce an aesthetic judgement (*bene* *Epodes* 3.20; *mire* 14.13, 16.38⁷); one note cites the opinion of other commentators (*Epode* 1.2 *quidam reprehendunt*).

Additional information is provided about language, which is the main concern of school-room commentaries (e.g. the etymology of *Sagana* at *Epode* 5.25, the definition of *obstrepere* at *Epode* 2.27), but also miscellaneous subjects (e.g. the properties of *herba lapathi* mentioned at *Epode* 2.57). In two cases we can identify the likely source of the scholiast’s information: Servius *Georg.* 2.161 for *Lucrinus lacus* at *Epode* 2.49; Paul’s epitome of Festus p. 250 l. 18 for the oath at *Epode* 15.4. Some notes, on the other hand, were clearly inspired by Horace himself: the explanation of *Circea ... moenia* at *Epode* 1.30, the unparalleled description of Octavian’s levy at *Epode* 2.7, the erroneous identification of Terminus with Silvanus at *Epode* 2.59, Anacreon’s arrhythmic poetry at *Epode* 14.12.

It has emerged, that unpublished Harley Σ are similar in content and style to the published Carolingian compilations. The place of these small samples in the Σ tradition may be clarified through further studies of annotated Horace manuscripts.

⁵ ACD notes that questions are associated less with literary scholia, than with grammatical works and commentaries.

⁶ Noske (1969) p. 269-270, note 62; e.g. *Odes* 4.4.29-32 ... *Quid ergo est?* ... ; *Sat.* 2.3.168 ... *Ergo quis sanus est?* ... ; *AP* 88 *Cur prave pudens malo nescire quam discere?* ... *Si nescio, quare magis erubescio discere quam nescire?*

⁷ Noske (1969, p. 253) observes that *mire* is a favourite of *Paragraphon*, as *bene* is of *Expositio* A.

CHAPTER 2: Historian Sources

This chapter examines the annotator's historian sources: Orosius, Eutropius, and Paul the Deacon. Following ancient and medieval sensibilities, we must also include certain texts, which a modern reader would classify as mythology.¹ The story of the Trojan war, for instance, was perceived as history and studied as such from the 'eye-witness' accounts of Dictys Cretensis and Dares Phrygius. Both sources were used by the Harley scholiast. I discuss these sources collectively, because the scholiast often uses two historians in conjunction. The place accorded to history is a distinctive feature of Harley annotations: the extent and prominence of historical notes in Harley is unusual by comparison to other scholia on classical authors.

2.0 Introduction

0.1 Harley Historical notes in relation to other scholia

The most striking feature of the notes on history is their sheer scale. A number of extracts are remarkably long, longer than historical notes provided in scholia collections exemplified by Servius or Σ. Half of the Harley notes drawn from the historians are over 100 words long, one third is over 200 words long; three notes approach 500 words and one extends over 900.

To compare, a sample of Servius' scholia on the catalogue of heroes in *Aeneid* 6.756-886 – a passage calling for historical comment – contains one note of over 200 words, six notes of over 100 words, another six notes of 60-80 words and shorter glosses.²

The contrast with Σ is equally impressive. An example of historical comments on the same Horace lemma from Harley and the published scholia collections will clarify

¹ The division between fact and fiction does, of course, exist (witness Servius' frequent admonitory use of adjective *fabulosus*), but does not correspond precisely to modern expectations. For example, the widely available commentary of Servius defines *historia* and *fabula* thus (*ad Aen.* 1.235): *et sciendum est, inter fabulam et argumentum, hoc est historiam, hoc interesse, quod fabula est dicta res contra naturam, sive facta sive non facta, ut de Pasiphae, historia est quicquid secundum naturam dicitur, sive factum sive non factum, ut de Phaedra*. The definition appears in its full original form, including all three items, *historia*, *fabula* and *argumentum* in *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (1.8.13), which survives in eight 9th – 10th-century manuscripts and gained greater popularity in the following centuries.

² Kaster (1988, p. 170) observes that two out of three notes in Servius' commentary are concerned with language, but only one in seven – with the broader mythical, historical, cultural and literary issues; only a small proportion of these non-language notes offers more than a perfunctory gloss.

this point.³ In *Odes* 3.14 Horace calls for a vintage which ‘remembers the Marsian war’, if a jar should perchance have escaped marauding Spartacus (17-20):

i pete unguentum, puer, et coronas
et cadum Marsi memorem duelli,
Spartacum si qua potuit vagantem
fallere testa.

Porphyrion’s note is fairly typical of his text as we have it:

Spartacus dux fugitivorum per Italiam aliquando grassatus multa vastavit.

Pseudo-Acro provides a note that is fairly long by the standards of that collection:

Spartacus gladiator fuit; hic cum septuaginta quattuor sociis similis conditionis e ludo fugiens dux factus per quattuor annos aduersumque Romanos bellans plura uastauit. ideo nullam repositionem ei euadere potuisse commemorat. hunc postea Pompeius oppressit. unde Lucanus [2.564]: *Vt simili causa caderes, qua Spartacus hostis. VAGANTEM. hostiliter debacchantem.*

Φ scholia resemble Porphyrio:

Spartacus fugitivorum dux fuit, qui multa caede vastavit Italiam

The 8 commentary written ca 1100 at Mont-St-Michel is ingeniously independent:

Spartacus quidam Romanus fuit, qui duellum contra Marsos fecit eosque devictos exspoliavit. ideo dicit ‘affer cadum Marsi memorem’, dico ‘siqua testa potuit...’ Spartacus rex fuit fugitivorum, qui Romanis multa mala fecit. et licet multum biberet, non tamen inebriabatur, quippe in alienis bonis rapiendis inhians. et inde dicit: ‘si qua testa vel urna potuit fallere illum, quin ipse totum biberet’.

The Harley scholiast cites Orosius (5.24):

What requires explanation in Horace’s text is the proper name Spartacus and the reason why he might have presented a danger to wine-jars. Porphyrio’s brief comment (and with it Φ) provides essential information. The detail found in Pseudo-Acro, that is Spartacus’ gladiatorial antecedents and the scale of the conflict, clarify the picture. The post-Harley 8 commentator paraphrases Porphyrio’s gloss (*dux fugitivorum* becomes *rex fugitivorum*), adds a (mis-)interpretation of what Horace says (*duellum contra Marsos fecit*), and contributes his own analysis of the event (*et licet multum biberet, non tamen inebriabatur, quippe in alienis bonis rapiendis inhians*). By contrast, Harley adduces a

³ Single passages, although sufficiently typical, cannot be representative of an entire commentary: this sample is intended to characterise rather than to compare.

lengthy account from a historical source. Our scholiast's interest in the gladiators does not end here: he uses yet another historian, Eutropius, to gloss Spartacus' name in *Epode* 16 (Text 20, section 1). The Harley scholiast's attention to the historical aspect of Horace's text breaks the mould both of the commentary genre as a whole and of Σ in particular.

0.2 The sources

Harley scholia match extensive passages from several historians, one of whom is named once by the scholiast as Dares. The historians are identified on the basis of extensive verbatim overlap; the case for the scholiast's direct use of these sources is strengthened by an accumulation of examples. Let us consider the tradition and availability of each historian in south Germany at the approximate time of our scholiast's activity.

The diffusion of Orosius, Eutropius, and Paul the Deacon in medieval Europe is examined by Mortensen (1999-2000). Mortensen tabulates the statistics of manuscript survival of each author by century (p. 105) and appends a manuscript catalogue for each author.

Historiae adversum paganos, composed by Paulus Orosius in the early fifth century and dedicated to Augustine of Hippo, enjoyed a privileged position from early on: we have eleven pre-ninth-century manuscripts, fourteen – from the ninth century, fourteen – from the tenth, and twenty-six – from the eleventh. Four complete and two partial south German copies bear witness to the availability of this text at the time and place at which Harley scholia were composed.⁴ There are several critical editions. I cite Zangemeister's 1882 *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum* publication, which retains its importance and is to be preferred to his less methodologically sound 1889 Teubner. Lippold's edition (1976), making the text accessible in Italian translation, uses Zangemeister's text, but, curiously, reports a number of additional readings. Unfortunately, the introduction does not indicate the source of these variants. Arnaud-

⁴ Mun. Clm 6308, s. viii (764–84), Freising (containing 1. prol.8–4.22.7); Vienna 366, s. viii-ix, around Salzburg; Wolfenb., s. xi¹, Lorsch?; Eins. 351, s. x; Mun. Uni. 40 Cod. ms 893 (III), s. x (containing 1.2.60–81); Mun. Clm 6380, s. x/xi, Freising

Lindet's Budé (1990) offers a fresh examination of the manuscript evidence and much auxiliary material.

An older contemporary of Orosius, the pagan Eutropius, wrote his *Breviarium* of Roman history in the 360s–70s for the emperor Valens. This text is transmitted in two forms: on its own and as part of an augmented *Historia Romana* composed for Charlemagne by Paul the Deacon.⁵ The greater part of Paul's text is identical to Eutropius. This raises the question, whether the scholiast used a) Eutropius alone, b) Paul alone or c) both Eutropius and Paul. In the opening section, I will demonstrate that Harley scholia contain extracts from both historians. Yet in most cases it is impossible to determine, which of the two sources was used by the scholiast. Indeed, since most manuscripts lack Paul's initial dedication, the scholiast was not necessarily aware of using a distinctive version.⁶ Furthermore, Reynolds (1983, pp. 159-162) notes that points of the Eutropius / Paul textual tradition remain *sub iudice*.

The *Historia Romana* was not so widely available as Orosius. Paul's version fared slightly better than Eutropius. Only six Eutropius manuscripts predate the twelfth century: one is from the ninth, two – from the tenth, and three – from the eleventh. Paul survives in one pre-ninth-century manuscript, three – from the ninth, three – from the tenth, and ten – from the eleventh. None of the *Historia Romana* manuscripts, catalogued by Mortensen, have (yet) been placed specifically in south Germany.⁷ Droysen's unsurpassed 1879 edition of Eutropius together with Paul (and Landolfus) sufficed for the examination of the less numerous extracts of Eutropius-Paul. Crivellucci's 1914 edition of Paul was used for the single Harley passage, where Paul clearly departs from Eutropius. Among the recent Eutropius editions, the Budé by Hellegouarc'h (1999) offers a helpful introduction.

The popularity of all three historians is also apparent from the existence of abbreviated versions. These epitomes, catalogued by Mortensen, await scholarly

⁵ The *Historia Romana* was continued once more at the turn of the millennium by the Lombard historian Landolfus Sagax, whose work was not used by the Horace scholiast.

⁶ Mortensen (1999, p. 116) notes, that the reader is only informed at the opening of book eleven, that the additional books were composed by Paul; no mention is made of Paul's contribution to the ten books of Eutropius.

⁷ Two German manuscripts are known: Vienna 583, s. x, Corvey (Paul 1–16); *mutilus* Bamb. Hist. 2, s. xi inc., Corvey, at Bamberg cathedral. A further two manuscripts may also be of German origin: Krakow Jagiel. Berol. lat. quart. 1, s. xi (Paul 1–17); Vat. lat. 1981-I, s. xi (Eutr. 1.7.9).

attention. Lacking evidence to the contrary, I assume that my scholiast used a full version of each text. I will also demonstrate, that the Harley abbreviation of historian extracts is often dictated by the Horatian lemma.

Dictyos Cretensis Ephimeridos belli Troiani libri a Lucio Septimio ex Graeco in latinum sermonem translati is indeed a translation, by a certain Septimius, of a Greek text.⁸ *Daretis Phrygii de Excidio Troiae Historia* is another late antique text of uncertain origin.⁹ Henceforth these texts are referred to as ‘Dares’ and ‘Dictys’. Bessi (2005) provides a most useful survey of Dares and Dictys scholarship. A still more recent study of the Dares tradition by Renna appears in the third volume of *La trasmissione dei testi latini del Medioevo* (2008).

We have few early witnesses for Dictys: three ninth-century manuscripts (two French, and Swiss St Gall 197-I), two tenth-century extracts (south German or Swiss Mun. Clm 601-I and German or Swiss St Gall 197-II), and a single eleventh-century German manuscript, also containing Dares (Strassb. 14-I).¹⁰ Dares manuscripts are more numerous (a dozen pre-twelfth-century witnesses, not to mention extracts). Two of them have been traced to south Germany: the ninth-century Karlsruhe Fr. Aug. 141 from Reichenau (Bischoff) and the tenth-century south German or Swiss Mun. Clm 601-I. As far as can be judged from Meister’s edition, Harley has an affinity with the latter manuscript (‘M’), whose readings, where they are available, I print in the source column.

⁸ The original was allegedly discovered in Dictys’ tomb in the 13th year of Nero’s reign, that is 66 AD. Eisenhut (1958, p. viii) believes the Greek version may belong to the 1st century AD, but our earliest papyrus fragment, Oxyrhynchos 4943, belongs to the first half of the 2nd century. (For further discussion see Gainsford, 2012.) There are three other papyri fragments: Oxyrhynchos 2539 (pre-3rd-century), Oxyrhynchos 4944 (early 3rd-century), and Tebtunis 268 (mid 3rd-century).

The Latin version is commonly attributed to the 4th century, accommodating the late imperial usage of *consularis* for *proconsul*, identifying the dedicatee with a Q. Aradius Rufinus, and taking into account the literary interests of that period. This date was challenged, not entirely convincingly, by Cameron (1980) and Champlin (1981), who identify the translator with the early 3rd-century poet Septimius Serenus and the Severan grammarian Serenus Sammonicus. For a discussion, see Merkle (1988, esp. p. 263f.).

⁹ The work is conventionally assigned to the late 5th or early 6th century (cf. Renna 2008, p. 142, note 2), although Schetter’s study of Dracontius’ *de Raptu Helenae* (1987) demonstrated that Dracontius, writing in the second half of the 5th century, imitated Dares. For the debate over the possible existence of a Greek original, see Pavano (1998, 2001).

¹⁰ The excerpt offered by St Gall 197-II (s. x¹, German or Swiss), 5.17 to the end, contains one Harley passage, Text 9 (6.14 to the end); yet Harley does not share the excerptor’s final sentence (*explicit de reditu Grecorum a Troia*), nor does this excerpt account for the other Dictys notes found in Harley.

Meister's edition of Dares (1873) was criticised both for its narrow manuscript basis (eleven manuscripts, six of which he saw in person) and unreliable apparatus.¹¹ The tradition and circulation of Dares manuscripts from the eighth to the fifteenth century were recently re-examined by d'Arcier (2006). D'Arcier's textual samples, based on a wide selection of manuscripts, differ noticeably from Meister's text, but the only sample, overlapping with Harley, offers no remarkable variants. D'Arcier's apparatus confirms Harley's affinity to Mun. Clm 601 (*Epode* 5 note on the Argo, discussed in Chapter 8).¹² A version of the text, distinct from that published by Meister, known as *versio uberior*, has yet to appear in print.¹³ Since Harley contains no miscellaneous material, which could be connected with the Daretan Trojan War narrative, it seems unlikely that the *uberior* version was used by the scholiast. Whereas known manuscripts of the *uberior* version break off at chapter 23, Harley contains two passages from the subsequent chapters (as seen in the Catalogue of Passages 'c' below).

Dictys was edited by Eisenhut in 1958 and again in 1973. In his survey, Bessi (2005, p. 203) notes that, while the situation is not so dire as in the case of Dares, a new edition is in order. Harley excerpts contain no distinctive variants indicating affinity with a particular branch of the Dictys tradition.

0.3 Order of discussion

In the beginning of the chapter, I demonstrate, which historians were used by the scholiast, presenting one extensive verbatim extract from each source (2.1). I append a twin pair of short glosses, which match no source verbatim, but apparently draw information from the Trojan historians (2.1). The rest of the chapter focuses on the scholiast's treatment of his sources. Section 2.2 examines the scholiast's editing techniques; Section 2.3 discusses his interpretation of the glossing material and Horace.

¹¹ Renna (2008) pp. 146-7

¹² The passages edited by d'Arcier are *Praef.*, *Capitula* 1, 14, 16, 20 ending, 26, 40, 44, *tabula pugnatorum*.

¹³ Renna (2008, p. 165) notes that the *terminus ante quem* of the *uberior* version is the earliest manuscript, Strasburg 14 s. xi. The French origin of its archetype has been suggested on the grounds of manuscript distribution, although possibly Irish errors are noted by D'Arcier. For scholarship on the *uberior* version, see Renna (2008, p. 148, note 25; also pp. 146ff.).

The discussion is illustrated with a selection of the most remarkable examples. Reference will be made to further examples presented in Appendix 2.1. A list of passages discussed in this chapter and a comprehensive catalogue of all Harley passages matching the historians is provided in Appendix 2.0. Passages which do not feature in this chapter can be consulted at the relevant lemmata in the Transcript.

1. Identification of the sources

In the introduction, we have already encountered an extensive excerpt from Orosius, glossing Spartacus in *Odes* 3.14. Harley scholia contain many verbatim extracts of pure Orosius. The four most extensive passages can be consulted in the Transcript at *Odes* 1.37, 2.12.1, 3.14.19, and 4.4.38. One example is discussed later in the chapter (Text 15 in Appendix 2.1).

In this section, I demonstrate the scholiast's use of the other four historians – Paul, Eutropius, Dares, and Dictys – presenting one verbatim extract from each. I end with a brief scholion, which matches no known source verbatim, but contains information drawn from the Trojan historians.

The two-fold tradition of Eutropius, surviving both as an author in his own right and through the augmented version of Paul the Deacon, was noted in the introduction. To begin with, I show that the scholiast used Paul (Text 13); I then present evidence for the scholiast's use of Eutropius (Text 20).

Historian text 13

In the margin of *Odes* 4.4, the scholiast provides a biographical note about Augustus. This material is absent from Eutropius, but is present in Paul the Deacon. At this point, Paul draws not on Eutropius, but on Orosius and Pseudo-Aurelius Victor (*Epit. de Caes.* 15-28). A comparison between Harley, Orosius, and Paul's paraphrase of Orosius demonstrates our scholiast's allegiance to Paul:

Orosius 6.20.1-2	<i>Odes</i> 4.4	Paulus D. 7.8
...Caesar uictor ab oriente rediens, VIII idus Ianuarias urbem triplici triumpho ingressus est ac tunc primum ipse Iani portas sopitis finitisque omnibus bellis ciuilibus clausit. 2 hoc die primum Augustus consalutatus est; quod nomen, cunctis antea [inuiolatum] et usque ad nunc ceteris inausum dominis, tantum orbis licite usurpatum apicem declarat imperii, atque ex eodem die summa rerum ac potestatum penes unum esse coepit et mansit, quod Graeci monarchiam uocant.	Octavius Cesar cum de Oriente victor regressus esset Urbemque triplici triumpho ingrederetur, tum primum Augustus, eo quod rem publicam auxerit, consalutatus est atque ex tunc summam rerum potestatem, quam Greci monarchiam vocant, ade[m]ptus est.	denique cum de Oriente uictor reuersus esset Vrbemque triplici triumpho ingressus esset, tunc primum Augustus, eo quod rem publicam auxerit, consalutatus est atque ex tunc summam rerum potestatem, quam Greci monarchiam uocant, adeptus est. ...

It is clear that our scholiast used Paul. Let us consider the full Harley extract.

Paulus D. 7.8-10
denique cum de Oriente uictor
reuersus esset Vrbemque triplici triumpho

***Odes* 4.4.26-7?**
Octavius Cesar cum de Oriente victor
regressus esset Urbemque triplici triumpho

ingressus esset, tunc primum Augustus, eo quod rem publicam auxerit, consalutatus est atque ex tunc summam rerum potestatem, quam Greci monarchiam uocant, adeptus est. ... 10 denique erga cives clementissime versatus est. in amicos fidus extitit. quorum praecipui erant ob taciturnitatem Mecenas, ob patientiam laboris modestiamque Agrippa. diligebat praeterea Virgilium Flaccumque poetas. rarus quidem ad recipiendas amicitias, ad retinendas constantissimus. liberalibus studiis, praesertim eloquentiae, intantum incumbens, ut nullus ne in procinctu quidem laberetur dies, quin legeret scriberet declamaret. auxit ornauitque Romam aedificiis multis, isto glorians dicto: "Urbem latericiam repperi, relinquo marmoream." fuit mitis, gratus, civilis animi et lepidi, corpore toto pulcher, sed oculis magis. quorum acies clarissimorum siderum modo vibrans libenter accipiebat cedi ab intendentibus tamquam solis radiis aspectui suo. a cuius facie dum quidam miles oculos averteret et interrogaretur ab eo, cur ita faceret, respondit: "quia fulmen oculorum tuorum ferre non possum". nec tamen vir tantus vitiis caruit. fuit enim paululum inpatiens, leniter iracundus, occulte invidus, palam factiosus; porro autem dominandi supra quam aestimari potest cupidissimus, studiosus aleae lusor. cumque esset cibi ac vini multum, aliquatenus vero somni abstinens, serviebat tamen libidini usque ad probum vulgaris famae. nam inter duodecim catamitos totidemque puellas accubare solitus erat. abiecta quoque uxore Scribonia, amore alienae coniugis possessus, Liviam quasi marito concedente sibi coniunxit. cuius Liviae iam erant filii Tiberius et Drusus. cumque esset luxuriae serviens, erat tamen eiusdem vitii severissimus ultor, more hominum, qui in ulciscendis vitiis, quibus ipsi vehementer indulgent, acres sunt. annos septem et septuaginta ingressus Nola morbo interiit quamquam alii scribant dolo Liuae extinctum, metuentis ne, quia priuignae filium Agrippam, quem odio nouercali in insulam religauerat, reduci compererat, eo summam rerum adepto, poenas daret. igitur mortuum seu necatum multis novisque honoribus senatus censuit decorandum. nam praeter id, quod antea Patrem Patriae dixerat, templa tam Romae quam per urbes celeberrimas ei consecravit, cunctis vulgo iactantibus: "utinam aut non nasceretur aut non moreretur!"

ingrederetur, tum primum Augustus, eo quod rem publicam auxerit, consalutatus est atque ex tunc summam rerum potestatem, quam Greci monarchiam vocant, ade[m]ptus est. erga cives clementissime versatus est. in amicos fidus extitit. quorum principui† erant ob tauturnitatem† Mecenas, ob patientiam laboris modestiamque Agrippa. preterea diligebat Virgilium Flaccumque poetas. rarus quidem ad recipiendas amicitias, ad retinendum constantissimus. liberalibus studiis, presertim eloquentie, in tantum incumbens, ut nullus ne in procinctu quidem laberetur dies, quin legeret scriberet declamaret. auxit ornauitque Romam edificiis multis, isto glorians dicto: "Urbem latericiam repperi, relinquo marmoream." fuit homo mitis, gratus, civilis animi et lepidi, corpore toto pulcher, sed oculis magis, quorum acies clarissimorum siderum modo vibrans libenter accipiebat cedi ab intendentibus tamquam solis radiis aspectui suo. a cuius facie dum quidam miles averteret oculos et interrogaretur ab eo, cur ita faceret, respo<n>dit "quia fulmen oculorum tuorum ferre non possum". nec tamen vir tantus viciis caruit. fuit enim paululum impaciens, leniter iracundus, occulte invidus, palam factiosus; porro autem dominandi supra quam estimari potest cupidissimus, studiosus lusor alee. cumque esset cibi vinique multus, aliquatenus tamen somni abstinens, serviebat libidini usque ad probum vulgaris fame. nam inter xv catamitos totidemque puellas accubare solitus erat. abiecit quoque uxorem Scriboniam, possessus amore alienae coniugis, Libiam quasi marito concedente sibi coniunxit. cuius Libie iam erant filii Tyberius Nero Drusus Nero. cumque esset luxurie serviens, erat tamen eiusdem viui† severissimus ultor, more hominum, qui in ulciscendis viciis, quibus ipsi vehementer indulgent, acres sunt. annos vii et lxx ingressus Nole morbo interiit.

igitur mortuum seu necatum multis honoribus senatus censuit decorandum.

cunctis vulgo iactantibus: "utinam aut non nasceretur aut non moreretur!"

This note is attached to no lemma, but its subject, Augustus, appears in *Odes* 4.4 (26-7), performing familial duties towards the *Nerones*: *quid Augusti paternus/ in pueros animus Nerones*. The cognomen *Nero*, inserted by the scholiast into Paul's text before each of the princes' names, connects the extract to the Horatian context.[1]

The scholion omits several passages of Paul, where no lacunae are reported in the Pauline tradition. Let us consider the substance of these omissions, in order to determine, whether they are due to abbreviation or purposeful editing. The lengthy passage missed out at the end of section 8 can be consulted in Appendix 2.2. There Paul recounts portents of Christ's birth, interpreting Augustan peace in the light of the Eusebian doctrine (after Orosius). Paul also provides (from Eutropius) a lengthy catalogue of Roman conquests – of no apparent relevance to Horace – leading to the denunciation of war for gain. The shorter omissions are reproduced above in faint type. The first of these (*quamquam alii...poenas daret*) recounts the rumour that Livia was responsible for her husband's death and dynastic plotting during his lifetime. This is a case of abbreviating rather than purposeful excising, since a fragment of the allegation remains in the Harley scholion: *seu necatum*. In the second omission (*nam praeter...ei consecravit*), the emperor is shown as a deity and dedicatee of temples. The scholion then breaks off just before Augustus is compared to a god: "*vir qui non inmerito ex maxima parte deo similis est putatus*". In this case, the scholiast clearly has an agenda: he removes reference to Augustus' divine honours, and inserts '*homo*' earlier in the scholion.

Such editing is surely dictated by Christian sensitivities, yet – we noted – the scholiast omitted the Eusebian interpretation at the opening of the extract. Some light is shed on this contradiction by another Harley note devoted to Augustus. Text 15, presented in Appendix 2.1, draws on Orosius in order to gloss *Divis orte bonis* (*Odes* 4.5). Orosius gives a panegyric account of Augustus' achievements, but makes it very clear that the emperor is a mere man, unlike the true Lord born in his reign. In that case, our scholiast does include the Eusebian interpretation of Augustan peace, making a pointed contrast with Horace's divine-born emperor. In *Odes* 4.4, on the other hand, Augustus is an uncle to the *Nerones* rather than a deity. There was no need to assert his human nature through the Eusebian doctrine, especially when Orosius' more succinct Eusebian passage is present just over the page (38vo and 39vo in Harley). The biographical sketch of Augustus, excerpted from Paul, is in any case

very human: the scholiast includes details of the emperor's sexual depravity, drunkenness and gluttony,[2] which contrast with Horace's depiction of him as a kindly uncle.

Footnotes

[1] The scholiast would have been in no doubt as to the identity of the *Nerones*, for one of the princes is called Drusus in the same poem (*Odes* 4.4.19, cf. *Odes* 4.14.10), while Augustus' successor is named 'Tiberius Nero' by Paul in the chapter directly following this extract.

[2] The variant *multus* for *multum*, which makes Augustus a drunk and a glutton, is already present in the Pauline tradition.

Historian text 20

In *Epode* 16 civil war destroys the city which foreigners could not overturn:

Altera iam teritur bellis civilibus aetas,
suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit.
quam neque finitimi valuerunt perdere Marsi
minacis aut Etrusca Porsenae manus,
aemula nec virtus Capuae nec Spartacus acer...

The Harley note about Spartacus and the Capuan band matches Eutropius, whose text at this point is distinct from Paul's:

Eutr. 6.7

... septuaginta enim et [1] quattuor gladiatores ducibus [1] Spartaco, Crixo et Oenomao effracto Capuae ludo fugerunt et per Italiam vagantes

paene non levius bellum in ea, quam Hannibal moverat, paraverunt. nam multis ducibus et duobus simul Romanorum consulibus victis sexaginta fere milium armatorum exercitum congregaverunt, victique sunt in Apulia a Marco Licinio Crasso proconsule, et post multas calamitates Italiae tertio anno bello huic est finis inpositus.

Paul 6.7

... septuaginta enim et quattuor gladiatores ducibus Partaco, Crixo et Oenomao effracto Capuae ludo fugerunt. Vesubium montem occupauerunt; unde erumpentes Clodii praetoris, qui eos obsidione cinxerat, castra expugnauerunt ipsoque in fugam acto cuncta in praedam auerterunt. inde per Consentiam et Metapontum circumducti ingentia breui agmina colligerunt; itaque cum caedibus, incendiis, rapinis stuprisque omnia miscerent multaeque se matronae ob dolorem pudoris uiolati necassent, paene non leuius bellum in ea quam Hannibal mouerunt. nam multis ducibus et duobus simul Romanorum consulibus uictis sexaginta fere milium armatorum exercitum congregauerunt uictique sunt in Apulia a Marco Licinnio Crasso proconsule et post multas calamitates Italiae tertio anno bello huic finis impositus.

Paul enlarges Eutropius with details from Orosius, but there is no trace of this addition in Harley. Where Paul compresses Eutropius' *moverat paraverunt*, Harley contains both verbs. In this case our scholiast clearly used Eutropius:

Eutr. 6.7

anno urbis Romae sescentesimo septuagesimo octavo Macedoniam

Epode 16.5

provinciam Marcus Licinius Lucullus accepit, consobrinus Luculli, qui contra Mithridatem bellum gerebat. et in Italia novum bellum subito commotum est. septuaginta enim et [1] quattuor gladiatores ducibus [1] Spartaco, Crixo et Oenomao effracto Capuae ludo fugerunt et per Italiam vagantes paene non levius bellum in ea, quam Hannibal moverat, paraverunt. [1] nam multis ducibus et duobus simul Romanorum consulibus victis sexaginta fere milium armatorum exercitum congregaverunt, victique sunt in Apulia a Marco Licinio Crasso proconsule, et post multas calamitates Italiae tertio anno bello huic est finis inpositus.

In the introduction, we encountered another Harley note about Spartacus, drawn from Orosius in order to gloss *Odes* 3.14. It is remarkable that the scholiast consulted two historian sources and drew a verbatim excerpt – a lengthy one in the case of Orosius – from each.

The Eutropius note on *Epode* 16 contains two interesting misunderstandings. Firstly, the substitution of *vico* suggests unfamiliarity with the ‘gladiatorial school’ meaning of *ludus*. [2] Secondly, in the opening phrase, the scholiast describes Crassus as a consul: *Licinio Crasso consule*. Eutropius makes it clear that Crassus was by then a proconsul (*victique sunt in Apulia a M. Licinio Crasso proconsule*), but in Harley that statement is replaced with a shorter phrase “*hos tandem Grassius Apulia vicit*”. The loss of *pro* in *proconsule* is not reported in the Eutropius tradition. This loss is not due to our scholiast’s lack of familiarity with the term *proconsul*, which appears again in Orosius’ Spartacus narrative, describing Cassius (*C. Cassium proconsulem idem Spartacus oppressum bello interfecit*).

What the scholiast has produced is a consular dating formula. ‘*Licinio Crasso consule*’ is factually incorrect, but convincing in appearance: placed at the opening, it takes precedence over the gladiator lemma, with which began the Eutropius extract. Consular dates – unlike *ab urbe condita* dates – are retained by the scholiast. [3] It is not clear, however, what meaning he attached to them. In Text 3, for instance, we shall see Orosius’ ablative absolute *eodem consule* reworded as agency, *ab eodem consule*. It is possible that the scholiast understood the ablative consular formula as a historical fact – that is a commander’s authority – rather than an indication of time.

Footnotes

Epode 16.5

Licinio Crasso consule

septuaginta et iiii gladiatores ducibus Spartaco, Crixo et Incinao effracto Capue vico fugerunt et per Italiam vagantes pene non levius bellum in ea, quam Hannibal movebat, paravere. nam multis ducibus et duobus simul Romanorum consulibus victis lx fere milium armatorum exercitum congregaverunt. hos tandem Grassius in Apulia vicit et post multas calamitates Italiae tertio anno bello huic est finis inpositus.

[1] Harley shares with early Eutropius manuscripts, Leiden 141 and St Omer 697, the *et* before *quattuor* (recorded in Droysen's apparatus, but omitted from his text) and the form *paravere*. Where Droysen's text and Harley read *ducibus*, early Eutropius manuscripts read *duce* and *duces*†.

[2] The term *ludus* remains unaltered in the Orosius note on *Odes* 3.14.

[3] Consular dates are included in Text 3 (*P. Cornelio Scipione et P. Sempronio Longo consulibus*), Text 8 (*Lucullo et Cassio consulibus*), Text 14 (*Claudio Nerone et M. Liuio Salinator consulibus*); a.u.c. dates are omitted in several Orosius extracts (Texts 3, 8, 15, 22).

It is clear that the scholiast used not only Eutropius' *Breviarium*, but also Paul's augmented histories. This was demonstrated by the above pair of examples, where each historian offers material absent from the other historian. Since the greater part of Paul's text is identical to Eutropius, all other Harley excerpts coincide with both versions. I refer to these passages by the name of their original author, Eutropius.

Dares is the only historian named by the scholiast (Trojan Text 6 presented below). The volume of Harley material matching Dares – three of five verbatim extracts exceeding a hundred words – confirms direct recourse to this source.

The following presentation convention is observed in this and subsequent analogous examples. Where Harley does not cite a source but paraphrases it, the source is printed in grey and points of similarity with Harley are underlined within it.

Trojan Historian Text 6

In *Odes* 2.9 Horace advises the elegist Valgius, bewailing Mystes, to follow the example of the Trojan royal family, who did not mourn Troilus forever (15-17):

...nec inpubem parentes
Troilon aut Phrygiae sorores
fleuere semper.

The scholiast provides two versions of Troilus' fatal encounter with Achilles from two named authorities, Servius and Dares:

Serv. Aen.1.474

veritas hoc habet: Troili amore Achillem ductum palumbes ei quibus ille delectabatur obiecisce, quas cum vellet tenere, captus ab Achille in eius amplexibus periit. sed hoc quasi indignum heroo carmine mutavit poeta. **Dares 33** tempus pugne supervenit... postquam primum diei tempus transiit, prodit in primo Troilus, caedit, prosternit. Argivi fugam cum clamore fecerunt. Achilles, ut animadvertit Troilum iracunde saevire et Argivis insultare, simulque sine intermissione Myrmidones prosternere,

Odes 2.9.16

Servius dicit Troyli amore Achillem ductum palumbes ei quibus ille delectabatur obiecisce, quas cum vellet tenere captus ab Achille in eius amplexibus periit. secundum Daretem Troylus non minus quam Hector vir fortissimus Achivos prostravit, Menelaum et Agamennonem vulneratos fugavit.

hunc, ut animadvertit Achilles iracund[i]e sevientem et Argivis insultare simulque sine intermissione Myrmidones prosternere,

procedit in bellum. quem Troilus continuo excipit, et sauciat. Achilles de proelio saucius redit. pugnatur continuis diebus sex. die septimo, dum utrique exercitus proelio facto inter se pugnant, Achilles, qui aliquot dies vexatus in pugnam non prodierat, Myrmidones instruit, alloquitur, hortatur, ut fortiter impressionem in Troilum faciant. postquam maior pars diei transiit, prodit Troilus ex equo laetus. Argivi maximo clamore fugam faciunt. Myrmidones supervenerunt, inpressionem in Troilum faciunt, de quorum numero multi a Troilo occiduntur. dum acriter proeliantur, equus vulneratus corrui, Troilum implicitum excutit. eum Achilles cito adveniens occidit et ex proelio trahere coepit. quod Achilles interventu Memnonis complere non potuit. adveniens enim Memnon et Troili corpus eripuit et Achillem vulnere sauciavit. Achilles de proelio saucius redit.

procedit in bellum. hunc Troilus excipit et sauciavit. Achilles saucius de proelio redit

et aliquod dies vexatus in pugnam non prodierat, sed Mirmidones instructos hortatur, alloquitur ut fortiter oppressionem in Troylum faciant. tempus pugnae supervenit, [1] prodit Troilus in agmine [1] letus. Argivi maximo clamore fugam faciunt. Mirmidones supervenerunt, inpressionem in Troylum faciunt; quorum numero multi a Troilo occiduntur. dum acriter preliatur, equus vulneratus corrui et Troylum implici<tum> excutit. eum cito adveniens Achilles occidit et ex ipso illum trahere cepit. quod interventu Memnonis complere nequi<t>. nam adveniens Memnon et Troili corpus eripuit et Achillem sauciavit. Achilles saucius de proelio red<i>it.

The scholiast begins with Servius' depiction of Troilus as a handsome boy destroyed by his admirer Achilles. Next Dares furnishes the description of Troilus as adult warrior and formidable adversary. The scholiast begins to copy Dares verbatim from the hero's battle encounter with Achilles, that is the story illustrating Troilus' appearance in this ode. This narrative is preceded by a summary of Troilus' manly virtues from earlier chapters of Dares. Troilus is shown to be as brave a fighter as Hector (*Troilus non minus quam Hector vir fortissimus...*), capable of wounding and routing Menelaus and Agamemnon (...*Achivos prostravit, Menelaum et Agamemnonem vulneratos fugavit.*).[2]

Servius and Dares provide two contrasting depictions of Troilus: the former portrays him as Achilles' *puer delicatus* (in tune with Horace's *impubem*), the latter – as a young warrior hero. The scholiast expresses no preference for either representation: the relative length of the Dares passage need not indicate preference, as lengthy excerption is characteristic of the scholiast's copying habits.

Footnotes

[1] The Harley note differs from its source at a few points. *Tempus pugnae supervenit*, appearing in place of *postquam maior pars diei transiit*, is a very Daretan phrase, seen at the start of this and previous Dares chapters. *In agmine* replaces the misunderstood expression *ex equo*: this adverbial phrase appears only here in Dares, once in Dictys (1.1 meaning *pariter*), once in Orosius (6.11.25 meaning 'on flat ground'), once in Eutropius (10.8 meaning *iuste*).

[2] Dares 30 *Diomedes et Ulixes dicere coeperunt Troilum non minus quam Hectorem virum fortissimum esse...* (cf. 7 *Troilus minimus natu non minus fortis quam Hector bellum geri suadebat et non debere terreri metu verborum Heleni*) 31 ...*Troilus Menelaum sauciat, multos interficit, Argivos in castra fugat; ... Troilus Diomedem sauciat: in Agamemnonem impressionem facit, necnon faciem ipsius sauciat, Argivos caedit.*

Harley lyric scholia contain only three verbatim extracts from Dictys, but all of these are substantial. The shortest, Trojan Historian Text 9 presented below, approaches four hundred words. Two further Dictys passages can be consulted in the Transcript: the story of Telephus, approaching a thousand words, is provided at *Epode* 17.8; a five hundred word extract glosses the Homeric maidens at *Odes* 2.4.

Trojan Historian Text 9

In *Odes* 3.29 Horace attempts to entice Maecenas away from his urban villa overlooking Tibur and Tusculum (6-8):

ne semper udum Tibur et Aefulae
decliue contempleris aruom et
Telegoni iuga parricidae.

A story from Dictys explains why Telegonus is called a parricide:

Dictys 6.14-15

per idem tempus Ulixes territus crebris auguriis, somniisque aduersis omnes undique regionis eius interpretandi somnia peritissimos conducit. hisque refert inter cetera uisum sibi saepius simulacrum quoddam inter humanum diuinumque uultum formae perlaudabilis ex eodem loco repente edi. quod complecti summo desiderio cupienti sibi, porrigentique manus responsum ab eo humana uoce sceleratam huiusmodi coniunctionem, quippe eiusdem sanguinis atque originis, namque ex eo alterum alterius opera interiturum. dein uersanti sibi uehementius, cupientique causam eius rei perdiscere, signum quoddam mari editum interuenire uisum, idque secundum imperium eius in se iactum, utrumque diiunxisse. quam rem cuncti qui aderant uno ore exitialem ei pronuntiant adduntque, caueret ab insidiis filii. casu suspectus parentis animo Telemachus, agris, qui in Cephalenia erant, relegatur additis ei quam fidissimis custodibus. praeterea Ulixes secedens in alia loca abdita remotaque quantum poterat somniorum uim euitare nitebatur. 15 per idem tempus Telegonus, quem Circe editum ex Ulixes apud Aegaeam insulam educauerat, ubi adoleuit, ad inquisitionem patris profectus, Ithacam uenit gerens manibus quoddam hastile, cui summitas marinae turturis osse armabatur, scilicet insigne

Odes 3.29.8

Ulixes euersa Troia territus crebris [1] aduersisque somniis omnes undique regionis eius interpretandi somnia peritissimos conducit, hisque refert inter cetera visum sibi sepius simulacrum quoddam inter humanum diuinumque vultum forme perlaudabilis et eodem loco repente edi. quod complecti summo desiderio cupienti sibi, porrigentique manus responsum ab eo humana uoce, sceleratam huiusmodi coniunctionem, quippe eiusdem sanguinis atque originis, namque ex eo alterum alterius opera interitu<rum>. dein versanti sibi uehementius, cupientique causam eius rei perdiscere, signum quoddam mari editum intervenisse visum, idque secundum imperium sic eius in se iactum utrumque di<i>unxisse. quam rem cuncti qui aderant uno ore exitialem ei pronuntiant adduntque caveret ab insidiis filii. casu[s] [2] suspe<c>tus parentis animo Telemachus, agris, qui in Cephalenia erant, relegatur additis ei quam fidissimis custodibus. praeterea Ulixes secedens alia loca abdita remotaque quantum poterat somniorum vim euitare nitebatur. per idem tempus Telegonus, quem Cyrce editum ex Ulixes apud Eam insulam educauerat, ibi adoleuit, ad inquisitionem patris profectus, Ithacam venit gerens manibus quoddam hastile, cui summitas marinae turturis osse armabatur, scilicet insigne

insulae eius in qua genitus erat. dein edoctus ubi Ulisses ageret, ad eum uenit. ibi per custodes agri patrio aditu prohibitus, ubi uehementius perstat et e diuerso repellitur, clamare occipit, indignum facinus prohiberi se a parentis complexu. ita credito Telemachum ad inferendam uim regi aduentare, acrius resistitur, nulli quippe compertum esse alterum etiam Ulixi filium. dein iuuenis ubi se uehementius et per uim repelli uidet, dolore elatus multos custodum interficit aut grauiter uulneratos debilitat. quae postquam Ulixi cognita sunt, existimans iuuenem a Telemacho inmissum egressus lanceam, quam ob tutelam sui gerere consueuerat, aduersum Telegonum iaculatur. sed postquam huiusmodi ictum iuuenis casu quodam intercipit, ipse in parentem insigne iaculum emittit in-felicissimum casum uulneri contemplatus. at ubi ictu eo Ulixes concidit, gratulari cum fortuna confiterique optime secum actum, quod per uim externi hominis interemptus parricidii scelere Telemachum carissimum sibi liberauisset. dein reliquum adhuc retentans spiritum iuuenem percunctari, quisnam et ex quo ortus loco se domi belloque inclitum Ulixem Laertae filium interficere ausus esset. tunc Telegonus cognito parentem esse, utraque manu dilanians caput fletum edit quam miserabilem maxime discruciatum ob inlatam per se patri necem. itaque Ulixi, uti uoluerat, nomen suum atque matris, insulam in qua ortus erat, et ad postremum insigne iaculi ostendit. ita Ulixes ubi uim ingruentium somniorum praedictumque ab interpretibus uitae exitum animo recordatus est, uulneratus ab eo, quem minime crediderat, triduo post mortem obiit senior iam prouectae aetatis neque tamen inualidus uirium.

insule eius in qua genitus erat. dein edoctus ubi Ulixes ageret, ad eum venit. ibi per custodes agri patrio aditu prohibitus, ubi uehementius perstat et e diuerso repellitur, clamare cepit indignum facinus prohiberi se a patris complexu. ita credito Telemachum ad inferendum vim regi aduentare, acrius resistitur, nulli quippe compertum est alterum esse Ulixi filium. dein iuuenis ubi se uehementius et per vim repelli uidet, dolore elatus multos custodum interficit aut graviter uulneratos debilitat. quae postquam Ulixi cognita sunt, existimans iuuenem a Telemacho inmissum, egressus lanceam, quam ob tutelam sui genere† consueuerat, aduersum Telegonum iaculatur. sed postquam huiusmodi ictum iuuenis casu quodam intercipit, ipse in parentem insigne iaculum emittit in-felicissimum casum uulneri contemplatus. at ubi ictu[m] eo Ulixes concidit, gratulari cum fortuna confiterique optime secum actum, quod per vim externi hominis interemptus parricidii scelere Telemachum carissimum sibi liberauisset. dein reliquum adhuc retentans spiritum iuuenem percontari, quisnam et ex quo loco se domi belloque inclitum Ulixem interficere ausus esset. tunc Telegonus cognito parentem esse, utraque delanians caput fletum edit quam miserabilem maxime discruciatum ob illatam per se patri necem. itaque Ulixi, uti uoluerat, nomen suum atque matris, et insulam in qua ortus erat, et ad postremum insigne iaculi ostendit. ita Ulixes ubi vim ingruentium somniorum [1]

animo recordatus est, ab eo vulneratus, quem minime crediderat, triduo post mortem obiit senior iam prouecte etatis nec tamen invalidus uirium. tunc Telegonus propter necem parentis patrium solum habominatus ad Italiam venit ibique Tusculum oppidum condidit.

Dictys' narrative clarifies why Telegonus is called a 'parricide', but does not explain his connection to Tusculum. This information appears in Harley's Porphyrio note on *Epode* 1.29: *CIRCAEA MOENIA Tusculum intelligendum, quia Telegonus Cyrces et Ulixis filius hoc oppidum condidit...*[3] Our scholiast appends Porphyrio's information to Dictys' narrative. One detail unaccounted for by Porphyrio is the

cause-and-effect connection between parricide and the foundation of Tusculum. I find no source stating that Telegonus was exiled: the scholiast apparently drew this assumption from the context.

Footnotes:

[1] It is likely that augury was omitted deliberately, as foretelling of the future is also left out at the end of the scholion. It is not clear, however, if the scholiast found augury objectionable. Harley scholia include two scientific explanations of dreams (from Servius and Macrobius) at *Odes* 3.27.41.

[2] Eisenhut reports *casu suspectus* as the reading of the γ branch, but prints *ita suspectus* – apparently the reading offered by the ϵ branch of the tradition.

[3] The same information is given in Porphyrio's note *ad locum* and the Pseudo-Acro note on *Odes* 3.29.8, which are, however, absent from Harley.

Trojan Historian Texts 1a, 1b (?)

The following pair of Harley notes on the Homeric hero Meriones match no source verbatim, but the facts offered by the scholiast are sufficiently unusual to allow identification of potential sources. Glossing Meriones is no easy job. The hero is rarely mentioned in Latin literature and information about him is, to my knowledge, assembled by no commentator or mythographer.

The first note glosses the hero's name at *Odes* 1.15.26 [1]:

Merion frater fuit Idominei filius Deucalionis erat

The statement that Meriones was the son of Deucalion is unparalleled. Usually Meriones' father is said to be Molus, a half-brother of Idomeneus. Meriones, Idomeneus, and Deucalion are connected in only two texts, Hyginus' *Fabulae* and Dictys' history:

(Dict. *Prol.* 2) hic fuit socius Idomenei, Deucalionis filii, et Merionis ex Molo...

(Dict. 1.1.3) haec quippe Idomeneus cum Merione, Deucalionis Idomeneus, alter Moli, iussu eius seorsum habuere.

(Hyg. *Fab.* 97.7) Idomeneus Deucalionis filius a Creta, nauibus XL. Meriones Moli et +Melphidis filius a Creta, nauibus XL.

The Harley genealogy begins to square with these sources, if we supply *qui*:

Merion frater fuit Idominei <qui> filius Deucalionis erat.

Hyginus' *Fabulae* are not used in Harley scholia. Of the Dictys passages the *Prologus* (describing the author) is the more likely to have caused the omission of Meriones' father Molus: *ex Molo* could have been misunderstood as a geographical reference (by contrast with explicit *Deucalionis filii*). The Horace scholiast calls Idomeneus and Meriones brothers, presumably as a result of their frequent coupling.

This corrupt gloss is incorporated into another note glossing Meriones at *Odes* 1.6.15 [2]. Here all trace of the relative clause has vanished with the loss of *erat*.

Dares 14.17

Idomeneus et Meriones ex Creta
cum navibus numero LXXX

Dares 19.24

Hector Merionem persequitur et occidit.

Odes 1.6.15

Meriones frater Idominei fuit filius
Deucalionis, qui ad Troiam cum octaginta
navibus venit. ibi post multa prelia telo
Hectoris percussus occubuit.

This scholion contains three facts. Meriones' erroneous lineage matches the scholion on *Odes* 1.15 discussed above; the role of his fleet in the Trojan expedition and his fate at Hector's hands are both stated by Dares. This compact note focuses on the hero's death, which is the dramatic moment described by Horace.

Footnotes

[1] In *Odes* 1.15 Nereus prophesies the war brought by Paris on his city (23-27): *Vrgent inpauidi te Salaminus/ Teucer, te Sthenelus sciens/ pugnae, siue opus est imperitare equis,/ non auriga piger; Merionen quoque/ nosces.*

[2] In *Odes* 1.6 Horace offers an epic-style description of Meriones, covered in Trojan dust (13-16): *Quis Martem tunica tectum adamantina/ digne scripserit aut puluere Troico/ nigrum Merionen aut ope Palladis/ Tydiden superis parem?*

2. Editing of the glossing material

In the passages discussed so far we have encountered several editing techniques: the scholiast omits text to compress the narrative or alter its emphasis; he inserts words to clarify meaning or connect the scholion to his lemma; he combines information from several sources. In this part of the chapter, I examine the scholiast's editing methods further, focusing on two features: omission of material and compiling for the lemma.

2.1 Omission of source material

In Text 13 we observed that some omissions reflect the scholiast's desire to abbreviate his source, while other omissions are dictated by the scholiast's interpretative agenda. In the following example, an omission gives us a clue to the Horatian lemma, for which the scholiast excerpts Orosius. We shall also see that some *lacunae*, unreported by historian editors, apparently arise from the scholiast's source manuscripts.

Historian texts 3a, 3b

Hannibal's name is twice glossed with a narrative supplied from Orosius. At the opening of *Odes* 2.12, Hannibal exemplifies historical themes unsuited to lyric:

Nolis longa ferae bella Numantiae
nec durum Hannibalem nec Siculum mare
Poeni purpureum sanguine mollibus

aptari citharae modis...

In *Epode* 16 he appears among external enemies, who caused Rome less damage than caused by civil strife (7-10):

...nec fera caerulea domuit Germania pube
parentibusque abominatus Hannibal:
inopia perdemus devoti sanguinis aetas
ferisque rursus occupabitur solum...

In both poems Hannibal is glossed with a note combining two events of the second Punic war, narrated by Orosius at different points of his fourth book, namely the attack on Rome's Spanish ally Saguntum at the start of the war and the Cannae disaster (3b).

Oros. 4.14.1-8

anno ab urbe condita DXXXIII
Hannibal Poenorum imperator Saguntum
florentissimam Hispaniae ciuitatem,
amicam populi Romani, primum bello
inpetitam, deinde obsidione cinctam et
fame excruciatam omniaque fortiter
contem-plateione fidei, quam Romanis
deuouerant, digna indignaque tolerantem,
octauo demum mense deleuit. legatos
Romanorum ad se missos iniuriosissime
etiam a conspectu suo abstinuit. exinde
odio Romani nominis, quod patri
Hamilcari, cum esset nouem annos natus,
fidelissime alias infidelissimus ante aras
iurauerat P. Cornelio Scipione et P.
Sempronio Longo consulibus Pyrenaeos
montes transgressus inter ferocissimas
Gallorum gentes ferro uiam aperuit et nono
demum die a Pyrenaeo ad Alpes peruenit;
ubi dum montanos Gallos, repellere ab
ascensu obnitentes, bello superat atque
inuias rupes igni ferroque rescindit, quad-
riduum commoratus quinto demum die
cum maximo labore ad plana peruenit.
fuisse tunc exercitum eius in centum
milibus peditum et uiginti milibus equitum
definiunt. Scipio consul Hannibali primus
occurrit commissoque proelio apud
Ticinum ipse grauiter uulneratus per
Scipionem filium admodum praetextatum,
qui post Africanus cognominatus est, ab
ipsa morte liberatus euasit. caesus est ibi
omnis paene Romanus exercitus. pugnatum
deinde eodem consule ad flumen Treuiam
iterumque Romani pari clade superati sunt.
Sempronius consul cognito collegae casu a
Sicilia cum exercitu rediit; qui similiter

Odes 2.12 [1]

Hannibal Penorum imperator
anno etatis sue xx Saguntum
florentissimam Hispanie ciuitatem,
amicam populi Romani, primum bello
inpetitam, deinde obsidione cinctam
fameque cruciatam omniaque fortiter
contemplatione fidei, quam Romanis
devouerant, digna indignaque tolerantem,
octavo demum mense deleuit. legatos
Romanorum iniuriosissime etiam a
conspectu suo prohibuit. [2] exinde odio
Romani nominis, quod patri suo
Hamilcari novem annos agens
ante aras fidelissime [2]
iurauerat P. Cornelio Scipione et P.
Sempronio Longo consulibus Pyreneos
montes transgressus inter ferocissimas
Gallorum gentis ferro via aperta

atque
inuiis rupibus ferro ignique re<s>cissis

ad plana Italiae maximo labore peruenit,
habens in exercitu suo c

peditum et xx milia equitum.

Scipio consul primus Hannibali

occurrit apud Ticenum. quo
prelio ipse Scipio graviter uulneratus per
Scipionem filium suum

a morte vix
est liberatus. deleto ac occiso pene omni
Romano exercitu deinde pugnatum est
ab eodem consule apud Treuiam flumen
iterumque Romani pari clade superati sunt.
Sempronius alter consul

apud eundem fluuium congressus,
 amisso exercitu paene solus
 evasit. in eo tamen bello etiam Hannibal
 sauciatus est. qui postea, cum in Etruriam
 primo uere transiret, in summo Appennino
 tempestate correptus, biduo continuo
 immobiliter cum exercitu niuibz conclusus
 et onustus obriguit. ubi magnus hominum
 numerus, iumenta conplurima, elephanti
 paene omnes frigoris acerbitate perierunt.
Oros. 4.16.1-5 Anno ab urbe condita DXL
 L. Aemiliu Paulus et P. Terentius Varro
 consules contra Hannibalem missi
inpatientia Varronis consulis infelicissime
 apud Cannas Apuliae uicum omnes paene
 Romanae spei uires perdiderunt. nam in ea
 pugna XLIII milia Romanorum interfecta
 sunt, quamquam et de exercitu Hannibalis
 magna pars caesa est. nullo tamen Punico
 bello Romani adeo ad extrema interne-
 cionis adducti sunt. periit enim in eo consul
Aemilius Paulus consulares aut praetorii
 uiri uiginti interfecti sunt, senatores uel
 capti uel occisi sunt triginta, nobiles uiri
 trecenti, pedestrium militum XL milia,
 equitum tria milia quingenti. Varro consul
 cum quinquaginta equitibus Venusium
 fugit. nec dubium est ultimum illum diem
 Romani status futurum fuisse, si Hannibal
 mox post uictoriam ad peruadendam urbem
 contendisset. Hannibal in testimonium
 uictoriae suae tres modios anulorum
 aureorum Carthaginem misit, quos ex
 manibus interfactorum equitum
Romanorum senatorumque detraxerat.

apud eundem fluvium congressus
Hannibali amisso exercitu solus pene
 evasit. in eo tamen bello Hannibal
 sauciatus est. qui postea, cum in Etruriam
 primo vere transiret, in summo Appennino

nivibus conclusus
 obriguit. ubi magnus hominum
 numerus, iumenta complurima, elephanti
 pene omnes frigoris acerbitate perierunt.

Lucius Aemilius Paulus et Publius Terentius
 Varro consules contra Hannibalem missi
 infelicissime
 apud Cannas Apuliae vicum omnes pene
 Romane spei vires perdiderunt. nam in ea
 pugna quadraginta iiii milia Romanorum
 interfecta sunt,

interempto etiam consule Emilio Paulo

Varro consul
 cum L equitibus Venusium fugit. nam
non dubium est ultimum illum diem
 Romani status fuisse, si Hannibal mox
 post victoriam ad pervadendam urbem
 contendisset. Hannibal in testimonium
 sue victoriae tres mod<i>os anulorum
 aureorum Cartagin-em misit, quos de
 manibus equitum senatorumque
occisorum detraxerat.

One piece of information unaccounted for by Orosius is Hannibal's age at the start of the second Punic war: *anno etatis sue xx*. It is stated in Eutropius' account of the same event (3.7): *annum agens vicesimum aetatis*. [3] Using Eutropius in addition to Orosius would be consistent with the scholiast's practice elsewhere: we saw that he consulted both historians on Spartacus (Texts 8 and 21); Orosius and Eutropius were used simultaneously in several of my later examples. Yet this passage of Eutropius falls outside the two books definitely used in Harley scholia (books 6 and 7), nor is Harley phrasing identical to that of Eutropius. The immediate source of the scholiast's information remains uncertain. [4]

Prior to examining the overall editing of this excerpt, I wish to draw attention to one peculiar Harley detail: *ab eodem consule*. (I mentioned this when discussing

the scholiast's dating formula, *Licinio Crasso consule*, in Text 20.) Orosius' *eodem consule* shows that the Ticinum and Trebia encounters happened under the command of the same consul and in the same year (218 BC). Our scholiast interpreted the phrase more literally: Harley's *ab eodem consule* suggests that Scipio had recovered from the wounds received at Ticinum and commanded in person at Trebia.

The Harley note lacks many elements of Orosius' narrative. Apart from *alias infidelissimus*, no such lacunae are recorded by Orosius editors.

In one case the gap is obviously due to abbreviating: the omission of *et nono ... die cum* is accompanied by syntactic change of main verbs into ablative absolutes (*ferro via aperta... atque inviis rupibus ferro ignique recissis*). The scholiast clearly strove to produce a speedy compressed narrative with the help of present participles (*novem annos agens, habens in exercitu suo*), connective relative (*quo prelio*), and further ablative absolutes (*deleto ac occiso pene omni Romano exercitu, interempto etiam consule Emilio Paulo*). To preserve clarity, the scholiast supplied several names (*Italie, Scipio, Hannibal, Sempronius alter consul*), deduced from the context, and two redundant reflexive pronouns (*patri suo, filium suum*).

Another gap in the Orosius text occurs in the indirect tradition. The second Orosius passage used in Harley (4.16) is also excerpted in order to gloss Lucan 2.46 in the tenth-century French Bern 370 (see Appendix 2.2). Both Harley and the Lucan scholion omit *quamquam et de exercitu ... tria milia quingenti* and extract from that passage only the death of Aemilius Paulus. The death is extracted verbatim in the Lucan scholion, but paraphrased in Harley. Harley is not directly related to the Lucan scholion, for each makes one omission absent from the other: *impatientia Varronis consulis* in Harley, *nec dubium ... contendisset* in the Lucan scholion. Nonetheless, the omission shared by the two excerptors indicates the need for further study of the (indirect?) Orosius tradition.

Yet another omission – assuming it was deliberate – helps us to decide, for which lemma this scholion was originally compiled. If the scholiast were glossing “*nec durum Hannibalem nec Siculum mare/ Poeno purpureum sanguine*” in *Odes* 2.12, he would probably have retained “*cognito collegae casu a Sicilia cum exercitu rediit*”. It seems, therefore, that he was glossing *Epode* 16.

Let us consider another Harley scholion, which uses part of the second Orosius extract and shares one omission with the notes discussed above. In *Odes* 1.12 Aemilius Paulus is praised among other republican heroes (38-39):

...prodigum Paulum superante Poeno
gratus insigni referam Camena...

The scholiast produces a note about Paulus (Text 3a):

Oros. 4.16.1-3

...L. Aemilius Paulus et P.
Terentius Varro consules contra
Hannibalem missi inpatientia Varronis
consulis infelicissime apud Cannas Apuliae
vicum omnes paene Romanae spei uires
perdiderunt. nam in ea pugna xliiii milia
Romanorum interfecta sunt... periit enim in
eo consul Aemilius Paulus...
cf. Porph. ad loc. Aemilium Paulum dicit,
qui uictus ab Hannibale apud Cannas
Apuliae uicum maluit perire, quam
exemplo collegae Varronis fugere.

Odes 1.12.38

Lucius Emilius Paulus et Puplius
Terentius Varro consules contra
Hannibalem missi
infelicissime apud Cannas Apulie
vicum omnes Romane pene rei [5] vires
perdiderunt. nam in ea pugna xliiii milia
Romanorum interfecta sunt.
Paulus consul cum posset ignaviter
abisse, maluit fortiter perire quam
ignominiose de bello aufugere.
quem Hannibal maximo honore sepelivit.
ipse Hannibal funeri eius interfuit.

Orosius provided the scholiast with the scene of the battle, in which the hero meets his death. The source of the second half of the scholion is uncertain. Harley's description of Paulus' death is more elaborate, than the description offered by Porphyrio (also integrated into λφ scholia). The source of the funerary honours, bestowed on Paulus by Hannibal, remains unknown to me.[6] The idea is clearly in tune with Horace's eulogy of Paulus in this poem.

This Orosius extract is closely related to the longer passage, glossing *Odes* 2.12.2 and *Epode* 16, discussed above: all three omit *inpatientia Varronis consulis*. (No such lacuna is recorded in the Orosius tradition.) It is tempting to assume, that the short note was copied from the long one. On the other hand, the omission of Varro's impatience has no apparent importance in either of the long notes, whereas here it focuses the reader's attention on the other consul, Lucius Aemilius Paulus, who is the lemma glossed in *Odes* 1.12. If *inpatientia Varronis consulis* was omitted deliberately, the scholiast first used Orosius to gloss *Odes* 1.12 and then returned to Orosius again for a longer extract, in order to gloss Hannibal.

Footnotes

[1] The *Epode* 16 version spells *modios* correctly and imposes masculine gender on *interfecti*.

[2] Harley's *prohibuit* adds to the selection of variants offered by the Orosius tradition for *abstinuit*. (The early non-reflexive sense of this verb apparently puzzled many copyists). Harley shares the omission of *alias infidelissimus* with a single Orosius manuscript, Vat. Reg. lat. 296 s. ix (Q).

[3] Eutropius is in fact the source used by Orosius at this point.

[4] If the scholiast did consult Eutropius, the choice of the Cannae narrative for this scholion may have been influenced by the prominence given to that event by Eutropius (3.8-10).

[5] The error *spei* (for *rei*) found in the short, but not in the long notes was probably made by a copyist.

[6] For the sentiment, compare Val. Max. 5.1.6: *Hannibal enim Aemilii Pauli apud Cannas trucidati quaesitum corpus ... inhumatum iacere passus non est. Hannibal Ti. Gracchum ... cum summo honore sepulturae mandauit et ossa eius in patriam portanda militibus nostris tradidit. Hannibal M. Marcellum ... legitimo funere extulit punicoque sagulo et corona donatum aurea rogo inposuit.*

2.2 Compiling for the lemma; interweaving the sources

I shall now examine the role played by the Horatian lemma in the composition of scholia. The most vivid examples of the scholiast's editing are the notes drawn from multiple sources.

Trojan Historian Text 5

In *Odes* 2.9 Horace advises the elegist Valgius to cease from grief, following the example of Nestor, who did not bewail his son all his life (13-15):

At non ter aeuo functus amabilem
ploravit omnis Antilochum senex
annos...

A composite scholion tells of Nestor's long life and the death of his son Antilochus:

Sch. Theb. 4.126-7

quia nondum militaverat Nestor.
multumque ipsa novitate declaravit.
nam prima aetas triginta annorum est,
secunda sexaginta. nam Nestorem constat
tertia aetate ad bellum venisse Troianum...
Dict. 4.6 in quo bello Antilochus Nestoris
obuius forte Memnoni, interficitur.

Dares 34

Hecuba, maesta quod duo filii eius fortissimi
Hector et Troilus ab Achille interfecti essent,
consilium muliebre temerarium iniit ad
ulciscendum dolorem. Alexandrum filium
arcessit, orat, hortatur ut se et fratres suos
vindicaret, insidias Achilli faceret, et eum
necopinantem occidat, quoniam ad se miserit
et rogaverit ut sibi Polyxenam daret in
matrimonium. se ad eum missuram Priami
verbis pacem inter se foedusque firment,
constituantque in fano Apollinis Thymbraei,
quod est ante portam: eo Achillem venturum,
conlocuturum ibique se insidias collocare:
satis sibi visum [2] esse si eum occiderit.
quod temptaturum se Alexander promisit.
noctu de exercitu eliguntur fortissimi et in
fano Apollinis collocantur. signum
accipiunt. Hecuba ad Achillem, sicuti
condixerat, nuntium mittit. Achilles laetus,
Polyxenam amans, postera die ad fanum
se venturum constituit. interea Achilles
sequenti die cum Antilocho Nestoris
filio ad constitutum veniunt, simulque fanum
Apollinis ingrediuntur, undique ex insidiis
occurrunt. tela coniciunt: Paris hortatur.
Achilles cum Antilocho brachio sinistro
chlamyde involuto enses dextera tenentes

Odes 2.9.14

Nestorem dicit Nelei filium [1]
qui tertia etate ad bellum Troyanum venit –
nam prima etas triginta annorum est, secunda
lx, tercia nonaginta – cuius filius Antylochus
ut alii dicunt in Troiano bello Agamennone†
Aurore filio interfectus est,
alii dicunt eum ab Alexandro in fano
Apollinis cum Achille occisum esse. nam
Hecuba, mesta quod duo filii eius fortissimus
Hector et Troilus ab Achille interfecti essent,
consilium muliebre temerarium iniit ad
ulciscendum dolorem. Alexandrum filium
accersit, hortatur ut fratres suos
vindicaret et insidias Achilli faceret et eum
necopinantem occidat, quoniam ad se miserit
et rogaverit ut sibi Polixenam daret in
matrimonium. se ad eum missarum† Priami
verbis ut pacem fedusque firment;

satis sibi visum esse si eum occiderit.
quod temptaturum se Alexander promisit.
noctu de exercitu eliguntur fortissimi et in
fanum Apollinis collocantur. signum
accipiunt. Hecuba ad Achillem, sicut ei
condixerat, nuntium misit. Achilles letus,
Polixenam amans, postera die ad fanum
se venturum constituit. interea Achilles
consequenti die cum Antilocho Nestoris
filio ad constitutum veniunt, simulque fanum
Apollinis ingrediuntur und[i]e ex insidiis
Paris hortatur.
Achilles cum Antilocho brachio sinistro
chlamyde involuto enses

impetum faciunt. exinde Achilles multos occidit. Alexander Antilochum interimit ipsumque Achillem multis plagis confodit. ita Achilles animam ex insidiis nequicquam fortiter faciens amisit. quem Alexander feris et volucris proici iubet. hoc ne faciat Helenus rogat, tunc eos de fano eici iubet et suis tradi, quorum corpora accepta Argivi in castra ferunt.

faciunt. exinde Achilles multos occidit. Alexander Antilochum interemit ipsumque Achillem multis plagis confodit. ita anima<m> ex insidiis nec quicquam pavens [3] fortiter amisit. quem Alexander feris et <v>olucris proici iubet. hoc ne faciat Helenus rogat
et suis tradi; quorum corpora accepta Argivi in castra ferunt.

The scholion is compiled from several sources with a clear focus on Horace's lemma, namely old Nestor grieving the death of his son Antilochus. A *Thebaid* scholion depicts Nestor as an aged warrior at Troy, still fighting in the third age of his life, and explains the extent of his three-age-long life in numerical terms.[4] The scholiast then proceeds to Antilochus' death in the same war, consulting each of the Trojan historians in turn (*ut alii dicunt ... alii dicunt*). Whereas Dictys' report of Antilochus' being killed by 'Agamemnon' is very brief, Dares offers a lengthy account of Achilles and Antilochus getting ambushed and slaughtered at Apollo's temple. The scholiast first juxtaposes Dictys with a summary of Dares' account (*alii dicunt eum ab Alexandro in fano Apollinis cum Achille occisum esse*), but then, for good measure, reproduces Dares' story in full.

Dares' extensive narrative is certainly not necessary to expound the ode, but the scholiast still has the Horatian lemma in mind: the two omissions of Achilles' name give prominence to the scholion's protagonist Antilochus.[5] The description of Achilles' death at the end of the extract is appropriated as Antilochus' heroic end: *ita anima[m] ex insidiis nec quicquam pavens fortiter amisit* (etc).

The Harley copy of the compilation contains a corrupt reading *Agamennone*. It is clear that the Horace scholiast originally wrote *a Memnone*, for he also inserted the gloss *Aurore filio*. [6] The error *Agamennone* was made by a later copyist.

Footnotes

[1] The description of Nestor as son of Neleus is the one element not accounted for by the identified sources. This information features in a Harley scholion of unknown origin, glossing *Nestor* at *Odes* 1.15.22: *hic Nestor filius Nelei a Pilo civitate fuit, qui etiam pater erat Antyluchi et Calchantis*.

[2] *satis sibi visum esse* Voss. Lat. F. 113 (L), *satis esse suae vitae* St Gall 197 (G), Meister conj. *satis sibi victum esse*

[3] The scholiast or copyist has mistaken *nequicquam* for *nequaquam*, misunderstood Dares' phrase *nequicquam fortiter faciens* and (erroneously) altered it to *nequicquam pavens fortiter amisit*.

[4] The scholiast may have benefited from additional (though by no means essential) clarification of the three ages in the Pseudo-Acro note *ad locum*: *Idest Nestor, qui nonaginta annis hoc est tribus aetatibus uixisse firmatur; unam enim aetatem triginta annos ponebant*.

[5] Admittedly, the current state of Dares edition makes it difficult to determine, which alterations were definitely made by the Horace scholiast.

[6] Memnon is called a son of Aurora by Dictys, a little before the extract used in this scholion. (**Dict. 4.4** *At sequenti die Memnon, Tithoni atque Aurorae filius, ingentibus Indorum atque Aethiopum copiis*

supervenit, magna fama, quippe in unum multis milibus armatis vario genere spes etiam vota que de se Priami superaverat.) Memnon is also called a son of Aurora repeatedly by Servius. (*Aen.* 1.489 *NIGRI MEMNONIS ARMA quia Tithonus, frater Laomedontis, raptus ab Aurora filium suum Memnonem ex ipsa progenitum, [[inlectus dono vitis aureae Priamo]] ad Troiae misit auxilia; Aen.* 1.751 *AURORAE filius Memnon; Aen.* 10.470 *GNATI DEVM ut Achilles Thetidis, Memnon Aurorae, Ascalaphus Martis.*)

In my next example, the historians are not merely combined but closely interwoven with a focus on the lemma.

Historian text 2

The death of the younger Cato features in *Odes* 1.12 (32-35):

Romulum post hos prius an quietum
Pompili regnum memorem, an superbos
Tarquini fasces, dubito, an Catonis
nobile letum.

In *Odes* 2.1 Horace remembers Cato as a participant of the civil war (21-24):

Audire magnos iam uideor duces
non indecoro puluere sordidos
et cuncta terrarum subacta
praeter atrocem animum Catonis.

In both cases the name is glossed with the same scholion, which recounts the last months of Cato's life from Pompey's assassination to his own suicide.

The following presentation convention is observed in this and similar examples: where multiple sources are compiled into a single scholion, the source used by the scholiast at any given point is black, while the other source is shown in grey.

Eutr.-Paul 6.23

[Caesar]

...inde
in Africam profectus est
ubi infinita nobilitas
cum Iuba, Mauretaniae
rege, bellum reparaverat...
contra hos commisso
proelio, post multas
dimicationes victor fuit
Caesar. Cato, Scipio,
Petreius, Iuba ipsi se
occiderunt. Faustus,
Sullae quondam dictatoris
filius, Pompeii gener, a
Caesare interfectus est.

Odes 1.12.34

Cato comes Pompeiarius† in
civili bello contra Cesarem
occisso Pompeo a Tholomeo
rege Egipti apud Pelusium
portum Alexandriae
in Amffricam concessit.
ibi infinita Romanorum
nobilitas cum Iuba Mauritaniae
rege, bellum reparavit.
contra quos Cesar
post multas dimicationes apud
Tapsum victor exitit; castra
eorum duruit† lx elephantos
cepit. M. Porcius Cato sese
Utice amore libertatis occidit.
Iuba rex percussori iugulum
dato precio prebuit.

Orosius 6.16.3-4

[Caesar]

postea uero quam Romam
uenit, dictator et consul
creatus in Africam transiit et
apud Thapsum cum Iuba et
Scipione pugnavit
maximamque ibi hominum
multitudinem interfecit.
castra utriusque direpta sunt,
sexaginta elephantum
capti. Cato sese
apud Uticam occidit;
Iuba [1] percussori iugulum
pretio dato prebuit.

The lemma, for which this scholion was originally compiled, becomes apparent from the phrase *amore libertatis*, added to the historian account by the scholiast. These words describe Cato in the Pseudo-Acro note on *Odes* 1.12:

Cato dum mortuo Pompeio apud Vticam obsideretur, amore libertatis manu sua sese peremit, unde et Vticensis uocatus est.

The Pseudo-Acro note is absent from Harley, but was apparently present in the scholiast's exemplar. It is clear that the scholiast originally compiled his note to gloss *Catonis nobile letum* in *Odes* 1.12. In order to describe Cato's suicide as noble, the scholiast collected information about the irretrievable defeat of the Republican cause.

Cato is the protagonist of the opening sentence, composed by the scholiast, but neatly dovetailed into the historian account: he replaces Caesar as subject of '*in Africam concessit*'. The death of Pompey is inserted as an ablative absolute, marking the 'beginning of the end' for Cato, who is described as *comes Pompeianus*.^[2] The reforming of the Republican resistance is promoted from a subordinate (*ubi ... reparaerat*) to the main clause (*ibi ... reparavit*). The scholiast follows Eutropius' inclusive portrayal of the republicans as *infinita nobilitas* – contrast Orosius' '[Caesar] cum Iuba et Scipione pugnavit' – which allows room for Cato and places him among the good and noble. (The scholiast's attention to the phrase is confirmed by his clarification '*infinita Romanorum nobilitas*'.) Only then is the historians' focus on Caesar allowed to take over.^[3] All details of the other Republicans, who fought and died or killed themselves, are stripped out,^[4] leaving only Cato's full name (from Eutropius), the distinction between the place of battle and the place of his suicide, and Iuba's assistance, added perhaps as a colourful detail. This clearly demonstrates that Cato had no duty to fight on.

Throughout this combination of the two historians, the scholiast kept an eye on both sources. In two instances the main source was complemented with a detail from the other: Thapsus as the location of the famous battle left nameless by Eutropius, was taken from Orosius; Cato's full name in the latter part of the scholion was supplied from Eutropius.

The circumstances of Pompey's death merit further attention (*occisso Pompeio a Tholomeo rege Egypti apud Pelusium portum Alexandrie*). Both Eutropius and Orosius report Pompey's assassination in Alexandria a little before the passages used for the bulk of the scholion.^[5] Eutropius identifies his killer as the king of Egypt, Orosius explicitly names him Ptolemy – here again the scholiast seems to have

combined information from both sources.[6] Neither historian locates the event at Pelusium. Possibly, the scholiast assumed this fact from Orosius, who reports, immediately after Pompey's assassination, the death of another republican, Lentulus, taking place at Pelusium (6.15.28-9).[7]

Footnotes

[1] Zangemeister reports the insertion of *rex* in Wrocław R 108 = S. I 5 30.

[2] In late Latin, *comes* signifies a dependent position within the political hierarchy. Orosius uses it (over a dozen times) exclusively in late imperial context of book 7. (The scholiast, predictably, does not use book 7 to gloss Horace, but may well be familiar with the entire opus, since he occasionally uses passages from outside the heavily excerpted books 5 and 6.) Cato and Pompey appear together in Orosius in the context of their joined consulship (5.18.18 *Cn. Pompeio L. Porcio Catone consulibus*) and earlier, as fellow members of a political faction (5.17.11 *Cato atque Pompeius, rogationem de rexitu Metelli Numidici totius urbis gaudio promulgarunt*).

[3] The subject alteration is marked by change from *hos* to *quos*. Caesar remains the subject through change of passives *direpta* and *capta sunt* to active *diripuit*, which must lurk underneath corrupt *diruit* and *duruit* at *Odes* 2.1 and *Odes* 1.12 respectively.

[4] Eutropius catalogues the Republican forces as follows (6.23 omitted above): '*duces autem Romani erant P. Cornelius Scipio ex genere antiquissimo Scipionis Africani (hic etiam socer Pompeii Magni fuerat), M. Petreius, Q. Varus, M. Porcius Cato, L. Cornelius Faustus, Sullae dictatoris filius*'.

[5] **Eutr. 6.21** *ipse fugatus Alexandriam petiit, ut a rege Aegypti, cui tutor a senatu datus fuerat propter iuuenilem eius aetatem, acciperet auxilia. qui fortunam magis quam amicitiam secutus occidit Pompeium, caput eius et anulum Caesari misit; Oros. 6.15.27f. Pompeius fugiens in ostio Penei amnis onerariam nauem nactus in Asiam transiit. inde per Cyprum in Aegyptum uenit ibique mox ut litus attigit, iussu Ptolemaei adolescentis in gratiam Caesaris uictoris occisus est.*

[6] Admittedly, both facts could be surmised from Orosius, who describes Ptolemy's ancestors of the same name as 'kings' at 4.19.36 and 5.10.6.

[7] Alternatively, the scholiast may have obtained this information from Lucan or Lucan scholia (8.466, 8.825, 9.83). Other sources locating Pompey's death (Florus 2.147) and tomb (Amm. Marc. 22.16.3; Hist. Aug. *Hadr.* 14.4) are never used in Harley scholia.

A simpler example of the scholiast interweaving Eutropius and Orosius to gloss Sextus Pompey in *Epode* 4, is provided in Appendix 2.1 (Text 17).

3. Interpretation

In this final part of the chapter, we shall encounter further examples of the editing techniques discussed above. These passages also show us how the scholiast interpreted his glossing material and Horace. Examples are grouped together by type. I start with several scholia involving misunderstandings of historical facts (3.1). I then discuss passages, the content or editing of which suggest a particular interpretative agenda on the part of the scholiast.

3.1 Blunders and misunderstandings

Two less complex examples are presented in Appendix 2.1. The first, Text 11, imagines the Sygambri invading Italy – perhaps under the influence of Horace's imaginary barbarian capture of Rome in *Epode* 16. Glossing Spanish wars in *Odes*

3.14 and in *Odes* 4.5, the scholiast assumes that Horace refers to the same event in both poems (Text 7). The following two Harley notes involve a similar loss of historical and geographical perspective.

Historian text 21

In *Epode* 16, Horace suggests that the Romans should imitate the Phocaeans, the inhabitants of the Ionian city Phocaea, who abandoned their land after the siege by the Median general Harpagus in 534 BC, swearing never to return (17-18):

nulla sit hac potior sententia: Phocaeorum
velut profugit exsecrata civitas

Harley contains a Pseudo-Acronian note, stating that the Phocaeans suffered at the enemy hands and, fleeing to France, founded Marseilles.[1] Wishing to know the precise cause of their flight, the scholiast turns to the historians. None of the historians mention the Phocaeans, but Orosius describes the dealings of Philip of Macedon with the Phocenses.

The Phocenses, the inhabitants of Phocis, a minor state in the gulf of Corinth, rebelled against Theban control and, under the leadership of Philomelus, captured Delphic treasure in 356. The connection between the Phocaeian migration and the tribulations of the Phocenses, depends on the assimilation of proper names *Phocaea* and *Phocis*. This confusion dates back to antiquity.[2] It is natural for the scholiast to think of the migrants as the inhabitants of Phocis.

Oros. 3.12.12-14, 25-8

huic autem ad obtinendam totius Graeciae dominationem immoderata Thebanorum dominatio facultatem dedit, qui uictos Lacedaemonios ac Phocenses, caedibus etiam rapinisque confectos, cum insuper in communi Graeciae concilio tanta pecuniae multa onerauissent, quantam illi soluere nullo modo possent, ad arma confugere coegerunt. itaque Phocenses Philomelo duce et auxiliis Lacedaemoniorum Atheniensiumque fulti commissa pugna fugatisque hostibus Thebanorum castra ceperunt. sequenti proelio inter immensas utriusque populi strages Philomelus occisus est; in cuius locum Phocenses Oenomaum ducem creauerunt. porro autem Thebani et Thessali omisso dilectu ciuium Philippum Macedoniae regem, quem hostem prius repellere laborabant, ultro sibi ducem

Epode 16.17

sub Philippo rege Macedonum
Thebani sane multis preliis contra
Focenses dimicantes, tandem victis censum
indixerunt, sed cum tantum† pecuniam illis
indixissent

quantam illi solvere nequaquam
possent, iterum ad arma confugere
coegerunt. Focenses Philomelum ducem
legunt
commissa pugna hostes Thebanos fugant,
Focenses illorumque castra capiunt. secundo
deinde bello inter immensas utriusque populi
strages Philomelus occiditur, in cuius
locum Focenses Enomaum ducem creant,
iterum dimicare parati. Thebani inferiores se
esse videntes, Philippum
Macedonie regem

sibi ducem fore

expetierunt. commisso proelio et Phocensibus paene ad internecionem caesis uictoria ad Philippum concessit... 25 maxime cum Thessali Boeotique poscerent Philippum, ut professum se aduersum Phocenses ducem exhiberet susceptumque bellum gereret, contra Phocenses adhibitibus secum Atheniensibus et Lacedaemoniis uel differri bellum uel auferri et pretio et precibus laborarent. Philippus tacite utrisque diuersa promisit, Phocensibus pacem et ueniam se daturum sacramento confirmans, Thessalis uero adfuturum se mox cum exercitu spondet, bellum tamen ab utrisque parari uetat. igitur Philippus instructis copiis angustias Thermopylarum securus ingreditur easque occupatas dispositis praesidiis emunit. tunc primum se non Phocenses soli, sed omnis Graecia captam esse persensit: siquidem primos Phocenses Philippus rupta fide calcatoque sacramento infandae dilacerationi dedit inde omnium urbes finesque populatus cruenta praesentia effecit ut etiam absens timeretur.

Isid. Etym. 15.1.63 (Guillaumin, Monat)
 ...iurauerunt ut profugerent quam longissime ab imperio Persarum, ubi ne nomen quidem eorum audirent; atque ita in ultimos Galliae sinus nauibus profecti, armisque se aduersus Gallicam feritatem tuentes, Massiliam condiderunt et ex nomine ducis nuncupauerunt.

expetivere. Philippus extracto exercitu Focenses bello appetit et usque ad internicionem pene cicidet†.

post hec Thebani denuo Philippum exorant ut Focensibus iterum bellum inferret.
at Focenses adhibitibus secum Athenensibus et Lacedaemoniis uel differri bellum uel auferri precio precibusque laborabant, sed Philippus callide utrisque diuersa promisit, Focensibus pacem et ueniam se daturum confirmans, Thebanis uero se mox affuturum spondet, bellum tamen ab utrisque parari uetat. itaque instructis copiis

Philippus rupta fide spretoque sacramento omnes Focenses dilacerationi dedit, urbemque incendit.

exin Focenses patriam exsecrantes ut quam longissime profugerent coniurauerunt
 atque ita in ultimos Gallie transalpine sinus nauibus profecti,
 Massiliam ibi condiderunt ea<m>que ex nomine ducis nuncupauerunt.

The Orosius excerpt is edited with an eye on Horace's lemma, the Phocaeans. The opening of the scholion is reshaped to focus on the conflict between the Phocenses and the Thebans rather than on the benefit drawn from it by Philip, which is stressed by Orosius. Two of Orosius' ablative absolutes (*Philomelo duce* and *fugatis hostibus*) are changed into main clauses with the Phocenses as agents (*Philomelem ducem legunt* and *hostes Thebanos fugant*). The substantial section of Orosius omitted in the middle of the scholion (15-24) deals with peoples other than the Phocenses.

The scholiast's compressed narrative reads well. Vivid present is in favour: having started with *legunt* and *fugant*, the scholion adjusts Orosius' perfects to *capiunt*, *occiditur*, *creant*, concluding with his own *exorant* and *incendit*. Present participles are used twice in the paraphrase: *videntes* classically for contemporaneous

and *dimicantes* post-classically for preceding action. The substitution of the Thebans for the Thessalians in the second part of the scholion must be a slip influenced by the beginning of the note.

Orosius' account of the Phocenses naturally does not mention any migration, but the scholiast appends a note about the Phocaeans founding Massilia, which matches Isidore's *Etymologiae*. It is connected to Orosius with the words '*exin Focenses patriam exsecrantes ut quam longissime profugerent*', paraphrasing Horace's "*Phocaeorum velut profugit exsecrata civitas*". The scholiast omits Isidore's reference to Cyrus and Persian dominion, conflicting with Orosius' story of Philip. This alteration is clearly deliberate, privileging Orosius' historical authority. The *Etymologiae* are a highly tralatitician source. The weight of Orosius would be all the greater, if Isidore's information reached the scholiast indirectly in the form of an anonymous marginal gloss. This passage did circulate independently: the entire excerpt was used in order to gloss Lucan.[3] The reason for the omission of *Gallica feritas* and addition of *Transalpinam* remains unknown.

Footnotes

[1] The Pseudo-Acronian note *ad locum* found in Harley: ...*sensus autem est forte aut omnes aut melior pars hominum consilium a me requirentes, quemadmodum malis his pos<s>itis carere, quid agendum sit, accipite consilium, cum potior sententia nulla vobis sit, quam ut eatis quocumque <v>os pedes ferunt†, velut Phoeorum civitas profugit execrata agros atque patrios Laros†, fanaque reliquid habitanda apris et rapacibus lupis. etenim relicto patrio solo venerunt in Galliam, Massiliamque urbem, ut lectum est, condiderunt.*

[2] The Phocaeans and Phocenses are conflated by Lucan (3.340, 4.255ff., 5.53), Seneca (*Cons. ad Helv.* 7.8), and Aulus Gellius (*N. A.* 10.16.4). The founders of Massilia are correctly identified as Phocaeans by Ammianus Marcellinus (15.9.7), a source never used in Harley scholia.

[3] *ad Luc.* 3.339 (Cavajoni 1979, p.185). For the dependence of Lucan scholia on Isidore, see Endt (1908).

Historian text 5a

In *Odes* 2.7 Horace shares civil war reminiscences with Brutus (9-12):

tecum Philippos et celerem fugam
sensi relictā non bene parmula,
cum fracta virtus et minaces
turpe solum tetigere mento...

Civil strife is the subject of *Epode* 7 (*Quo, quo scelesti ruitis? aut cur dexteris/ aptantur enses conditi?*). Both civil war scenes are glossed with the same compilation, opening with a third person reference to Horace: *civile bellum monstrat*. The *Epode* copy of the note breaks off half way through the narrative.[1] The longer *Odes* 2.7 version is reproduced below.

2.1-2.3 Historian sources

Eutr. – Paul 7.3

interea Brutus et Cassius, interfectores Caesaris, ingens bellum moverunt. erant enim per Macedoniam et Orientem multi exercitus, quos occupaverunt.

profecti sunt [2] igitur contra eos Caesar Octavianus Augustus et M. Antonius; remanserat enim ad defendendam Italiam Lepidus. apud Philippos, Macedoniae urbem, contra eos pugnaverunt.

primo proelio victi sunt Antonius et Caesar, periit tamen dux nobilitatis Cassius, secundo Brutum et infinitam nobilitatem, quae cum illis bellum gesserat, victam interfecerunt.

Discussion

Odes 2.7

civile bellum monstrat, quod Cesar Octavianus apud Philippus† Macedoniae urbem contra interfectores patris sui gessit. interfecerant autem eum Brutus et Cassius; fug[i]erunt autem ipsi in Gretiam, ubi inveniunt plures exercitus per totam Macedoniam occupaverunt eos. sed et Herodes de Siria illis in auxilium advenit. ergo Dolabellam ducem, Cesaris mortem ufcisci† cupientem, multis bellis in Siria victum ad mortem compulerunt. dein apud Athenas convenientes totam Gretiam pene depopulati sunt. Rodios terra marique obpugnatos ad dedicionem coegerunt, hisque nihil preter vitam reli[n]querunt. profecti sunt igitur contra eos Cesar Octavianus et M. Antonius; remanserat enim ad defendendam Italiam Lepidus. illi autem apud Philipp<o>s Macedoniae urbem contra eos pugnaverunt. Cesar tunc eger in castris se continere statuit capiende quietis causa; sed medici sui hortatu qui per somn<i>um suum admonitum se fatebatur, ut ea die Cesarem salutis ipsius causa deceret in campum egredi, egre inter copias egressus est, mox castra direpta sunt. Antonio victo in prima pugna, periit tamen in ipsa pugna dux nobilitatis Cassius. et castra eius similiter direpta sunt. secundo prelio iam Cesare convallescente infinitam nobilitatem que cum Bruto erat in bello interfecerunt. hinc Brutus ad desperationem coactus latus percussori prebuit.

Oros. 6.18.13-16

at Dolabella in Syria multa cum Cassio bella gessit, a quo uictus ipse se interfecit. Brutus et Cassius magnis exercitibus comparatis apud Athenas conuenerunt totamque Graeciam depopulati sunt. Rhodios Cassius terra marique oppugnatos ad deditionem coegit, quibus praeter uitam nihil reliquit. igitur Caesar et Antonius eosdem in Macedoniam magnis bellorum apparatibus persecuti, ad mortem compulerunt; quamvis manifestissime illa tunc pugna non uirtute partis Antoni sed Caesaris felicitate confecta sit. Caesar enim tunc aeger, cum se in castris capiendae quietis causa tenere statuisset, hortatu et precibus medici sui qui per somnium admonitum sese fatebatur, ut ea die castris Cesarem salutis ipsius causa educeret, in campum aegre inter copias egressus est ac mox castra eius ab hostibus capta sunt. sed rursus Caesariani milites Cassi castra ceperunt. quare ad desperationem adacti Brutus et Cassius immaturam sibi mortem ante belli terminum consciuerunt. nam inuitatis percussoribus Cassius caput, Brutus latus praebuit.

The scholiast's painstaking combination of sources – paraphrased in the opening sentence, then used verbatim – produces a fluent and well-paced narrative.[3] Its syntax has a late-Latin flavour.[4] Several minor details, which appear neither in the historians nor in any external source known to me, seem to have been invented by the scholiast.[5] The main purpose of the scholiast's editing is to focus on two protagonists.

Brutus is the first protagonist. At the point where Orosius reports Cassius' capture of Rhodes (*Cassius... coegit... reliquit*), the scholiast substitutes plural verb forms (*coegerunt... reli[n]querunt*), implicating Brutus in what thus becomes a joint venture.[6] Orosius' more detailed account of Brutus' death is chosen in preference to Eutropius' brief report. The interest in Brutus suggests that the scholion was originally written for *Odes* 2.7, where Brutus is mentioned by Horace: *O saepe mecum tempus in ultimum/ deducte Bruto militiae duce...*

The other protagonist, in whom our scholiast has a particular interest, is the future emperor.[7] Octavian is the subject of the first sentence. Where Eutropius has *primo proelio victi sunt Antonius et Caesar*, the scholiast suppresses Octavian's share of the defeat: *Antonio victo in prima pugna*. This alteration may be inspired by Horace's celebration of Augustan peace or even Augustus' position in the histories themselves, marking a joyous moment in Christian chronicles (cf. Text 15 above).

One peculiar detail of the Harley note deserves further attention. Parthian king Orodes plays no part in the civil war accounts of the historians used by the scholiast.[8] The Parthians' appearance in this scholion is surely inspired by *Epode* 7, where they symbolise the triumph of Rome's enemies on her internal collapse. In Harley, *Epode* 7 is glossed with a nearby passage of Orosius (Text 18 in Appendix 2.1), stating that the Parthians were sent to Syria by Orodes and defeated there by Cassius as part of his post-Carrhae recovery operation (Oros. 6.13.5 *Parthos... ab Orode in Syriam missos... bello expulit*). Composing the note under discussion (Text 5), the scholiast once again came across Cassius fighting in Syria (6.19.13 *at Dolabella in Syria multa cum Cassio bella gessit...*) and assumed that the Parthians were involved in the civil war.

Footnotes

[1] The *Epode* 7 version of the note ends with *nihil preter vitam reli[n]querunt*, that is Orosius' account of the Rhodians' fate. This version lacks the error *ufcisci*.

[2] Droysen omits *sunt*, but records it in the 10th-century Leiden 141 and St Omer 697.

[3] The ablative absolute *Antonio victo in prima pugna* serves to compress. Clarity and continuity of the narrative is secured by the addition of *dein* and *illi autem, hisque* rather than *quibus*, connective

relative favoured by the scholiast elsewhere. Orosius' 'cum ... statuisset' is simplified to 'statuit..., sed....' The variant text offered by Harley at this point will be discussed in the conclusion.

[4] The use of present participles *invenientes* and *convenientes* for preceding action is post-classical, although the latter word already means *congressi* in Cyprian and Ambrose. In classical Latin, the main verb *occupaverunt* would, in all likelihood, appear at the end, as in Orosius. The redundant pronoun added in *somnium suum* is characteristic of late Latin. The form *fugierunt* is found in late antiquity.

[5] Brutus and Cassius are said to have fled to Greece (*fugierunt*), their devastation of Greece is qualified by 'almost' (*totam Gretiam pene depopulati*). The scholiast reinforces the fact that Cassius died in the first battle (*in ipsa pugna*) and that his camp was sacked like Caesar's (*et castra eius similiter direpta sunt*). Combining Eutropius' two-fold division of the battle with Orosius' report of Octavian's illness, the scholiast makes the second battle coincide with Octavian's recovery (*iam Cesare convalescente*).

[6] In fact, Brutus took no part in that campaign: according to Plutarch (*Brut.* 30) and Velleius Paterculus (2.69), he was delegated to Lycia instead.

[7] The scholiast's omission of the title 'Augustus' from Eutropius in the middle of the note may result from Eutropius' own explanation in the preceding section (7.1): *hic est, qui postea Augustus est dictus et rerum potitus*.

[8] Sherwin-White (*Roman Foreign Policy in the East*, London, 1984, p. 302) observes: while all other evidence shows, that Orodes the Second ignored the liberators' request for reinforcements, two historians, namely Florus (2.19.4) and Justin (42.4.6-7), transform the rejected request into active participation. Neither historian speaks of Philippi explicitly or mentions Orodes by name. There is no evidence of either source being used in Harley scholia. (The misspelling of Orodes' name need not add a further biblical dimension to the confusion: not only is the spelling of proper names generally erratic and unreliable, but such a slip is all the more likely to have been made unconsciously by a Christian scholiast.)

3.2 The scholiast's interpretation

In Trojan Text 6, discussed in the opening section, the scholiast used both Servius and Dares to provide contrasting depictions of Troilus. Trojan Historian Text 3, discussed below, was also compiled with a particular agenda. A passage drawn from Paul (Text 13), likewise encountered at the beginning of this chapter, was edited in order to suppress Octavian's claims to divinity. A similar attitude towards Caesar's catasterisation is discernable in Text 1 closing this chapter.

Trojan Historian Text 3

In *Odes* 1.15 Paris, crossing to Troy with Helen on board, is warned by Nereus about the doom he is bringing upon his city. The poem is accompanied by the following scholion attached to no particular lemma:

2.1-2.3 Historian sources

Serv. Aen. 10.91

et eversi Ilii haec est vera causa:
nam foedera quae inter Graecos et Troianos
fuerunt, ita soluta sunt. Hercules cum ...

Dares. 4.6 (M)

Priamus ut Ilium venit, ampliora moenia
extruxit, et civitatem munitissimam addidit,
et militum multitudinem ibi esse fecit, ne
per ignorantiam opprimeretur, ita ut
Laomedon pater eius oppressus est. ...
postquam Ilium stabilitum vidit, tempus
expectavit. ut visum est ei iniurias patris
ulcisci, Antenorem vocari iubet; dicit ei
velle se legatum in Graeciam mittere: ut
cum graves sibi iniurias ab his qui cum
exercitu venerant factas in Laomedontis
patris nece, et abductione Hessionae et quae
omnia aequo animo passurum, si Hesiona ei
tamen reddatur. **Serv. Aen. 10.92**
SPARTAM EXPUGNAVIT hoc de historia
est, ut diximus: nam cum sollicitata Helena
Parin sequi noluisset, egressus ille civitatem
obsedit. qua eversa Helenam rapuit unde et
recipi meruit a marito.

Discussion

Odes 1.15

eversi Ilii hec est vera causa: Herculis
cum Cholchos iret perduto Hyla, post peragratam
Mysiam navibus Troiam venit; a cuius portu
cum eum Laomedon arceret occisus est et eius
filia Hesyona belli iure sublata comiti Telamoni
tradita est, qui primus ascenderat murum. unde
Teucer natus est, nam Aiace ex alia constat
esse procreatum. tunc Hercules Priamu<m>
quoque redemptum a vicinis hostibus in paterno
regno locavit, unde et Priamus dictus est ANO
TY ΠΙΙΑCΘOI id est emptione.
P<ri>amus ut Ilium venit, ampliora menia
extruxit, et civitatem munitissimam addidit,
et multitudinem militum ibi esse fecit, ne
per ignorantiam opprimeretur, ita et
Laomedon pater ejus expressus est. et
postquam Ilium stabilitum vidit,

legatos in Greciam misit, ut sibi de patris sui nece
satisfacerent, et Hesionam sororem, redderent. qui
contumeliose habi<ti> non impetratis rebus
perquam† [1] ierant ad Priamum reversi sunt.

unde commotus Piamus misit Paridem cum
exercitu, ut aliquid tale adduceret, aut uxorem
regis, aut filiam. qui expugnata Sparta Helenam
rapuit. nam sollicitata Helena cum
Parin sequi no<lu>isset, egressus ille civitatem
obsedit, qua eversa Helenam rapuit – unde et
recipi meruit a marito.

Serv. Aen. 1.619

historia hoc habet, Herculem
cum Colchos iret perduto Hyla, post peragratam
Mysiam navibus Troiam venisse. a cuius portu
cum eum Laomedon arceret, occisus est et eius
filia Hesionam belli iure sublata comiti Telamoni
tradita est, qui primus ascenderat murum. unde
Teucer natus est; nam Aiace ex alia constat
esse procreatum. tunc Hercules Priamum
quoque redemptum a vicinis hostibus in paterno
regno locavit: unde et Priamus dictus est apo
tou priasthai, id est emi. ceterum quae de
liberata dicuntur Hesionam constat esse fabulosa.
sed Teucer cum Troia eversa sine fratre esset
reversus, qui se furore propter perdita Achillis
arma interemerat, Salamine pulsus Sidona venit,
ex quo Dido cuncta cognovit. Ajax autem
Achillis patruelis frater fuerat, quoniam
Telamon et Peleus fratres fuerunt, Aeaci filii.
Serv. Aen. 10.91 ctd Hercules cum expugnato
Ilio filiam Laomedontis Hesionam, Priami
sororem, Telamoni dedisset, profecti sunt legati
cum Priamo et eam minime repetere potuerunt,
illis dicentibus se eam habere iure bellorum.
unde commotus Priamus misit Paridem cum
exercitu, ut aliquid tale abduceret, aut uxorem
regis, aut filiam. qui expugnata Sparta Helenam
rapuit. hinc ergo Vergilius utrumque tangit, et
istam historiam quam modo diximus, et propter
iudicium Paridis, quamvis fabula sit illa res et a
poetis composita.

The scholiast claims to present the real cause of the fall of Troy. He narrates a prequel to the rape of Helen, ending with the abduction itself. The story of Hercules' sack of Troy, imprisonment of Hesione, and ascension of Priam are drawn from Servius on *Aen.* 1.619; a military characterisation of Priam's reign and his failed attempt to restore Hesione comes from Dares 4.6; the vengeful abduction of Helen is copied from Servius on *Aen.* 10.91-2.[2]

Notably, the events narrated are not mythological but 'historical': we are told about Laomedon's and Priam's foreign policies rather than the wedding of Peleus and Thetis followed by the judgment of Paris. The latter myth is in fact referred to by Horace: Nereus abuses Paris for his vain confidence in Venus' protection (13 *nequiquam Veneris praesidio ferox...*). The scholiast provides the full story of Paris' judgment in a separate note, also from Dares, where this mythical episode is clearly removed from reality as a dream (Trojan Text 2, Appendix 2.1). Here, in Text 5, the scholiast focuses on 'historical' fact, collecting information about Laomedon's and Priam's activities from Servius and on Troy's military fitness – from Dares.

There is little politics in *Odes* 1.15. While the bulk of the note has no relevance to the poem, it is nonetheless clear that the scholiast selects his information with Horace in mind. The introductory phrase from Servius on *Aen.* 10.91 *eversi Ilii hec est vera causa* (rather than *historia hoc habet* from *Aen.* 1.619) answers Nereus conclusion (35-6), *post certas hiemes uret Achaicus/ ignis Pergameas domos*. Telamon's sons Ajax and Teucer, mentioned by Servius, also appear in this ode, among the new generation of Greeks besieging Troy. Finally, the climax of the scholion focuses on Horace's dramatic moment: Paris carries off Helen.

Footnotes

[1] *Perquam* is corrected in darker ink to *pro quibus*.

[2] The *Achilleid* scholiast (1.397-99), later excerpted by the Second Vatican Mythographer (227), also combines Hesione's story with the rape of Helen. He uses the opening and ending of Servius' note for the corresponding parts of his own narrative, but a different source for the middle. His text of the *Aen.* 1.619 extract differs from both Servius and Harley, reading *natum* for *procreatum* and commencing "*originem belli Troiani taliter historia refert*"... The *terminus ante quem* of the *Achilleid* scholia is the First Vatican Mythographer (probably early 10th century); their earliest manuscript belongs to the 10th century (Vat. Pal. 1694). A Carolingian date is suggested by Sweeney (1969, pp. 88-90) and supported by Jakobi (1997, pp. 306-7), who observes that the *Achilleid* scholiast knew Donatus' commentary on Virgil, which is attested in northern France in the first half of the 9th century.

Historian Texts 1a and 1b

In *Odes* 1.2 Augustus, in the guise of Mercury, is addressed as Caesar's avenger (44), *Caesaris ultor*. The poem is accompanied by a note about Caesar's assassination, attached to no lemma, but clearly intended to gloss *Caesaris ultor* (Text 1a):

Cesar bellis civilibus toto orbe compositis dum statum rei<publicae> clementer
Rome instaurat, coniuratum est in eum a lx vel amplius senatoribus equitibusque
Romanis. precipui erant coniuratorum duo Bruti ex eo genere Bruti qui Rome primus
consul fuerat et reges expulerat, et Cassius Servilius. ergo Cesar cum in senatum cum
ceteris venisset ad curiam, iiii et xx vulneribus confossus interiit.

This scholion is incorporated into a longer note glossing Caesar's stellar epiphany in *Odes* 1.2 (46-48):

...micat inter omnis
Iulium sidus, uelut inter ignis
luna minores.

A close relationship between these two scholia is confirmed by the fact that they share the fictitious character Cassius Servilius – as we shall see, in fact a conflation of C.

Cassius and Servilius Casca.[1] The short *Odes* 1.2 note is a combination of Orosius and Eutropius, while at *Odes* 1.12 additional material is supplied from non-historian sources:

Eutr. 6.25 [2]

inde Caesar bellis civilibus toto orbe compositis Romam rediit. agere insolentius coepit et contra consuetudinem Romanae libertatis. cum ergo et honores ex sua voluntate praestaret, qui a populo antea deferebantur, nec senatui ad se venienti adsurgeret aliaque regia et paene tyrannica faceret, coniuratum est in eum a sexaginta vel amplius senatoribus equitibusque Romanis. praecipui fuerunt inter coniuratos duo Bruti ex eo genere Bruti, qui primus Romae consul fuerat et reges expulerat, et Gaius Cassius et Servilius Casca. ergo Caesar, cum senatus die inter ceteros venisset ad curiam, tribus et viginti vulneribus confossus est. **Serv. Ecl. 9.46** cum Augustus Cesar ludos funebres patri celebraret, die medio stella apparuit. ille eam esse confirmavit parentis.

Odes 1.12.47

Iulium Cesarem dicit qui primus apud Romanos monarchiam rerum sibi vindicavit. qui bellis civilibus toto orbe compositis dum statum reipublicae clementer Rome instaurat, coniuratum est in eum a lx vel amplius senatoribus equitibusque Romanis. precipui erant coniuratum duo Bruti ex eo qui Rome primus consul fuerat et reges expulerat, et Cassius Servilius. ergo Cesar, cum in senatum cum ceteris venisset ad curiam, iiii et xx vulneribus confossus interiit. cui cum Augustus Cesar consobrinus eius ludos funebres celebraret, medio die stella apparuit. quam ille confirmavit esse parentis. unde Virgilius 'ecce Dionei processit Caesaris astrum'.

Oros. 6.17.1-2

Caesar Romam rediit. ubi dum reipublicae statum contra exempla maiorum clementer instaurat,

auctoribus Bruto et Cassio, conscio etiam plurimo senatu, in curia uiginti et tribus uulneribus confossus interiit. in qua coniuratione fuisse amplius sexaginta conscios ferunt. duo Bruti et C. Cassius alique socii strictis pugionibus in Capitolium secesserunt.

As noted above, the core of this scholion, combining Orosius and Eutropius (*qui bellis civilibus... confossus interiit*), was used to gloss *Odes* 1.2.[3] At *Odes* 1.12, the scholiast composes an introductory sentence, in order to explain what Horace means by the ‘Julian star’: *Iulium Cesarem dicit...* The story of Caesar’s catasterisation is added from Servius’ commentary on the ninth *Eclogue* after the historians; the relevant line of Virgil completes the scholion.[4]

The scholiast removes several unflattering aspects of Caesar’s rule. He omits both Eutropius’ description of Caesar as tyrant (*agere insolentius ...regia et paene tyrannica faceret...*) and Orosius’ revolutionary ‘*contra exempla maiorum*’.[5] Caesar’s usurpation of power is made to appear acceptable, so as to harmonise with Horace’s eulogy of Caesar’s heir in *Odes* 1.2 (44 *Caesaris ultor*). In his opening sentence, the scholiast describes Caesar’s rule as *monarchia*. The historians do not apply this term to Caesar, but the same word describes Augustan rule in the Pauline excerpt glossing *Odes* 4.4 (Text 13 discussed above): ‘*consalutatus est atque ex tunc summam rerum potestatem, quam Greci monarchiam vocant, ade[m]ptus est.*’ The scholiast rephrases Paul to show Caesar as the dynastic precedent for Augustus: *Iulium Cesarem dicit qui primus apud Romanos monarchiam rerum sibi vindicavit*. The insertion of *consobrinus eius* into the Servian end-note confirms the scholiast’s desire to stress the connection between Caesar and Augustus.

This presentation of Caesar as supreme ruler matches his prominence among the other stars in the glossed poem (*veluti inter ignes / luna minores*), but perhaps there is still more at stake. In discussing Text 13, we observed that the scholiast removed Augustus’ divine attributes and stressed his human nature. Here likewise the scholiast seems to rationalise Caesar’s stellar appearance in terms of his life-time political prominence. The account adduced from Servius presents Caesar’s catasterisation not as a fact, but as a claim made by his heir (*confirmavit*). The poetic parallel (*unde Virgilius...*), added by the scholiast, relegates the story to the realm of fiction.

Footnotes

[1] The transmission of these names in Eutropius is marked by the usual proper-name syndrome, but this particular conflation is not recorded in any manuscript. Each Harley version has peculiar errors made by copyists: there are twenty four wounds at *Odes* 1.2; at *Odes* 1.12 the loss of *genere Bruti* produces unclear text.

[2] The identification of Eutropius rests on a single variant: Harley shares Eutropius' *precipui* rather than Paul's *precipue*. This evidence is particularly weak in view of our imperfect knowledge of the Eutropian and Pauline traditions, as noted in the introduction.

[3] Once again, the historians are closely stitched together: for instance, Orosius' final verb *interiit* is combined with Eutropius' *confossus est* to produce *confossus interiit*.

[4] This *Eclogue* line is found at the same lemma in at least two Bavarian Horace manuscripts, the 11th-century Vat. Lat. 3688 and the 12th-century Mun. Clm 375. This quotation may well have been present in our scholiast's exemplar, inspiring him to consult Servius.

[5] For our scholiast, Caesar's famous autocratic prerogative of *clementia*, retained in the Harley note, was probably associated with Christian virtue rather than tyranny.

2.4 Conclusion

4.1 Historian texts used in Harley scholia

My investigation has shown that the Harley scholia contain a large quantity of notes drawn from historian sources.

Let us review the scholiast's sources identified on the basis of extensive verbatim overlap. The scholiast relies most heavily on Orosius' *Historiae adversum paganos*. Harley extracts are drawn from almost every part of Orosius' work (except books two and seven), the greatest number of passages predictably coming from book 6, which describes the events of Horace's lifetime. I have shown that both versions of the *Historia Romana* – that is Eutropius' *Breviarium* and Paul's enlargement of it – are present in Harley scholia. All seven Harley excerpts come from books 6 and 7, which may again be dictated the need to gloss the events of the civil war or may reflect the state of the text available to the scholiast. Different parts of the Trojan Histories of Dares Phrygius provide six Harley notes, while the other 'historian' of the Trojan war, Dictys Cretensis, is the source of three extensive notes, two – drawn from the second and one – from the sixth book.

Harley offers two interesting variants. Where Dares manuscripts describe Venus at the Judgement of Paris as *speciosa*, Harley (T2, Appendix 2.1) confirms Meister's conjecture: *et tunc sibi Venerem pollicitam esse si suam speciem iudicasset speciosissimam, daturam se ei uxorem, que in Gretia specio<sio>r forma videretur*. The other interesting reading concerns Orosius (Text 5):

Oros. 6.18.15

...Caesar enim tunc aeger, cum se in castris capiendae quietis causa tenere statuisset, hortatu et precibus medici sui qui per somnium admonitum sese fatebatur, ut ea die castris Caesarem salutis ipsius causa educeret in campum, aegre inter copias egressus est ac mox castra eius ab hostibus capta sunt.

Harl. Odes 2.7

...Cesar tunc eger in castris se continere statuit capiende quietis causa; sed medici sui hortatu qui per somnum† suum admonitum se fatebatur, ut ea die Cesarem salutis ipsius causa deceret in campum egredi, egre inter copias egressus est, mox castra direpta sunt.

Neither *se* for *sese* nor the interesting *continere* for *tenere* are recorded in the Orosius tradition. Arnaud-Lindet records *deceret egredi* in the late ninth- or early tenth-

century Einsiedeln 351 (J): according to his apparatus, this manuscript contains *egredi* in place of *egre* but not both. The Harley text makes good sense and it is clear how *egre* could have been lost by assimilation to *egredi*, producing the version found in J.

Arnaud-Lindet divided the Orosius tradition into three main classes and a small category of ‘mixed’ class manuscripts; he based his text mainly on classes I and II. There was no question of J’s variant being accepted into the text, since it is a ‘mixed’ manuscript associated with all three classes. Nonetheless, the editor clearly considered the variant sufficiently interesting to be cited in the apparatus, even though the version it offers is less fluent than what we see in Harley. Harley’s Orosius, containing the fuller text ‘...*egredi. aegre...*’, predates the text of J.¹

A number of errors in Harley historian scholia were clearly made by a copyist rather than the scholiast himself.² A copyist was responsible for *Agamennone*, replacing *a Memnone* in Trojan Historian Text 5, which still retains the scholiast’s gloss *Aurore filio*. The loss of *genere Bruti* in Text 1b and *qui a militibus Romanis* in Text 14 must likewise be scribal: in both cases the text is reduced to nonsense. These errors demonstrate that the historian scholia were not compiled in Harley, but were copied from another Horace manuscript.

4.2 Characteristics of Harley historian notes

I shall now review the entire body of Harley material matching historian sources, including the less remarkable examples which did not merit detailed discussion in the chapter proper.

Scholia drawn from the historians cover a range of topics. Foreign conquests feature prominently, glossing the names of peoples and regions, which Horace depicts as hostile to Rome: the Marsi, the Sygambri, Numantia, the Gauls, Spain, Germany. Several topics receive repeated attention: Spartacus (twice), Parthian relations (twice), Hannibal and Hasdrubal (3 times), the civil war (5 episodes), and Augustus (two notes). The

¹ The precedence of Harley’s Orosius over J is seen in two other passages: where Harley omits *ut* at Oros. 5.24.6, J omits two words, *mox ut*; where Harley (with a large group of manuscripts) omits *se* in *se magis* at Oros. 5.7.17, J omits both words.

² By contrast, errors of fact, such as the renaming of the Samnites as Marsi (19), the Thessalians as Thebans (21), were probably made by the scholiast himself under the influence of context. I tentatively suggest the same reason for *non cinis* replacing *nominis* (22).

scholiast gives due attention to the civil war, providing five notes on its events, including Cato's defeat and death, Caesar's assassination, Philippi, Sextus Pompey and Actium. Horace's references to Homeric heroes inspire reports of warrior prowess, which fit with ease in the military pattern of historiography.

Much prominence is given to legendary and historical individuals. Several extracts and compilations focus entirely on a single protagonist: the Trojan heroes Troilus (T6) and Antilochus (T5), Roman commanders Aemilius Paulus (3a), Cato (2), Sextus Pompey (17), Caesar (1), Augustus (13, 15). Interest in the individual is, to some extent, a symptom of glossing, proper names being a regular trigger for comment. It may also be relevant that the scholiast's sources are non-annalistic, providing only an occasional date and often pursuing their narrative without indicating a lapse of time:³ in the absence of a clear chronological framework, names of historical figures can provide a tangible sequence. Other proper names clearly served the scholiast as chronological markers, in two cases leading to confusion (2.3.1): reading about Spanish conquests in *Odes* 2.7 and *Epode* 7, the scholiast assumed that they referred to the same event; encountering Cassius in Syria for the second time in Orosius' narrative, the scholiast erroneously deduced that the fighting still involved the Parthians (5a, 5b).

Of the dates provided by the historians, the scholiast omits *ab urbe condita* (3a, 8, 15, 22), but retains consular dates (3a, 8, 14) and on one occasion fabricates his own formula (20). While *a. a. u. c.* dating necessarily entails a Roman perspective, the consular dates may have retained interest for the scholiast, as conveyors of fact rather than indicators of time. I drew attention to the rephrasing of a consular authority formula as agency (*ab eodem consule*, 3a), which confirms this supposition.⁴ The scholiast is not, on the other hand, averse to recording time-span: one Harley note, matching Servius, calculates the duration of the Trojan kingdom and emphasises this item of information with the phrase '*necessaria scientia*'.⁵

³ This very habit of Orosius leads to confusion in Texts 7a and 7b on Cantabrian wars. Nothing suggests that the scholiast made use of annalistic lists, such as Jerome's *Chronicle*.

⁴ We may compare the scholiast's disregard for Roman terminology of political rank (*consul*, *praetor*, *dictator*) in the non-historian compilation glossing Curius at *Odes* 1.12.40 (Chapter 4). The scholiast is rather interested in Curius' practical achievements on the political front.

⁵ *Odes* 1.15.8 *duobus milibus octingentis annis Troianum regnum stetisse firmatur; necessaria scientia*. (Chapter 6, Servius Text 20, cf. Serv. *Aen* 2.363)

The scholiast is clearly interested in accumulating information. Several accounts of the same individual or event may be drawn from different sources, as exemplified by notes on Spartacus' revolt (6 and 20 from Orosius and Eutropius) and on Augustus' peaceful reign (13 Paul, 15 Orosius). In some cases, the different versions offer contrasting perspectives. Servius' and Dares' (T3) historical approach to the causes of the Trojan war is complemented by the account of Paris' dream, also drawn from Dares (T2).

On several occasions, the scholiast cross-references between historian extracts and also makes cross-reference between Horace poems: the appearance of the Parthians in the Philippi narrative (Text 5) is apparently due to their previous association with Cassius in Text 18; the loss of the Roman standards to the Parthians at Carrhae in Text 18 is probably surmised from their return in Text 16; the supposed invasion of Italy by the Sygambri in Text 11 may be influenced by the fear of German invasion in Text 22; the foundation of Tusculum in Trojan Historian Text 9, glossing *Odes* 3.29.8, is drawn from a Harley scholion on *Epode* 1.29.⁶

The scholiast is not content with individual facts, but offers the reader a fluent narrative.⁷ Many of the large extracts tell a story: preparation of the Argo (T8), prequels to the Trojan war (T2 and 3), the Greeks' conflict with Telephus (T9), military exploits of Achilles and Ajax (T4), Troilus' encounter with Achilles (T6), the death of Achilles and Antilochus (T5), Odysseus' death at his son's hand (T7), tribulations of the Phocaeans (21), Hannibal's invasion of Italy (3), defeat of Hasdrubal (14), Spartacus' revolt (8, 21), the siege of Numantia (6). The scholiast's familiarity with the narrative style is also seen in his own editing and combining of material. The scholiast often blends several sources, sometimes interweaving them closely to produce his own fluent historical prose (2.2, 2.3).

The historical scholia offer the reader of Horace not only factual information, but also a different perspective. Horace's depiction of Cleopatra as a lone barbaric heroine in *Odes* 1.37 is balanced by Orosius' account of civil struggle against Antony as well as

⁶ We may add the following less certain examples of cross-referencing: the word *victor* in Text 7b might be inspired by *Odes* 3.14, glossed by the related but not identical Text 7a; Teucer's epithet, *rex Salamine*, in the Argonaut catalogue glossing *Epode* 5 (T8) was probably drawn from *Odes* 1.7.

⁷ A similar interest in narrative rather than apology or theory is noted by Mortensen (1999, p. 113) with respect to the abbreviators of the historians from Carolingian times onwards.

Cleopatra (4). Horace's image of Troilus as a young boy and Servius' depiction of him as *puer delicatus* are both complemented by the same hero's aristeia narrated by Orosius (T6). Historical accounts of Caesar and Augustus' achievements help the scholiast to mitigate Horace's image of the Julian star (1) and Caesar's god-to-be heir (15, 13). Never does the scholiast focus on the conflict between historical and poetic perspectives: the historians rather complement Horace's poetic achievement.

CHAPTER 3: Solinus

This chapter examines Harley material matching Solinus' *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, an encyclopedic work containing information on geography, natural history, and ethnography, which was probably written in the third (or possibly the fourth) century. Solinus is named by the scholiast once, and provides several extensive verbatim extracts.

3.0 Introduction

Solinus' text was masterfully edited by Mommsen (1895). On the basis of Mommsen's apparatus, Walter (1969) suggested that the augmented version offered by the 'interpolated' manuscripts of the 'third class', was no medieval redaction, but Solinus' own revision of his work. Examining manuscript evidence, Van Büren (1996) demonstrated the truth of Walter's hypothesis: manuscripts of the third class offer Solinus' enlarged second edition, entitled *Polyhistor*. One Harley passage contains additional details which could, potentially, arise from an enlarged text of Solinus. Nothing in Mommsen's apparatus suggests that third class manuscripts have any further text at this point. Until a new Solinus edition is available, we can only assume that the Horace scholiast used the first version of this text.

The steady popularity of Solinus' *Collectanea* is apparent from the use made of his work by later writers: the list stretches from Augustine, Martianus Capella, and Isidore, through Aldhelm and Bede, to Carolingian Dicuil, Anonymous Leidensis, Heiric, Adrevald of Fleury, and Strabo.¹ The work was also repeatedly epitomized, at least twice in verse.² Munk Olsen (1979-80) catalogues fifteen manuscripts surviving from the ninth and tenth centuries, but the closest to Harley, in geographical terms, is the end of eighth-century Vienna 15269 + Ser. Nova 37, probably written at Salzburg.³

My first section is devoted to the identification of Solinus as a source of Harley scholia. Solinus is named by the scholiast once. It is matched verbatim by seventeen

¹ Mommsen examines in detail the earlier, mostly pre-Carolingian, excerptors of Solinus as secondary witnesses to the text, but also names several of Solinus' later readers (1895, pp. xxiii-xix).

² Witnesses for these epitomes are listed by Mommsen (1895, pp. liii-lv).

³ In addition to this, Wolfenb. 133 Gud. lat. (4437)-II, s. x/xi, is German; St Gall 187-I, s. ix, probably located at St Gall, may also be of German origin.

Harley passages, among which four exceed 260 words, the longest containing 340 words. I begin with an extensive Solinus extract headed by its author's name.

Like the historical texts discussed in the preceding chapter, Solinus' work is in some measure tralatician: he uses earlier writings on the same subject, especially Pliny and Mela,⁴ and is, in his own turn, used by scholars mentioned above. I next present the one brief Harley extract where Solinus closely follows Mela. It will become apparent that Harley shares Solinus' redaction. I then turn to examples where direct derivation from Solinus can be questioned, of which Text 4 presents particular interest, as it contains information from both Pliny and Solinus. No Harley scholion matches any excerptor of Solinus known to me.⁵

The second part of my investigation is devoted to the scholiast's treatment of his source, focusing particularly on its relation to Horace. I shall discuss the scholiast's editorial choices, including selection of material, compilation of multiple extracts, simultaneous use of two passages, and paraphrase.

⁴ Solinus' use of Pliny, Mela, and other sources is discussed by Mommsen (1895, pp. viii-xxiv).

⁵ The Solinus passage glossing *Caucasum* at *Odes* 1.22.7 was used by the Irish monk Dicuil in his early 9th-century *de Mensura Orbis Terrae* (6.4), but the parallel is limited to the opening sentence of the Harley note. None of the many Isidorian parallels are sufficiently close or complete to deserve notice.

1. Solinus as source of Harley scholia

As noted in the introduction, four Harley extracts, one of which explicitly names Solinus as the source, exceed 260 words. The passage naming Solinus is presented in Appendix 5.1 (Text 14). One more extensive verbatim excerpt is discussed later in the chapter (Text 10, Appendix 5.1). Others can be found in the Transcript at *Odes* 3.12.11 and 3.16.14.

In the following example, I demonstrate that the scholiast used Solinus rather than Solinus' source Mela or the fourth-century historian Ammianus.

Solinus Text 7

In *Odes* 2.9 Horace urges Valgius to sing of foreign peoples newly subjugated by the emperor (21-24):

Medumque flumen gentibus additum
uictis minores uoluere uertices
intraque praescriptum Gelonos
exiguus equitare campis.

The scholiast provides an ethnographic note about the Geloni:

Mela 2.1.14	<i>Odes</i> 2.9.23	Sol. 15.1
Geloni	Geloni Scytarum sunt	<u>Geloni</u> ad hos proximant.
hostium cutibus equos	populi a Cesare victi <u>qui</u>	de hostium cutibus et sibi
seque velant, illos reliqui	de hostium cutibus et sibi	indumenta faciunt et equis
corporis, se capitum.	indumenta et equis suis	suis tegmina.
	tegmina faciunt.	

In his edition of Solinus, Mommsen (1895, p. x) names the Augustan geographer Mela as one of Solinus' sources. The Harley scholion clearly resembles Solinus rather than Mela. Mommsen also juxtaposes Solinus with Ammianus Marcellinus (p. xx). His purpose is to demonstrate the mutual independence of Solinus and Ammianus' *Res gestae*, both of whom apparently use Mela. Let us compare Ammianus with Harley:

Sol. 15.1	<i>Odes</i> 2.9.23	Amm. 31.2.14
<u>Geloni</u> ad hos proximant.	<u>Geloni Scytarum sunt</u>	...Geloni, perquam feri,
<u>de</u> hostium cutibus et sibi	<u>populi a Cesare victi qui</u>	qui detractis peremptorum
indumenta faciunt et equis	<u>de</u> hostium cutibus et sibi	hostium cutibus indumenta
suis tegmina.	indumenta et equis suis	sibi equisque tegmina
	tegmina faciunt.	<u>conficiunt bellatoriis.</u>

The details distinguishing Ammianus from Solinus and Harley – that is the plain ablative *cutibus*, compound *conficiunt*, the conjunction *–que*, and the adjective *bellatoriis* – are small, but sufficient to show the scholiast's allegiance to Solinus.

Furthermore, no other Harley note matches Ammianus, whereas the very adjacent passages of Solinus were used to gloss the Scythians in *Odes* 4.5 (Text 12 below).

The opening of the Harley note matches no source verbatim. The phrase *a Cesare victum* was apparently inspired by Horace. The identification of the Geloni as a Scythian people can be deduced from Solinus, who describes them among other peoples dwelling in the same region and uses *Scythae*, *Scythia*, and *Scythicus* as generic terms covering that whole area.[1]

Footnotes

[1] Solinus' Scythian context: 14.1 *Auchetas Scythicorum amnium princeps*; 15.4 *Chalybes et Dahae in parte Asiaticae Scythiae*; 15.14 *Scythotauri*; 15.15 *Scytharum interius habitantium*. Alternative sources of this information would be Servius (*Georg.* 2.115, cf. *Aen.* 8.725) and λφψ Horace scholia (*Odes* 2.20.19; 2.9.23). The λφψ Horace scholion is apparently based on Servius. Yet neither Servius nor the λφψ note appears in Harley.

In the following two examples, Solinus is combined with material of unknown origin. This raises the question of whether our scholiast obtained the Solinus extracts directly from the *Collectaneum* or inherited them together with the unknown material from an earlier compiler.

Solinus Text 11

In *Odes* 3.30 Horace hopes his monument will be loftier than the pyramids:

Exegi monumentum aere perennius
regalique situ pyramidum altius...

The scholiast glosses *pyramidum*:

Sol. 32.44
pyramides turres sunt fastigatae
ultra excelsitatem omnem quae fieri
manu possit.

***Odes* 3.30.2**
pyramides dicte sunt ab igni, quia pyr
ignis dicitur, qui semper alta petit.
sunt enim pyramides turres fastigate
ultra etcelsitatem† omnem que fieri
manu hominum possit.

The note provides an etymology and a definition of the pyramids. The source of the opening is unknown; the definition matches Solinus verbatim.[1] The question is whether our scholiast added the etymology to Solinus' definition himself or obtained both from an intermediate source.

The *pyr-ignis* etymology occurs together with a definition of the pyramids in several sources: Ammianus, Isidore's *Etymologiae*, and the Martianus commentary of John the Scot. None of these resemble the Harley scholion closely. Unlike Harley, all three explain *pyramis* as a geometrical figure rather than an architectural structure and place the etymology after the definition.[2] The brief Harley etymology, divorced

from geometrical context, appears to be derivative.[3] It may be inspired by Horace (*altius*).[4]

In the absence of other evidence, we can only assume that the definition of the pyramids came from Solinus. One point in favour of our scholiast drawing on Solinus directly is the similarity of context. In Solinus, as in Horace, the pyramids signify buildings: they follow the Alexandrian light-house.

Footnotes

[1] Isidore uses the same sentence of Solinus in his *Etymologiae*, but cannot be our scholiast's source because he alters Solinus' initial phrase *pyramides turres sunt fastigatae* (**Et. 15.11.4**): *Pyramides genus sepulchrorum quadratum et fastigiatum ultra omnem excelsitatem quae fieri manu possit...*

[2] **Amm. Marc. 22.15.28-9** *pyramides ad miracula septem provectae, quarum diuturnas surgendi difficultates scriptor Herodotus docet, ultra omnem omnino altitudinem, quae humana manu confici potest, erectae sunt turres, ab imo latissimae in summitates acutissimas desinentes. 29. quae figura apud geometras ideo sic appellatur quod ad ignis speciem, tou pyros, ut nos dicimus, extenuatur in conum. quarum magnitudo quoniam in celsitudinem nimiam scandens gracilescit paulatim, umbras quoque mechanica ratione consumit; **Isid. Et. 3.12** *Pyramis est figura, quae in modum ignis ab amplo in acumen consurgit; ignis enim apud Graecos pur appellatur; **John 361.6 ad Mart. 6.721** *PYRAMIS figura est quae in fundamento lata, in summitate acuta, sicuti pyr, id est flamma ignis; quamvis enim ignis latus est, flamma autem acuitur in summitate.***

[3] The simplicity of Harley's etymology is comparable to a 12th-century scholion on Lucan (8.697; Marti): *Pyramides sepulture acute, a pir quod est ignis, qui apicem in altum mittit.*

[4] I am grateful to Prof. Rainer Jakobi for this observation.

Solinus Text 4

In *Odes* 2.2.10 Horace urges Sallustius Crispus to live frugally (9-12):

Latius regnes auidum domando
spiritum quam si Libyam remotis
Gadibus iungas et uterque Poenus
seruiat uni.

The scholiast provides a note about Libya:

Solinus 31.1

quod ab Atlante

usque Canopitanum ostium panditur, ubi
Libyae finis est et Aegyptium limen, dictum
a Canopo Menelai gubernatore sepulto in ea
insula quae ostium Nili facit, gentes tenent
dissonae...

Hyg. 149

Iupiter Epaphum, quem ex Io
procreauerat, Aegyptō oppida communire
ibique regnare iussit. is oppidum primum
Memphim et alia plura constituit, et ex
Cassiopia uxore procreauit filiam Libyen,

a qua terra est appellata.

Odes 2.2.10

1 Libia vocatur a Libia Epaphi regis filia.
2 hec incipit a monte Atlante
3 et a colonia Tingi que olim Anthei civitas
erat, 4 ubi finitur Egiptium mare et Libicum
pelagus incipit;
5 terminum autem et finem habet circa limitem
Egipti in Canopo ostio, 6 quod sic dictum est
a Canopo Menelai gubernatore illic sepulto.
7 estuat enim ardore solis hec regio Affrice,
unde Libia est dicta quasi lipsia, id est egens
sucro, id est pluvia, vel quod inde fluat Lyps
ventus. 8. et aliter
Iuppiter Epaphum, quem ex eo pressa Io
creauerat, in Egiptum oppidia† communire
ibique regnare iussit. ille enim Memphim
oppidum et alia plura constituit, et ex
Cassiopa uxore suscepit filiam Lybien
vocatam, que postea in Affrica possedit
regnum, cuius ex nomine terra Lybies est
appellata.

cf. Plin. NH 5.2 and 5.1

5.2 oppida fuere Lissa et Cottae ultra columnas
Herculis, nunc est Tingi, quondam ab Antaeo
conditum, postea a Claudio Caesare, cum
coloniam faceret, appellatum Traducta Iulia. ...
5.1 Africam Graeci Libyam appellavere et
mare ante eam Libycum; Aegyptio finitur...

R. 74.13 ad M. 2.192

ARENTIS id est siccae.
aestuat enim ardore solis haec regio Africae,
unde Lybia dicta quasi libsyia, id est egens
sucro, id est pluvia, vel quod inde flat Libs,
id est ventus. Sch. Theb. 4.737
Iuppiter Epaphum, quem
creauerat in Aegyptum oppida communire
ibique regnare iussit. oppidum
Memphim et alia plura constituit, et ex
Cassiopa uxore suscepit filiam Libyen,
quae postea in Africa regnum
possedit. cuius ex nomine terra Libyes est
appellata.

This compilation provides a variety of information about Libya – its geographical location, the origin of its name, and the story of its foundation – arranged in a slightly haphazard fashion. The note opens with a brief reference to the daughter of Epaphus, after whom the land was named. The scholiast next sets out the geographical limits of this territory, which are particularly relevant to the non-expansionist attitude urged by Horace. An etymology of Libya from Libs follows abruptly. Finally, the scholiast returns to the story of the eponymous Libya, which provides an alternative explanation of the land's name (*item aliter*).

To identify the sources of this complex compilation, I have divided it into seven items (numbered 1, 2 etc. above). The opening reference to princess Libya (item 1) requires no information beyond what is stated in the myth at the end of the note (item 8). Atlas (item 2) and Canopus (items 5-6) are both given as geographical limits by a single source, Solinus.[1] Tingi (item 3) is described as a city, founded by Antaeus, in several texts. Only one of these texts is likely to have inspired the scholiast's adverb *olim* (*que olim Anthei civitas erat*): Pliny explains that the city changed its name at its colonial re-foundation by Claudius.[2] Pliny is also the only author known to juxtapose the Egyptian and Libyan seas in the context of African geography (item 4). The etymology of Libya from Libs (item 7) is drawn from Remigius' commentary on Martianus Capella.[3] The ultimate source of the myth (item 8) is Hyginus' *Fabulae*, a text with a scarce medieval transmission, but Harley clearly shares a later redaction of Hyginus with *Thebaid* scholia.[4] This later version is distinct in omitting the detail of Memphis being the first foundation and adding the relative clause at the end (*quae postea in Africa...*).[5]

Whereas Solinus, *Thebaid* scholia, and Remigius were used elsewhere in Harley, the above Pliny parallel is unique among Harley lyric scholia.[6] The scholiast probably drew on a source descending from Pliny or simply related to Pliny, which is no longer available to us. This would explain the slight confusion about the position of the two seas, marking Libya's outer boundaries in Pliny (*mare ante eam Libycum; Aegyptio finitur*), but neighbouring each other in Harley (*finitur Egyptium mare et Libicum pelagus incipit*). Unlike Pliny, that source apparently called the Libyan sea *pelagus*. [7]

Neither Solinus nor Pliny matches Harley verbatim. The scholiast might have obtained all his geographical information (items 2-6) from the same unidentified source,

related to Solinus and Pliny. Mommsen (1885, pp. xxv-xxviii) notes that Pliny and Solinus were used in conjunction by several excerptors: Augustine, Martianus Capella, Isidore, and the Carolingian monk Dicuil in *de Mensura Orbis Terrae* (825). It is possible that Pliny and Solinus were also used together in texts which are now lost.

One circumstance supports the notion that the scholiast used Solinus directly: the following passage of Solinus was excerpted verbatim to gloss *Odes* 3.24.2 (Text 10, discussed below).

Footnotes

[1] Although at this point African peoples, rather than the territory itself, are Solinus' subject, the same chapter ends (in the Hesperides) with a clear reference to the land, *hactenus Libya*. (Canopus is mentioned alone, without Atlas, by Isidore who copies Solinus closely (*Etym.* 14.3.28), Pliny who locates the island in relation to Asia (*NH* 5.34.128), and Hyginus who makes no reference to the naming after Canopus (*de Astr.* 1.9, copied by Isidore in *de Nat. Rerum*).

[2] Mela (*Chor.* 1.25-6) and Martianus (6.666) name Antaeus founder of Tingi, but neither mentions the colony being renamed at its re-foundation. Isidore offers no geographical specifications (15.1.74).

[3] The Harley note not only matches Remigius verbatim, but retains his conjunction *enim*. Meaningless in Harley, *enim* originally connected this explanation to Remigius' gloss *arentis id est siccae*. Remigius' ultimate source is Servius (*ad. Aen.* 1.22 based on Varro's authority). Servius was apparently used by Isidore (*Et.* 14.5.1) and a Lucan scholiast (1.368; Cavajoni), neither of whom matches Harley verbatim.

[4] The later redaction was also used by the Second Vatican Mythographer (93). The Mythographer is not directly related to Harley, because each fills in the omission of Io with his own distinct phrase: *ex Ioue et Ione natum* and *ex eo pressa Io* respectively.

[5] Whatever its immediate source, the phrase matches Isidore (14.5.1): *Libya dicta quod inde Libs flat, hoc est Africus. alii aiunt Epaphum Iouis filium, qui Memphin in Aegypto condidit, ex Cassiopa uxore procreasse filiam Libyam, quae postea in Africa regnum possedit. cuius ex nomine terra Libya est appellata*. This sentence was probably added to gloss Statius, who juxtaposes Libya with Africa and Syene (4.737f.): *ceu flavam Libyen desertaque pulveris Afri/ conlustrent nullaue umbratam nube Syenen*.

[6] The *Paragraphon* Horace commentary contains a single verbatim quotation from a different part of Pliny's work (*NH* 11.251 *memento ... eris*) at *Sat.* 1.9.76. This is omitted in Keller's index, but is noted by Noske (1969, p. 223).

[7] *Libycum* is combined with *pelagus* by Ammianus Marcellinus (22.16.9), who cannot have supplied our scholiast with the necessary information, but may be related to the unidentified source. For *pelagus* denoting a variety of other specific seas, cf. *TLL* p. 991, *Pelagus* I.A.2 a-c.

2. Treatment of glossing material

I begin with two notes combining multiple passages of Solinus. Text 10, presented in Appendix 5.1, collects a vast quantity of information about different Arabian tribes, in order to gloss *Odes* 3.24. The compilation lacks close connection to its lemma, but, nonetheless, it was clearly inspired by Horatian themes. In Text 6, presented below, the scholiast is unable to understand Solinus' meaning, because of a corrupt reading in his source manuscript. He seeks clarification in a different part of Solinus' work.

Solinus Text 6

In *Odes* 2.9 Horace urges Valgius to think of the brighter days (1-4):

Non semper imbres nubibus hispidos
manant in agros aut mare Caspium
uexant inaequales procellae
usque...

The scholiast glosses *mare Caspium*:

Sol. 19.3-4

mare autem Caspium ex
altero Ponti latere ultra
Massagetas et Apalaeos
Scythas esse in Asiatica
plaga dulce Alexandro
Magno probatum est, mox
Pompeio Magno, qui bello
Mithridatico, sicut
commilito eius Varro
tradit, ipsis haustibus
periclitari fidem uoluit.

4 id euenire produnt e
numero fluminum, quorum
tanta copia ibi confluit, ut
naturam maris uertant.

Odes 2.9.2

Caspium mare
ultra
Massagetas et Apaleos
Scythas esse in Asiatica
plaga duce Alexandro
Magno probatum est, mox
Pompeio, qui bello
Mithridatico, sic<ut>
comilito eius Varro
tradit, ipsis ausibus
experiri fidem uoluit. cuius
aque mirum in modum
maciantur imbribus
crescunt aestibus.

id euenire produnt e
numero fluminum quorum
tanta copia ibi confluit ut
naturam maris vertant.

Sol. 15.18

ultra Sauromatas in Asia
sitos, qui Mithridati
latebram et quibus
originem Medi dederunt,
confinis sunt Thali his
nationibus quas ab
oriente contingunt Caspii
maris fauces; quae
fauces
mirum in modum
maciantur imbribus,
crescunt aestibus.

Solinus' description of the Caspian sea-waters as being fresh rather than salty is corrupt in many early manuscripts.[1] The scholiast apparently wondered what was so special about the Caspian sea: he found an explanation of the paradoxical drop of sea-level through rain and increase through heat in Chapter 15 and inserted it into the middle of his scholion. The scholiast then returned to Chapter 19, stating that the sea owes its nature to its numerous supplying rivers. It is not clear, how the scholiast conceived the logic of this phenomenon, but he evidently combined two Solinus extracts in the attempt to make sense of the corrupt source text.

Footnotes

[1] *Duce* replaced *dulce* in two out of three manuscript families; *haustibus* is variously corrupted in several manuscripts, *ausibus* occurring in Wolfenb. 163. s. x (G)

In my next example, the scholiast selects material from a wider context and adds an introductory phrase to connect the note to his lemma.

Solinus Text 12

In *Odes* 4.5 Rome is said to be free from the threat of the Parthians, Scythians, and Germans, while it enjoys imperial protection (25-27):

Quis Parthum paueat, quis gelidum Scythen,
quis Germania quos horrida parturit
fetus incolumi Caesare?

The scholiast glosses the Scythians:

Sol. 15.3-5

populis istis deus Mars est;
pro simulacris enses coluntur; homines
uictimas habent. ossibus adolent ignes
focorum. Geloni ad hos proximant. de
hostium cutibus et sibi indumenta...
4 post Anthropophagi, quibus execrandi
cibi sunt humana uiscera...
5 Chalybes et Dahae in parte Asiaticae
Scythiae crudelitate ab inmanissimis nihil
discrepant. at Albani
in ora agentes, qui posteros se Iasonis credi
uolunt, albo crine nascuntur, canitiem habent
auspiciu capillorum: ergo capitis color
genti nomen dedit. Glaucia oculis inest
pupula: ideo nocte plus quam die cernunt.

Odes 4.5.25

Scythe sunt gentes septentrionis
pro simulacris enses colentes, [1] homines
uictimas offerentes, [1] sacrificia adholentes
[1] hominum ossibus pro ture.

andropophagi Scythe hi etiam
humana viscera cibo habent
Chalibes et Dahe

ab his nihil
discrepant. in Scythia sunt et Albani;

hi populi alba† crine nascuntur,
capitisque color
genti nomen dedit.

The opening phrase ‘*Scythe sunt gentes septentrionis*’ matches no known source and appears to be inspired by Horace’s adjective *gelidus*. [2] The rest of the note is based on Solinus’ description of various Scythian tribes. [3] (We saw in Text 7 above that the scholiast understands *Scythae* to be a generic name for various peoples.)

The scholiast does not reproduce Solinus’ full account, but picks out a handful of customs to portray the Scythians as aggressive cannibals fit for the Horatian context. [4] He begins with the worship of swords and human sacrifice ascribed to the Neuri. Omitting the Geloni (as we saw, used to gloss *Odes* 2.9) and passing over the Agathyrsi, the scholiast proceeds to the Anthropophagi – perhaps because their cannibalistic customs pick up the theme of human sacrifice. The scholiast’s reason for including the blond Albani, after he omitted the blue-haired Agathyrsi, is not clear to me. [5]

Footnotes

[1] Note the post-classical adjectival usage of the present participles.

[2] Similarly, in Text 7 above, the statement that the Geloni were conquered by Caesar, was clearly influenced by Horace’s depiction of these people in *Odes* 2.9.

[3] The other ethnographer of the Scythian peoples, Ammianus Marcellinus (31.2.14-5), does not match the above Harley scholion verbatim and offers few of the necessary items of information.

[4] I reproduce Solinus’ full account (15.1-5), underlining the phrases used in Harley. XV.1 *apud Neuros nascitur Borysthenes flumen, in quo pisces egregii saporis et quibus ossa nulla sunt nec aliud quam*

cartilagine tenerrimae. 2 verum Neuri, ut accepimus, statis temporibus in lupos transfigurantur; deinde exacto spatio, quod huic sorti adtributum est, in pristinam faciem reuertuntur. 3 populis istis deus Mars est; pro simulacris enses coluntur; homines uictimas habent. ossibus adolent ignes focorum. Geloni ad hos proximant. de hostium cutibus et sibi indumenta faciunt et equis suis tegmina. Gelonis Agathyrsi conlimitantur, caerulo picti, fucatis in caerulum crinibus, nec hoc sine differentia: nam quanto quis anteit, tanto propensiore nota tinguitur, ut sit indicium humilitatis minus pingi. 4 post Anthropophagi, quibus execrandi cibi sunt humana uiscera; quem morem impiae gentis adiacentium terrarum prodit tristissima solitudo, quas ob nefarium ritum finitimae nationes profugae reliquerunt. ea causa est, ut usque ad mare quod Tabin uocant per longitudinem eius orae, quae aestiuo orienti obiacet, sine homine terra sit et immensa deserta, quoad perueniatur ad Seras. 5 Chalybes et Dahae in parte Asiaticae Scythiae crudelitate ab inmanissimis nihil discrepant. at Albani in ora agentes, qui posteros se Iasonis credi uolunt, albo crine nascuntur, canitiem habent auspicium capillorum: ergo capitis color genti nomen dedit. glauca oculis inest pupula: ideo nocte plus quam die cernunt.

[5] The adjective *albanus* occurs repeatedly in Horace, meaning Rome's Italian ancestors (C. S. 54) and their homeland (*Odes* 3.23.11; 4.1.19; 4.11.2; *Epist.* 1.7.10; 2.1.27). The scholiast is not likely to have confused the Italian *Albani* with Rome's enemies, if he had already read and copied the Pseudo-Acronian note at C. S. 52f., glossing *Albanas secures* as *Romanos magistratus*.

My last example of editing is remarkable for its free paraphrase style, including the scholiast's aside, *Germania in qua nos sumus*.

Solinus Text 13

In *Odes* 4.5 Rome is said to be free from the threat of the Parthians, Scythians, and Germans, while it enjoys imperial protection (25-27):

Quis Parthum paueat, quis gelidum Scythen,
quis Germania quos horrida parturit
fetus incolumi Caesare?

The scholiast glosses *Germania* paraphrasing several nearby extracts of Solinus:

Sol. 20.1-2, 9, 11 [1]

mons Saeuo ipse ingens nec Riphæis minor
collibus initium Germaniae facit. Inguaeones
tenent, a quibus primis post Scythas nomen
Germanicum consurgit. 2 diues uirum terra,
frequens populis numerosis et inmanibus.
extenditur inter Hercynium saltum et rupes
Sarmatarum. ubi incipit Danuuio, ubi desinit
Reno perfunditur. de internis eius partibus
Alba Guthalus Vistla amnes latissimi
praecipitant in Oceanum.
9...arbor est pinei generis, cuius mediale
autumni tempore sucino lacrimat...
11 munere Neronis principis adparatus omnis
sucino inornatus est: nec difficulter, cum per
idem tempus tredecim milia librarum rex
Germaniae donum ei miserit.

Odes 4.5.26

Germania in qua nos sumus a monte Sueuo
incipit, caputque eius Danubio, finis eius
Reno perfunditur.

dives est virorum,

[2] frequens populis bellico<si>ssimis.

ex ea precipitantur [2] in Oceanum
latissimi amnes: Alba, Guthalus, Viscla.
in Germania est arbor quedam pinei generis
que autumnali tempore sucinum lacrimat.
huius sucini quatuordecim librarum milia
rogatus rex Germanie transmisit Neroni,
quo ipse omnem apparatus suum
inornauit.

This scholion defines the geographical boundaries of Germany, briefly characterises its peoples, and notes one Germanic produce prized by the Romans, namely amber. While the scholiast copies lengthy extracts of Solinus on the subject of animals elsewhere (Text 14 about cranes, Text 8 about deer, part of Text 16 about wolves) in this case he omits the description of animal and bird species given by Solinus in sections 20.2-8. The one naturalistic detail, the formation of amber, is stated briefly and is connected clearly with a Roman ruler.

The distinctive feature of this note is paraphrase: the scholiast reshapes the bulk of his material. On the whole, Solinus' vocabulary is retained. The alteration of *numerosis et inmanibus* to *bellicosissimis* perhaps reflects not only the description of the Germans elsewhere in Horace and Harley scholia,[3] but the scholiast's national pride. A pro-German attitude is also visible in an Horace scholion glossing the same stanza:[4]

Scythe Hispani et Parthi magis quam ceterae gentes contra Romanos
rebellabant.

Of the four peoples mentioned in this stanza, the scholion names only the Scythians, the Parthians, and the Spaniards: the Germans are omitted from the list of Rome's disobedient subjects.

Footnotes

[1] Sol. 20.9-11 runs as follows (I underline the sentences used by the scholiast, as reproduced above): *nam Glaesaria dat crystallum, dat et sucinum: quod sucinum Germani gentiliter uocant glaesum. qualitas materiae istius summatim antea Germanico autem Caesare omnes Germaniae oras scrutante conperta: arbor est pinei generis, cuius mediale autumni tempore sucino lacrimat, sucum esse arboris de nominis capessas qualitate; pinum uero, unde sit gignitum, si usseris, odor indicabit. pretium operae est scire longius, ne Padanae siluae credantur lapidem fleuisse. 10 hanc speciem in Illyricum barbari intulerunt; quae cum per Pannonica commercia usu ad Transpadanos homines foret deuoluta, quod ibi primum nostri uiderant, ibi etiam natam putauerunt. 11 munere Neronis principis adparatus omnis sucino inornatus est: nec difficulter, cum per idem tempus tredecim milia librarum rex Germaniae donum ei miserit.*

[2] The readings *virorum* and *precipitantur* are found in the Solinus tradition, but are not reported together in any single manuscript.

[3] The Germans are depicted as bellicose in *Epode* 16 (6f.) and the Orosius extract glossing that lemma.

[4] It is almost certain that this note was written by our scholiast, because at this point Harley lacks Σ.

3.3 Conclusion

The Horace scholiast mentions Solinus by name. Direct knowledge of *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* is confirmed by the accumulation of verbatim extracts, including several of considerable length. The scholiast uses different parts of Solinus' work, although only one passage comes from books 34-56, comprising the last third of the work. In one exceptional case, I tentatively suggest that the scholiast may have obtained material similar to Solinus from an unknown source, also related to Pliny the Elder (Text 4). As noted in the introduction, a fresh edition of Solinus will show, whether this 'unknown' can be identified with Solinus' second enlarged version of his work.

The scholiast's selection of material reflects the nature of the source. Solinus provides a variety of information about geographical locations (Germany, Arabia, the Caspian sea, Tylus, Sardinia, the Syrtes at *Odes* 1.22.5), ethnographic descriptions of barbarian peoples (Geloni, Scythians, Arabs, Essedones erroneously glossing *Edonis* at *Odes* 2.7.27, and Marsi), and detailed accounts of animal habits (cranes, deer, wolves).

There is some thematic overlap between Solinus and the historians. For example, the longest Solinus extract recounts the succession of Macedonian monarchs down to Alexander the Great (Text 9). Conversely, the historians provided our scholiast with some ethnographic (Historian Texts 7b and 11) and geographical information (10). Like the historians, Solinus presents fact in the form of extensive continuous narrative. Our scholiast's preference for this type of narrative is clear from his large-scale excerption of Solinus and the historians alike. We have seen the scholiast assemble information from the historians; he similarly combines distant passages of Solinus to produce notes on the Arabian peoples and the fresh waters of the Caspian sea. Other methods of editing Solinus, examined in the second part of this chapter, coincide with the scholiast's techniques of editing of the historians.

CHAPTER 4: 'Small Scale Sources'

This chapter draws together Harley notes matching eight 'small scale sources': Cicero's *de Senectute*, Sallust's *Jugurtha*, Hyginus' *de Astronomia*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (with *Fasti*), Lucan, Macrobius' *In somnium* and *Saturnalia*, and the Book of Revelations – the unique use of the Bible in Harley scholia. The role of Virgil, Martianus Capella, Statius, and their commentaries in Harley scholia is discussed in chapters 6, 7, and 8 respectively.

The texts examined here have authorial identity. Indeed, the scholiast explicitly names *de Senectute* and Lucan. However, it remains unclear, whether the scholiast obtained his material directly from manuscripts of these authors. Classical florilegia existed in Carolingian times, though florilegia production reached its peak some two centuries after the copying of Harley 2724.¹ I shall examine the evidence suggesting the possibility of indirect transmission on a case-by-case basis.

¹ The production of florilegia, notes Reynolds (1983, p. xxxviii), turned into a vast industry with the increase of literacy in the late 12th century, but several florilegia survive from Carolingian times. Munk Olsen (1979-80) catalogues more than a hundred manuscripts, containing over seventy pre-13th-century florilegia collections. (See also Munk Olsen, 1982-9, vol. II.) One limitation of the catalogue affecting my study is that, while classical texts are described in detail, including incipit-explicit, late antique texts, such as Macrobius, are only listed among manuscript contents. It is interesting to note that a small group of florilegia (4 out of the 72 catalogued by Munk Olsen) organise extracts by topic under headings like '*de modo et temperantia*' (xxi of *Collectaneum Sedulii Scotti*) or '*de Senectute*' (xviii in *Collectaneum Hadoardi*), which make these works easily accessible for reference.

Cicero de Senectute and Macrobius in Somnium Scipionis

The connection between Macrobius and Cicero is of a long standing: *de Senectute* precedes the *Commentary* in four Carolingian manuscripts.[1] All six ninth-century manuscripts of *De Senectute* are French, but the text was copied in Germany by the eleventh century.[2] Macrobius' commentary on the *Somnium Scipionis* survives in six manuscripts from the ninth century and eight – from the tenth.[3] One of the ninth-century manuscripts may be German (Colon. 186 'K'), but the earliest surviving south German witnesses for this text belong to the end of the tenth century.

An abridged version of *In Somnium* was brought to south Germany from France by Hartwic, a pupil of Fulbert of Chartres and a monk of St Emmeram.[4] A complete text was imported soon, but surviving manuscripts suggest that Bavarian copyists preferred the *Versio Brevis* (1.14.21–2.9.10 with omissions), sometimes supplementing the opening chapters from the full text.[5] This abridgement contains none of the Harley passages, but *Versio Brevis* manuscripts also transmit the excerpt about the gates of pearl and ivory, appended after the commentary, which is identical to the Harley note on *Odes* 3.27.38f.

The full commentary descends from one of the four Carolingian *Cicero-cum-Macrobio* manuscripts, Paris n.a. Lat. 454 ('A') written at Corbie under Hadoard. Its direct descendant, the south German Ox. Bodl. D'Orville 77 + 95 (O), written at the turn of the century, contains both *In Somnium* and *De Senectute*. The few textual variants offered by Harley are not sufficient to show allegiance to a particular source manuscript. It is clear, however, that our scholiast is likely to have had direct access to *de Senectute* and *In Somnium*, or indeed to both texts combined in a single manuscript. Three Harley passages match *In Somnium* (265 words in total); two passages match *de Senectute*, one of them approaching five hundred words,

Finally, the early medieval fortuna of *In Somnium* was also connected with other scientific texts, which are irrelevant for Harley scholia.[6]

Footnotes

[1] See Barker-Benfield (1983) pp. 226. Hadoard also produced a florilegium containing both works (Vat. Reg. Lat. 1762). This is unrelated to Harley scholia. Harley notes overlap only in part with Hadoard's Cicero extracts published by Schwenke (1889) and not at all – with his Macrobius extracts, the *incipits* for which are found in Pellegrin (1978-82, vol. 2.1, pp. 403-5).

[2] German manuscripts of *De Senectute*: Flor. Laur. Plut. 50.45 s. x, German?; Lond. Harl. 2716 s. x ex., (west?) German, contains only brief extracts; Ox. Bodl. d'Orville 77, s. xi inc., south German; Marburg Hess. Staatsarch. Dep. Stift Kauf. s. xi¹, Hersfeld (Hoffman) is a fragment of chapter 14; Lond. Harl. 2682 s. xi, German, prov. Cologne (Powell H); Zür. Rein. 127-I s. xi, German or Swiss.

[3] Manuscripts of the commentary are catalogued by Eastwood (1994); also see Barker-Benfield (1983) pp. 230-1 in *Texts and Transmissions*, esp. manuscript survival statistics on p. 224.

[4] Bischoff (1967, first printed 1933, pp. 81, 82). Hartwic's copy survives as Mun. Clm. 14436. Barker-Benfield (1983, p. 227-8) notes that the earliest and perhaps original copy of *Versio Brevis* is Berne 347, which forms part of the giant 9th-century Auxerre miscellany (Berne 347, 357, 330 + Leid. Voss. Lat. Q 30 ff. 58-7 + Par. Lat. 7665).

[5] Barker-Benfield (1976) p. 162 and (1983) pp. 229-230.

[6] The *Commentary* (together with the *Somnium* itself) belongs to a group of texts, which formed the basis of philosophical studies in the medieval West until the translation of Aristotle: Boethius' commentary on Porphyry's *Isagoge*, Chalcidius' translation and commentary on the *Timaeus*, the Latin *Asclepius*, Martianus Capella with scholia. Three of these texts appear in Harley: Macrobius, Martianus with Remigius' commentary, and Boethius. (A brief excerpt-cum-paraphrase from Boethius appears at the back of the manuscript and falls beyond the scope of this lyric investigation.) Caiazzo (2002, p. 28) notes that medieval glossing of philosophical works shows that they were often studied in conjunction and used to expound each other, but in the case of Harley scholia, nothing suggests that Macrobius was excerpted in conjunction with other philosophical texts. For the use made of Macrobius by medieval scholars and commentators, see the editions of Regali (1983-90, pp. 29-32) and Armisen-Marchetti (2001, pp. lxvi-lxxii).

de Senectute Text 2

In *Odes* 1.31 Horace addresses his patron deity, Apollo (15-20):

...Latoe, dones, at, precor, integra
cum mente, nec turpem senectam
degere nec cithara carentem.

Human mortality and maturity contrasted with youth are regular motifs in Horatian lyric.[1] In this ode, old age appears as potentially unseemly and deprived – in Horace's case – of the lyre. To gloss this sentiment, the scholiast excerpts from a philosophical dialogue, in which Cicero similarly deals with alleged burdens of old age. Cicero's mouthpiece is Cato the Elder, conversing with young Scipio and Laelius. The following Ciceronian compilation appears in the Harley margins:

Cicero *de Senectute* (Powell, 2006)

[end 28] quid enim est iucundius senectute stipata studiis iuventutis?...
[mid 29] nec ulli bonarum artium magistri non beati putandi, quamvis consenuerint vires atque defecerint. etsi ipsa ista defectio virium adulescentiae vitiis efficitur saepius quam senectutis; libidinosa enim et intemperans adulescentia effetum corpus tradit senectuti... [7 end] moderati enim et nec difficiles nec inhumani senes tolerabilem senectutem agunt; importunitas autem et inhumanitas omni aetati molesta est. [17 end] ... non viribus aut velocitate aut celeritate corporum res magnae geruntur, sed consilio, auctoritate, sententia; quibus non modo non orbari, sed etiam augeri senectus solet... [19 end] nec enim excursionem nec saltu nec eminens hastis aut cominus gladiis uteretur, sed consilio, ratione, sententia; quae nisi essent in senibus, non summum consilium

***Odes* 1.31**

Tullius de senectute alia multa et hoc in primis loquitur: quid enim est iocundius† senectute stipata studiis iuventutis?
nec ulli bonarum arcium magistri non beati putandi, quamvis consenuerint vires atque defecerint. etsi ista ipsa defectio virium adulescentie viciis efficitur sepius quam senectutis; libidinosa enim et intemperans adulescentia effetum corpus tradit senectute†. moderati enim et nec difficiles nec inhumani senes tollerabilem senectutem agunt; importunitas autem et inhumanitas omni etati molesta est. non enim viribus aut velocitatibus aut celeritate corporum res magne geruntur, sed consilio, auctoritate, sententia; quibus non modo orbari, sed etiam augeri senectus solet. neque enim excursionem nec saltu nec minus† hastis aut cominus gladiis utitur senectus, sed consilio, ratione, sententia; quae nisi essent in senibus, non sumum consilium

maiores nostri appellassent senatum. [20] apud Lacedaemonios quidem ei, qui amplissimum magistratum gerunt, ut sunt, sic etiam nominantur senes. quodsi legere aut audire voletis externa, maximas res publicas ab adolescentibus labefactatas, a senibus sustentatas et restitutas reperietis. "*cedo, qui vestram rem publicam tantam/ amisistis tam cito?*" sic enim percontantur in Naevi poetae ludo. respondentur et alia et hoc in primis: "*proveniebant oratores novi, stulti adolescentuli.*" temeritas est videlicet florentis aetatis, prudentia senescentis. [35 end] ... resistendum, Laeli et Scipio, senectuti est, eiusque vitia diligentia compensanda sunt, pugnandum tamquam contra morbum sic contra senectutem; [36] habenda ratio valetudinis, utendum exercitationibus modicis, tantum cibi et potionis adhibendum ut reficiantur vires, non opprimantur. nec vero corpori solum subveniendum est, sed menti atque animo multo magis; nam haec quoque, nisi tamquam lumini oleum instilles, exstinguuntur senectute. et corpora quidem exercitationum defatigatione ingravescent, animi autem exercendo levantur. nam quos ait Caecilius 'comicos stultos senes', hos significat credulos, obliviosos, dissolutos, quae vitia sunt non senectutis, sed inertis, ignavae, somniculosae senectutis. ut petulantia, ut libido magis est adolescentium quam senum, nec tamen omnium adolescentium, sed non proborum, sic ista senilis stultitia, quae deliratio appellari solet, senum levium est, non omnium. [38 mid] ...ut enim adolescentem in quo est senile aliquid, sic senem in quo est aliquid adolescentis probo; quod qui sequitur, corpore senex esse poterit, animo numquam erit. [38 end] semper enim in his studiis laboribusque viventi non intellegitur quando obrepat senectus. ita sensim sine sensu aetas senescit nec subito frangitur, sed diuturnitate exstinguitur. [62 end] ...ex quo efficitur id quod ego magno quondam cum assensu omnium dixi, miseram esse senectutem quae se oratione defenderet. non cani, nec rugae repente auctoritatem arripere possunt, sed honeste acta superior aetas fructus capit auctoritatis extremos. [63] haec enim ipsa sunt honorabilia quae videntur levia atque communia, salutari, adpeti, decedi, adsurgere, deduci, reduci, consuli; quae et apud nos et in aliis civitatibus, ut quaeque optime morata est, ita diligentissime observantur.

maiores nostri appellassent senatum. apud Lacedaemonios quidem in†, qui amplissimum magistratum gerunt, ut sunt, sic etiam nominantur senes. quodsi legere aut audire voletis, maximas r. p. ab adolescentibus labefactatas a senibus sustentatas et restitutas reperietis. "*cedo, qui uestram rem publicam tantam/ amisistis tam cito?*" sic enim percontantur, ut est in Nevii poetae ludo. respondentur et alia et hoc in primis: "*proveniebant oratores novi stulti adolescentuli.*" temeritas est videlicet florentis etatis, prudentia senectutis. resistendum, igitur senectuti est, eiusque vitia diligentia compensanda sunt, pugnandum tanquam contra morbum sic contra senectutem; <h>abenda ratio valetudinis, utendum exercitationibus modicis, tantum cibi et pocionis adhibendum ut reficiantur vires, non opprimantur. nec vero corpori[s] solum subveniendum est, sed menti atque animo molto magis; nam hec quoque, nisi tamquam lumini oleum instilles, exstinguuntur senectute. et corpora quidem exercitationum defetigatione† ingravescent, animi autem exercitando levantur. nam quos ait Cecilius comic<us> 'stultos senes' hoc significat credulos, oblivios†, dissolutos, que vicia sunt non senectutis.

ut petulantia, ut libido magis est adolescentium quam senum, nec tamen omni uma† adolescentium, sed non proborum, sic ista senilis stulticia quae deliratio appellari solet senium levium est, non omnium. ut enim adolescentem in quo est aliquid senile sic senem in quo est aliquid adolescentis probo; quod qui sequitur, corpore senex poterit esse, animo numquam erit. semper enim in bonis studiis laboribusque viventi non intellegitur quando obrepat senectus. ita sensim sine sensu aetas senescit, nec subito frangitur, sed diuturnitate exstinguitur. ex quo efficitur id quod eo magno quondam cum adsensu omnium dixi, miseram esse senectutem quae se oratione defenderet. non cani nec ruge repente auctoritatem arripere possunt, sed honeste acta superior etas fructus capit auctoritatis extremos. hec enim ipsa sunt honorabilia salutari, adpeti, decedi, adsurgere, adduci, reduci, consuli; quae et apud nos et in aliis civitatibus, ut quaeque optime morata est, ita diligentissime observantur.

Lysandrum Lacedaemonium, cuius modo feci mentionem, dicere aiunt solitum Lacedaemonem esse honestissimum domicilium senectutis: nusquam enim tantum tribuitur aetati, nusquam est senectus honoratior. quin etiam memoriae proditum est, cum Athenis ludis quidam in theatrum grandis natu venisset, magno consessu locum nusquam ei datum a suis civibus; cum autem ad Lacedaemonios accessisset, qui legati cum essent certo in loco consederant, consurrexisse omnes illi dicuntur et senem sessum recepissee. [64] quibus cum a cuncto consessu plausus esset multiplex datus, dixisse ex eis quendam Atheniensis scire, quae recta essent, sed facere nolle.

Lysandrum Lacedemonium dicere aiunt solitum, Lacedemone<m> esse honestissimum domicilium senectutis: nusquam enim tantum tribuitur etati, nusquam est senectus honoratior. quin etiam memorie proditum est, cum Athenis ludis quidam in theatrum grandis natu venisset, magno consessu locum ei nusquam datum a suis civibus; cum autem ad Lacedemonios accessisset, qui legati cum essent certo in loco consederant, consurrexisse omnes illi dicuntur et senem sessum recepissee. quibus cum a cuncto consessu plausus esset multiplex datus, dixisse ex his quendam, Athenienses scire que recta essent, sed facere nolle.

This lengthy scholion brings together multiple extracts from *de Senectute*: the scholiast is clearly well acquainted with a large part of the dialogue.[2] Furthermore, the introductory phrase (*Tullius de Senectute alia multa et hoc in primis loquitur*) suggests that the scholiast read beyond what is quoted in the note. Let us consider his choice and arrangement of material.

A remarkable degree of prominence is given to education. The scholiast begins by describing respectable old age as 'surrounded by attentive youth' (*stipata studiis iuventutis*), a fortunate condition exemplified by teachers (*nec ulli bonarum artium magistri non beati putandi*). While most extracts appear in Cicero's order, the opening pair is drawn into prominence from mid-dialogue.[3] This emphasis does not seem to be inspired by Horace. Horace does pose as an educator elsewhere in the collection, but not in this poem, nor is this aspect of the poet's persona stressed anywhere else in Harley scholia.[4] Indeed, this spotlight on teachers is unique in Harley lyric scholia. The reason behind it remains unclear. Nothing suggests that our scholiast himself was a teacher.

Morality and, more specifically, the creed of moderation features in both Cicero's and Horace's description of enjoyable old age, although in a different form. Moderation is a prominent theme in Horatian lyric; here Horace depicts himself as contented with moderate wealth. The scholiast's awareness of this theme is visible in his arrangement of Cicero. Cato's two references to moderation and its lack are emphasised through juxtaposition: *intemperans adulescentia* (7) contrasts with *moderati senes* (29). The Ciceronian passage is no precise match to Horace, since Cicero and Horace describe different vices: Cato speaks of lust, Horace – of wealth.

Cato's discussion of physical and mental disability parallels Horace's description of old age as *turpis*. His remedies (35-6) are particularly apt in relation to this ode, since they share Horace's dichotomy of body and mind, both of which require preservation (*Odes* 1.31.17ff. *valido mihi ... integra cum mente*).

Cicero calls authority (balancing frailty) the definitive characteristic of deserving old age, which dictates activities appropriate to old men. Horace defines his own authority by the term *vates* (2), his choice of activity is poetic (*nec turpem senectam/ degere nec cithara carentem* 19f.).[5] It is not clear, whether the scholiast intended to bring out the authority of Horace's persona. The extent of the Ciceronian parallel certainly goes far beyond the necessary.[6] The final portion of the extract, especially the anecdote of the Spartan ambassadors at the Athenian theatre, was copied for its own sake rather than to expound Horace.

To summarise, I have suggested that the choice and the arrangement of Ciceronian material is, at least in part, inspired by Horace. The scholion is disproportionately long in contrast to Horace's vignette of old age, confined to a single stanza, or even to the poet's six-line self-portrait. This Ciceronian scholion is no gloss, but an extensive paratext illustrating Horatian themes.

Footnotes

[1] In *Odes* 1-3 Horace, who was forty-two at their publication, frequently describes himself as no longer young (*Odes* 1.16, 2.6, 3.14, 3.26,). Future old age (*Epode* 13, *Odes* 1.9) and death are regularly mentioned (*Odes* 1.4, 2.3, 2.6, 2.11, 2.14, 2.16, 2.20). A prayer for the old as well as the young appears in *Carmen Saeculare* (46), performed in 17 BC when Horace was forty-seven.

[2] All the extracts come from the opening part of the dialogue, which deals with two of the four alleged drawbacks of old age catalogued by Cato (15), that is inactivity and physical weakness. The unused second half discusses lack of sensual pleasure and proximity of death.

[3] The omitted sentences contain specific examples of Scipio's and Laelius' grandfathers.

[4] The poet's pedagogic role features in Horatian exegesis from at least 1100 (Friis-Jensen, 1993).

[5] Horace as *vates* : *Epode* 16, *Odes* 1.1 *si me lyricis uatibus inseres*, 2.6 *favillam/ vatis amici*, 2.20 *biformis... vates*, 3.19 *ternos ter cyathos attonitus petet/ uates*, 4.3 *inter amabilis/ uatum ponere me choros*, 4.6, 4.9 *vate sacro*.

[6] Authority is an important trait of Horace's lyric persona. He frequently styles himself as a man of mature experience, giving advice to his *amici* (*Odes* 1.29, 1.33, 2.2, 2.3, 2.9, 2.10) and to fictional addressees (*Odes* 1.11, 1.16, 1.27, 2.4, 3.7). Horace claims the quasi-official rank of *sacerdos musarum* instructing the nation's youth in the Roman odes (*Odes* 3.1.2-4), and performs that very function officially in the *Carmen Saeculare*.

de Senectute Text 1

In *Odes* 1.12 Curius appears among other republican heroes (37-44):

Regulum et Scauros animaeque magnae
prodigum Paulum superante Poeno
gratus insigni referam Camena
Fabriciumque.

Hunc et incompitis Curium capillis
utilem bello tulit et Camillum
saeua paupertas et auitus apto
cum lare fundus.

The scholiast glosses Curius:

4.1 'Small scale' sources

Serv. Aen. 6.844

FABRICIVM paupertate gloriosum. hic est qui
respondit legatis Samnitum aurum sibi
offerentibus, Romanos non aurum habere velle,
sed aurum habentibus imperare. SERRANE
SERENTEM

Atilius quidam senator fuit,
qui cum agrum suum coleret, evocatus propter
virtutem meruit dictaturam.

Serv. Aen. 6.839

Pyrrhum enim, quem Aeaciden dicit, Curius et
Fabricius vicerunt ferentem Tarentinis
auxilium.

Discussion

Odes 1.12.41

Curius quidam senator fuit clarus paupertate;
qui cum agrum suum coleret evocatus propter
virtutem meruit dictaturam;
qui non totondit cesariem propter iniuriam
accepte potestatis.

hic enim vicit Pyrrum
regem Epirotarum ferentem Tarentinis
auxilium.

cui ad focum sedenti magnum auri pondus
Samnites cum attulissent, repudiati sunt; non
enim aurum habere preclarum sibi videri dixit,
sed eis qui haberent aurum imperare.

PsA ad loc.

Curius paupertate clarus
de agro ad consulatum euocatus est,

qui numquam totondit caesariem propter
iniuriam praeturae.

Cic. de Sen. 55 (Powell, 2006)

Ergo in hac vita M.Curius, cum de Samnitibus,
de Sabinis, de Pyrrho triumphasset, consumpsit
extremum tempus aetatis. Cuius quidem ego
villam contemplan (abest enim non longe a
me) admirari satis non possum vel hominis
ipsius continentiam vel temporum disciplinam.

Curio ad focum sedenti magnum auri pondus
Samnites cum attulissent, repudiati sunt; non
enim aurum habere praeclarum sibi videri dixit,
sed eis qui haberent aurum imperare.

Horace portrays Fabricius, Curius and Camillus – among whom Curius is distinguished by his unshorn hair – as old-fashioned warrior-heroes raised on ancestral land in poverty and in fear of the gods. The image of the great statesman as a poor bearded rustic is picked up in Pseudo-Acro scholia. The Harley scholiast expands this description further, blending Pseudo-Acro with Servius' story of another farmer-politician, Atilius Serranus, whose virtue was rewarded with the office of dictator. The scholiast clearly understood Pseudo-Acro's references to Curius' office of praetor and consul rather than dictator (for he replaces *praeturae* with *acceptae potestatis*), but he seems more interested in the hero's doings than in the particulars of the Roman *cursus honorum*.

The Harley scholion continues with a record of Curius' defeat of Pyrrhus and an anecdote about his dealings with the Samnites. Pyrrhus is called the king of the Epirotae in Σ (absent from Harley).[1] The phrase *ferentem Tarentinis auxilium* is drawn from Servius; it appears a little earlier than the Atilius note used by our scholiast. The Samnite anecdote comes from *de Senectute*. The scholiast may well have drawn on Cicero directly, although the anecdotal genre of this passage would have rendered it attractive to other excerptors.

Whatever the immediate source of the Ciceronian anecdote, its addition may be inspired by Servius. Directly before the Atilius note used by the scholiast, Servius also tells a story about a frugal and incorruptible Roman leader rejecting a bribe from the Samnites, but names his hero Fabricius.[2] Servius' note may have reminded the scholiast about the Curius version of the story, which fits his compilation. (Horace's mention of Fabricius in the preceding stanza remains unglossed in Harley.)

Footnotes

[1] **PsA Odes 3.20.1** *NON VIDES QVANTO MOVEAS PERICLO haec allegoricos per commemorationem Pyrrhi, Epirotarum regis, qui pro Tarentinis aduersus Romanos pugnavit, ad Pyrrum sodalem dicuntur, qui puerum Nearchum nomine a quadam femina dilectum sollicitate extrahere conetur; λφψ Odes 1.12.40 FABRICIUMQUE ... hic Pyrrhum regem Epirotarum bello superavit...*

[2] For Cicero, Fabricius was the man who resisted Pyrrhus, Curius was the one who rejected the Samnite bribe (*de Re Pub.* 3.40 *Pyrrhi videlicet largitas Fabricio aut Samnitium copiae Curio defuerunt*), but Servius conflates the two characters. In Servius, the two leaders defeat Pyrrhus together (*Aen.* 6.839) and the Samnites are rejected by Fabricius. (Φ scholia similarly reports the Fabricius version of the anecdote.)

In Somnium Text 1

In *Odes* 1.13 Lydia's lips are imbued with Venus' nectar (13-16):

...oscula, quae Venus
quinta parte sui nectaris imbuit.

The scholiast provides a description of nectar matching Macrobius:

In Somn. 1.12.11 (Willis, 1970)
haec est autem hyle, quae omne corpus
mundi quod ubicumque cernimus ideis
impressa formavit; sed altissima et
purissima pars eius, qua vel sustentantur
divina vel constant, nectar vocatur et creditur
esse potus deorum; inferior vero atque
turbidior potus animarum, et hoc est quod
veteres Lethaeum fluvium vocaverunt.

Odes 1.13.16
hyle est que omne corpus
mundi quod ubicumque cernimus ideis
impressa formavit; sed altissima et
purissima pars eius, qu[i]a vel sustentantur
divina vel constant, nectar vocatur et creditur
esse potus deorum; inferior vero atque
turbidior† potus animarum et hoc est quod
veteres Letheum fluvium vocaverunt.

The substance, with which Venus touches Lydia's lips, requires a gloss explaining that nectar is a drink of the gods. Such a gloss could have been extracted from this very passage of Macrobius: *nectar... creditur esse potus deorum*. Instead, the scholiast chose to provide a full 'scientific' definition, classifying nectar as a type of *hyle*, the matter making up the universe. The scholiast did not edit this passage to promote Horace's lemma, but commenced with *hyle*.

In Somnium Text 3

In *Odes* 3.27 Europa hopes her adventure may be only a nightmare (38-42):

Vigilansne ploro
turpe commissum an uitiiis carentem
ludit imago
uana quae porta fugiens eburna
somnia ducit?

The scholiast provides a note about different kinds of dreams:

In Somn. 1.3.17-20 (Willis, 1970)
his adsertis quia superius falsitatis
insomniorum Vergilium testem citantes,
versus fecimus mentionem eruti de
geminarum somnii descriptione portarum,
siquis forte quaerere velit cur porta ex ebore
falsis et e cornu veris sit deputata, instruetur
auctore **Porphyrio, qui in commentariis
suis** haec in eundem locum dicit ab
Homero sub eadem divisione descriptum:
latet, inquit, omne verum. hoc tamen anima
cum ab officiis corporis somno eius
paululum libera est interdum aspicit, non
numquam tendit aciem nec tamen pervenit,

Odes 3.27.40f.
siquis querere forte velit cur porta ex ebore
falsis et cornu veris sit deputata, instruetur
auctore Porfirio, qui in commentariis
suis <hae>c [1] in eundem locum dicit ab
Humero† sub eadem divisione descriptum:
latet, inquit, omne verum. hoc tamen anima
cum ab officiis corporis somno eius
paululum libera est int<er>dum aspicit, non
numquam tendit aciem nec tamen pervenit,

et cum aspicit tamen non libero et directo lumine videt sed interiecto velamine, quod nexus naturae caligantis obducit. et hoc in natura esse idem Vergilius asserit dicens [Aen. 2.604-6] “aspice, namque omnem quae nunc obducta tuenti/ mortales hebetat visus tibi et umida circum/ caligat nubem eripiam...” hoc velamen cum in quiete ad verum usque aciem animae introsipientis admittit, de cornu creditur, cuius ista natura est ut tenuatum visui pervium sit; cum autem a vero hebetat ac repellit optutum, ebur putatur, cuius corpus ita natura densetum est ut ad quamvis extremitatem tenuitatis erasum nullo visu ad ulteriora tendente penetretur.

et cum aspicit tamen non libero et directo lumine videt sed interiecto velamine, quod nexus naturae caliga<n>tis obducit. et hoc in natura esse idem Virgilius asserit dicens “aspice, namque omnem que nunc obducta tuenti/ mortales hebetat visus tibi et humida circum/ caligat nubem eripiam...” hoc vilamen† cum in qui<ete> ad verum usque aciem anime introsipientes† admittit, de cornu creditur, cuius ista natura est ut tenuatum uisui peruium sit; cum autem a vero hebetat ac repellit obtutum, ebur putatur, cuius corpus ita [1] <d>ensetum [1] fit ut ad quamvis extremitatem tenuitatis erasum nullo viso ad ulteriora tendente penetretur.

The scholiast requires an explanation of why a false dream is associated with the gate of ivory. The end of *Aeneid* 6 is an obvious point of reference. At this lemma, Porphyrio and Pseudo-Acro quote *Aeneid* 6.895f. and Φ scholia paraphrase Servius' comment on that passage (893). In Harley, Servius' note is reproduced verbatim, but our scholiast is not satisfied with Servius or Virgil and adds the above Macrobius passage.[2]

Macrobius refers to Porphyry. In Harley, this philosopher features once more in a Servian extract glossing the *Carmen Saeculare* (l. 33). The scholiast rephrased Servius' reference slightly (*sed constat secundum Porphyrii librum* becomes *Borfirius dicit in libro*), which suggests awareness of the name rather than mechanical copying. The philosopher's name could have been familiar to our scholiast,[3] but, in the Horatian context, a Porphyrius who wrote *Commentaria* was probably assimilated to the Horace commentator Porphyrio. Porphyrio is named in the Pseudo-Acronian *vita*, which appears at the back of the manuscript: *commentati in illum sunt Porphyrion, Modestus et Helenius Acron*. The presence of a Porphyrius in Servius and the above Macrobius extract probably contributed to our scholiast's interest.

As noted in the introduction, this passage enjoyed autonomous transmission, appended to the popular *Versio Brevis* of Macrobius' commentary. On the other hand, the scholiast could have selected the same excerpt with its logical *incipit* independently.

Another less remarkable Macrobius extract on the subject of dreams, which has lost its Horace lemma, can be consulted in the Transcript after *Odes* 1.16 (Text 2).

Footnotes

[1] *In eundem* is preceded by *haec* in most Macrobius manuscripts, but by *hoc* in K₁H. Armisen-Marchetti prints *densatum* and reports *densetum* (printed by Willis) in KH₂ (K = Cologne 186 s. ix German?; H = Lond. BL Harley 2772 + Mun. Clm 23486 s. xi, German). Willis (1970) notes that *natura* preceding '*ensetum fit*' is omitted by early editors, Ian and Eyssenhardt, of whom the latter used Paris 6371 and Bamberg IV 15 F n 4 as well as printed editions.

[2] From a modern commentator's point of view, the scholiast covers two alternative philosophical explanations on the subject, Macrobius' Porphyronic and the other Greek theory followed by Servius.

[3] Porphyry is mentioned once more by Macrobius (in the second less popular book of the *Commentary*, 2.3.15) and by other authors, of whom at least Servius, Jerome, and Boethius enjoyed relative availability.

Bede on the Acts of the apostles

Bede's *Expositio Actuum Apostolorum* survives in numerous manuscripts. The manuscript catalogue (1943) provided by Laistner to accompany his edition (1939), shows that the work was available before 900 at several centres, including Bavarian Reichenau and St Emmeram, and that copying continued in the tenth and eleventh centuries.[1] The commentary includes an appendix on the geographical names mentioned in the *Acts* (*Nomina regionum atque locorum de actibus apostolorum*) edited separately for the *Corpus Christianorum* by Jones (1983). Judging by these editions, the appendix was transmitted jointly with the commentary. Bede's commentary is likely to have been available to our scholiast; conversely, I found no evidence for the Harley extracts being available through intermediate sources.

Harley contains one note matching verbatim the commentary proper (27 words) and four more notes matching its geographical appendix (70 words in total). One of the notes matching the appendix is discussed in Chapter 7, because it forms part of a composite scholion (Remigius Text 1).

Footnotes

[1] Laistner (1943, pp. 20-23) tabulates several manuscripts from Bavaria and adjoining regions: Bamb. Öff. B. B V I., s. xi, Chapter library; Geneva Uni 21, s. viii-ix Murbach (Reichenau); Karlsruhe Landesb., Aug. 43 s. ix¹, Aug. 77 s. ix, Aug. 153 s. ix, Reichenau; Mun. Clm. 5257, s. xi, Chiemsee; Clm. 6284, s. x, Freising; Clm. 14478, s. ix, St Emmeram; Clm. 14495, s. x et xii, St Emmeram; Clm. 18575, s. xi, Tegernsee; Salzburg, St Peter A V 38 s. ix-x, Salzburg?; Stuttgart H. B. VII Patres 41, s. ix¹, Constance; Vienna 934, s. ix, Salzburg. One further Bavarian manuscript conflates the *Commentary* with Bede's other exegetic work on the *Acts*, the *Retractatio*: Karlsruhe Ladesb. Aug. 135, s. x, Reichenau? (p. 24).

Bede Texts 2 and 3

In *Odes* 1.7 the catalogue of Greek places praised by poets opens with Rhodes and Mytilene (1): *Laudabunt alii claram Rhodon aut Mytilenen...* The note on Mytilene is identical to Bede (*de Nom.* 207), except for the *est* supplied by the scholiast:

Mytilene insula est contra Asyam, que a proxim<a> continente abest vii d. passibus

Rhodes is similarly glossed with Bede's note, which is slightly corrupt:

Bede de Nom. 241

Rhodus: Cycladum insularum nobilissima
et ab oriente prima, quondam Ophiusa
uocata, in qua urbs eiusdem nominis fuit
aereo Colosso famosa lxx cubitorum
altitudinis. distat autem a portu Asiae
xx milibus passuum.

Odes 1.7.1

Rodos: Cycladum insula nobilissima est
et ab oriente prima, quondam Ophyusa
vocata, in qua urbs eiusdem nominis fuit
eroe† coloso famona† septuaginta
cubitorum altitudinis. distat a portu Asie
viginti milibus passuum.

It seems likely that these two Bede notes glossing the same Horace line were extracted together.

Bede Text 4

In *Odes* 1.33.15 Horace compares his beloved to the stormy Adriatic (13-16):

Ipsum me melior cum peteret Venus,
grata detinuit compede Myrtale
libertina, fretis acrior Hadriae
curuantis Calabros sinus.

The scholiast glosses *Hadriae*:

Bede de Nom. 149

Hadria: nomen maris contra Rauennam, quod
per ostia Padi fluminis intratur, sumpto
uocabulo ab Hadria proxima ciuitate, quae
eidem mari nomen etiam Hadriatici dedit.

Odes 1.33.15

Hadryia: nomen maris contra Ravennam,
quod per hostia Padi fluminis intrat<ur>
et appellatur sinus Adriaticus

Whereas Horace speaks of the Calabrian coast-line, Bede connects the eponymous sea with the town of Adria situated in Veneto. Porphyrio's note *ad locum* explains that the southern stretch of the sea is still called the Adriatic:

HADRIAE per haec Adriaticum sinum intellege, quod mare et Calabriam adluit.

Porphyrio's explanation is lacking in Harley, but seems to have supplied the scholiast with the alternative term *sinus Adriaticus* – unless this phrase was familiar to our scholiast from his reading of Orosius (1.2.57, 61) or Isidore (14.4).

Bede Text 5

Odes 3.29 ends with Horace safely crossing the Aegean in a small boat (62-4):

tunc me biremis praesidio scaphae
tutum per Aegaeos tumultus
aura feret geminusque Pollux.

The note on *scapha* matches Bede:[1]

Bede *Exp. act. ap.* 27.16-17

scapha siue catascopos est nauicula levis ex vimine facta crudoque corio contexta; dicta autem Graece a contemplando, quod tali nautae uel piratae nauigio terras et litora praespiciere soleant.

***Odes* 3.29.62**

scapha est nauicula levis ex vimine facta crudoque corio contexta; dicta autem est scapha a contemplando, quod tali naute vel pyrate navigio terras et litora perspicere [2] soleant.

This is the only note matching Bede's commentary proper rather than its geographical appendix. It is of interest that the scholiast removes the Greek word *sive catascopos* and the reference to Greek language (*Graece*), replaced with the lemma (*est scapha*).

Footnotes

[1] Bede apparently obtains his information from Isidore (Laistner, 1939, p. 85) using not only his definition of the generic term *scapha* (*Et.* 19.1.18), but also the description of *mioparo*, a type of *scapha* used by German pirates (*Et.* 19.1.21). The Harley note clearly shares Bede's compilation.

[2] Laistner (1939) reports the variant *perspicere* in a manuscript written in the second half of the 9th-century (Clm 14478), perhaps at St Emmeram, which owned it, but this abbreviation error could have been made by different scribes independently.

Lucan

As discussed by Gotoff (1971), Lucan was one of the most popular classical authors studied, copied, and excerpted from Carolingian times onwards. Munk Olsen catalogues twenty-one ninth- and tenth-century manuscripts and florilegia containing Lucan, including several written in Germany.[1] Among these, the tenth-century annotated Clm. 29266 + 6313-FDG(d) has been placed in Freising.

Harley contains two passages from Lucan, both explicitly naming their author. The first longer passage is transmitted separately from Lucan's poem in a tenth-century French manuscript as well as in Harley. The other is not attested in secondary sources, yet it has the appearance of a citation from a grammatical work or a commentary.

Footnotes

[1] Einsiedl. 266-IV s. ix-x, perhaps Fulda; Par. Lat. 10314 s. ix west German, glossed; Kass. 2o poet. 5 s. x ex., glossed; Erlang. 389 s. x, German?, glossed; Leid. Voss. F. 63 s. x German?, glossed; Leid. Voss. Q 51 s. x, (west?) German, glossed; florilegium Einsiedl. 32-I s. x, German or Swiss

Lucan Text 1

In *Odes* 2.15 Horace contrasts his ostentatious contemporaries exploiting the land for private pleasure, with the frugal customs of old Rome (10-12):

non ita Romuli
praescriptum et intonsi Catonis

auspiciis ueterumque norma.

Cato's name is glossed with the longest verse quotation in Harley scholia:

de quo dicit Lucanus [2.380-91]:

“...hi mores hec duri immota Catonis
secta fuit: servare modum, finemque tenere
naturamque sequi, patrieque inpendere vitam;
nec sibi sed toti genitum se credere mundo;
huic epule: vicisse famem, magnique penates:
summovisse hiemem tecto, preciosaque vestis:
hirtam membra super Romani more Quiritis
induxisse togam, Veneris hic maximus usus:[1]
progenies. urbi pater est, urbiq[ue] maritus,
iusticie cultor, rigidi servator honesti
in commune bonus.”

This note is clearly connected to the Horace lemma by a relative pronoun referring to Cato: *de quo dicit Lucanus*. Lucan's description (at the point where Cato is introduced into civil war action) would make a good gloss on Horace's brief characterisation, except for the fact that this ode refers not to the civil war Republican martyr Cato Uticensis, but his great-grand-father Cato Censorius.

Each Cato features twice in Horace's lyric: Cato Censorius appears also at *Odes* 3.21.11 (*prisci Catonis saepe mero caluisse uirtus*),[2] Cato Uticensis – at *Odes* 1.12.35 (*Catonis nobile letum*) and *Odes* 2.1.24 (*atrocem animum Catonis*). Pseudo-Acro and Porphyrio notes on these lemmata offer some explanation,[3] but Harley contains no scholia differentiating between the two Catos or indeed any mention of the Elder Cato at all. The Younger Cato's suicide in *Odes* 1.12.35 and civil war appearance at *Odes* 2.1.24 are glossed by a narrative of his noble death from Harley's historian sources (Historian Text 2) embellished with the Pseudo-Acronian phrase *amore libertatis*. The misidentification of Cato in the above note suggests that the scholiast was simply unaware of the existence of two different historical figures.[4]

Misidentification apart, the Lucan citation makes an apt gloss on this ode, since both the old-fashioned simplicity of Censorius and the philosophical constancy of Uticensis were depicted as exempla of republican virtue. Moreover, Lucan's catalogue of Uticensis' *mores* opens with moderation and observance of natural laws, which are the reverse of the very accusations made against Horace's contemporaries.

The same passage of Lucan appears in the tenth-century French Voss. Lat. Q. 33 (part IV), which contains a variety of grammatical, metrical, and other texts.[5]

According to De Meyier's catalogue, in the Vossianus, the *Bellum Civile* quotation is introduced with the following words: *versus luciani de catone cuius coniugiu(m) mortuo martia repetebat hortensio principiu(m) denique p(ri)mi versus de sensu est <sequitur nota tyroniana>*. Harley shares neither this introductory note nor the error *luciani* for *lucani*.

Among the metrical material offered by the Vossianus are notes on Horatian metres (Munk Olsen Horace #121a and 121b), which are also found at the back of Harley (133vo-134ro). These metrical notes are transmitted in several Horatian manuscripts, including French ninth-century Parisinus 10310, tenth-century Parisini 7971 and 7974. Harley scholia contain no other material offered by the Vossianus. Nothing suggests a close relationship between the Vossianus and Harley. It is, however, clear that this passage of *Bellum Civile* did circulate independently from Lucan's poem.

Footnotes

[1] Harley's ametrical *Veneris hic maximus usus* is a textual crux. The reading *hic* (without *que* or *quoque*) appears in the two oldest (and generally best) manuscripts Z (s. ix 2/4) and M (s. ix 2/4).

[2] While the epithet '*priscus*' is regularly used to distinguish the Elder Cato, Rudd suggests that in *Odes* 3.21.11 there may be a hint of the Younger Cato also (Nisbet and Rudd, 2004, *ad loc.*).

[3] At *Odes* 3.21.11 Pseudo-Acro points to the Elder Cato (*Antiquioris, non Vticensis*); Porphyrio's gloss on the Elder Cato at *Odes* 2.15.11, however, makes no clear distinction: *intonsum autem Catonem ait, quia ueteres propter seueritatem hirsuti erant*. At both appearances of the younger Cato (*Odes* 1.12.35 and *Odes* 2.1.24) both scholia collections allude to his uncompromising end. (*Odes* 1.12.35 **Porph.** *eius, qui se Vticae interemit; PsA Cato dum mortuo Pompeio apud Vticam obsideretur, amore libertatis manu sua sese peremit, unde et Vticensis uocatus est. Odes* 2.1.24 **Porph.** *<M>. Porcium Catonem significat, qui Vticae maluit se interficere imminente Caesare, quam in potestatem eius uenire; PsA atrocem constantem. Porcius enim Cato apud Vticam elegit potius interire, quam in hostium potestatem ueniret.*)

[4] Similar loss of historical perspective must be at least in part responsible for the absence of distinction between the Catones and the Senecae in attribution of literary work.

[5] Munk Olsen (1985) vol. II, p. 42; for a detailed description, see De Meyier (1975, vol. II, pp. 85-94).

Lucan Text 2

The mercenary rationalisation of the Danae story in *Odes* 3.16 (*Inclusam Danaen*) leads to the praise of gold as an efficacious tool for penetrating barriers (9-13):

aurum per medios ire satellites
et perrumpere amat saxa potentius
ictu fulmineo; concidit auguris
Argiui domus ob lucrum
demersa exitio...

A citation from Lucan is connected by a siglum to *satellites* (Luc. 10.407-8):

unde Lucanus dicit '*nulla fides pietasque viris qui castra secuntur; /
venalesque manus; ibi fas ubi maxima merces*'

Such brief acknowledged quotations of curriculum authors (Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Terence, Cicero, Sallust) abound in grammatical works and commentaries from antiquity onwards, yet I have not found this quotation in any text pre-dating Harley annotations.[1]

Horace makes a general observation about greed and corruption, Lucan speaks of the venality of mercenary soldiers.[2] The parallel between Horace and Lucan seems insubstantial, but the similarity may have been stronger in the eyes of our scholiast: the use of Lucan suggests that the scholiast interpreted the setting of line 9 as military. Eriphile's treachery in the war of the seven against Thebes mentioned by Horace in the next lines (11-13 *concidit...exitio*) is explained in Harley by a note drawn from Servius *ad Aen.* 6.445. The circumstances of Polynices' bribery are not clear from Servius' account; the scholiast may well have imagined that the entire stanza describes that episode. It has become clear that this Lucan quotation could have been picked out especially to parallel Horace.

Footnotes

[1] The same citation appears in a late medieval cento (1250–1366) on the subject of human vices and virtues, the *Polythecon* (2.356, 5.76), edited by A. P. Orban (1990, Turnhout).

[2] Lucan describes the degradation of Roman mercenaries led by Egyptian general Achillas against Caesar and urged into action by the eunuch regent of Ptolemy XIII, who organised Pompey's murder.

Hyginus *de Astronomia*

Hyginus' *de Astronomia* survives in fifteen ninth- and tenth-century manuscripts, including the late ninth-century south German Munich Clm. 13084-III located in Freising by Bischoff. Of particular interest is the late tenth-century Bavarian Oxford D'Orville 77 + 95, a manuscript produced at approximately the same time and location as Harley 2724. As noted above, this manuscript also contains the *Versio Brevis* of *In Somnium* and *de Senectute*, two texts closely related to the Corbie manuscript Paris n. a. Lat. 454 and newly imported into south Germany. Hyginus is absent from n. a. Lat. 454; it joined company with *Cicero-cum-Macrobio* through the effort of the Bavarian scribe of D'Orville 77 + 95. As far as I am aware, D'Orville 77 + 95 is not related to Harley. Nonetheless, the presence of *de Senectute*, *in Somnium*, and *de Astronomia* in D'Orville 77 + 95 suggests a simultaneous interest in these three texts in Bavaria at the end of the tenth century.

Our scholiast is likely to have had direct access to Hyginus' *de Astronomia*. I have found no evidence for the indirect transmission of these Hyginus passages. The single Harley scholion matching *de Astronomia* verbatim is discussed below. One brief piece of information also apparently drawn from Hyginus, features in a note largely drawn from Dares and Statius (at *Epode* 5), which is discussed in Chapter 8.

In *Odes* 2.13 Orion, together with the other inhabitants of the underworld, stops to listen to Alcaeus (39-40):

nec curat Orion leones
aut timidos agitare lyncas

The scholiast glosses Orion:

Hyg. Astr. 2.26 (Viré, 1992)
Scorpius. hic propter magnitudinem membrorum in duo signa dividitur quorum unius effigiem nostri Libram dixerunt. sed omnino totum signum hac de causa statutum existimatur quod Orion, cum venaretur et in eo exercitatissimum se esse confideret, dixisse etiam Dianae et Latoniae se omnia quae ex terra oriantur interficere valere; quare Terram permotam scorpionem misisse qui eum interficere demonstratur, Iovem autem utriusque animum admiratum scorpionem inter astra collocasse ut species eius hominibus documento esset ne quis eorum aliqua re sibi confideret; Dianam autem propter studium Orionis petisse a Iove ut idem illi beneficium daret petenti quod terrae ultro tribuisset; itaque eum ita constitutum ut, cum Scorpius exoriatur, occidat Orion.

Odes 2.13.39

Orion filius
Neptuni et Euriale

tante velocitatis erat ut
supra fluctus curreret et

super aristas festinaret nec
eas infringeret.
hic cum optimus venator
esset, fertur dixisse Diane
se omnes terrestres feras
facile posse capere.
cuius iactantia Terra irata,
scorpionem ei inmisit,
qui eum mox interfecit.
eius obitum Diana multis
lacrimis prosecuta, eum
inter sidera collocavit

statuitque, ut cum
exoriatur Scorpius
Orionem excipiat occasus.

Hyg. Astr. 2.34 (Viré, 1992)

Orion. hunc Hesiodus
Neptuni filium dicit ex
Euryale Minois filia natum;
concessum autem ei ut supra
fluctus curreret ut in terra,
quemadmodum Iphiclus datum
dicitur ut supra aristas curreret
neque eas infringeret
[...] quae se cum vellet in eo
studio maxime artificem dici,
sagitta missa, caput Orionis
traiecit; itaque eum cum
fluctus interfectum ad litus
eiecisset et se eum Diana
percussisse plurimum doletet,
multis eius obitum prosecuta
lacrimis, inter sidera statuisset
existimatur.
sed quae post mortem eius
Diana fecerit, in eius
historiis dicemus.

The scholion combines two extracts about Orion's hunting exploits and his death with a focus on Horace's depiction of the hero as hunting in the Underworld. The note opens with a succinct genealogy summarised from 2.34. From the same passage the scholiast draws information about the hero's powers – presumably to explain his success at hunting – eliding Orion with Iphicles in the process of abbreviation. Then he switches to 2.26 for a more detailed description of Orion as a hunter.[1] The Harley note

paraphrases and compresses: Orion makes his boast only to Diana (without Latona); she remains the protagonist to the end of the compilation. The note finishes with the catasterisation episode, pieced together from both Hyginus chapters. Hyginus' astronomical conclusion has no relevance to Horace.[2]

However irrelevant individual details may be, it is clear that the Harley note was compiled by our scholiast to gloss Horace. We saw the same technique of blending two stories into a single narrative in the scholiast's treatment of Solinus, Orosius, and Orosius-Eutropius combination. The inspiration for combining the two passages may have come from Hyginus himself. In the middle section of chapter 2.34 (Appendix 4), which is unused in our scholion, Hyginus twice refers to his own earlier account with the words '*quae supra diximus*'. This may well have prompted our scholiast to seek out the story in section 2.26.

Footnotes

[1] The middle portion of chapter 2.34 (in Appendix 4) narrates more stories about Orion: his birth from urine (cf. Servius Texts 33), rape of Merope, relationship with Oenopion, attempted rape of or love affair with Diana. All but the first of these stories end with his death in a hunting context. The scholiast used the last and the most detailed of these death accounts.

[2] Elsewhere in Horace, Orion is always a star associated with storms (*Ep.* 10:9-10, 15.7-8, *Odes* 1.28.21-2, 3.27.17-8), but its position in relation to Scorpion has no relevance for any Horatian lemma. We may also note that Hyginus' picture of Diana, mourning and seeking to immortalise her lover, contrasts with Horace's depiction of Orion as the goddess' would-be-rapist in *Odes* 3.4 (70-2 *notus et integrae/temptator Orion Dianae,/uirginea domitus sagitta*).

Macrobius Saturnalia

The medieval traditions of the two works of Macrobius surviving beyond Carolingian times – the very popular *Commentary* and the less well known *Saturnalia* – are almost entirely separate until the Renaissance.[1] The survival rate of *Saturnalia* manuscripts shows that this work never gained the popularity of *In Somnium*. Barker-Benfield (1983, p. 224) tabulates six manuscripts from the ninth century, only one from the tenth, five from the eleventh, and barely over a dozen from each of the following centuries till the fifteenth. Reviewing the tradition, Kaster (2010, p. 5) notes that the tradition was centred in France at least until the end of the millennium.

A single Harley note matches the *Saturnalia*. I found no evidence for this excerpt being transmitted on its own, yet the passage in question is a self-contained story and could have attracted other excerptors.

In *Epode* 2 Alfius claims to be contented with a simple diet:

non me Lucrina iuverint conchyliā
magisve rhombus aut scari,
si quos Eois intonata fluctibus
hiems ad hoc vertat mare...

The scholiast glosses *scari* with an extract from the *Saturnalia*:

Macr. Sat. 3.16.10 (Kaster, 2011)
nam Optatus praefectus classis,
sciens scarum adeo Italicis litoribus
ignotum ut nec nomen Latinum eius piscis
habeamus, incredibilem scarorum
multitudinem vivariis navibus huc
advectam inter Ostiam et Campaniae
litus in mare sparsit, miroque ac novo
exemplo pisces in mari tamquam in terra
fruges aliquas seminavit idemque tamquam
summa in hoc utilitatis publicae verteretur,
quinquennio dedit operam ut si quis inter
alios pisces scarum forte cepisset, incolumem
confestim et inviolatum mari redderet.

Epode 2.50
Optamus† [2] prefectus classis
sciens scarum adeo Italicis littoribus
ignotum ut nec nomen Latinum eius piscis
habeamus, incredibilem scarorum
multitudinem in variis† navibus huc
advectam inter Hostiam [2] et Campanie
litus in mare sparsit. miroque ac novo
exemplo pisces in mari tamquam in terra
fruges aliquas seminavit. idemque tamquam
summa in hoc utilitatis publice verteretur,
quinquennio dedit operam ut, siquis inter
alios pisces scarum forte cepisset, incolumem
confestim et inviolatum mari redderet.

Harley lacks the Pseudo-Acronian gloss *ad locum (Rhombus et sca[u]rus pisces sunt pretiosi et sapore et raritate)*. Macrobius mentions the name of the fish (or rather its absence in the Latin language) and helps to explain why Horace describes it as a foreign import contrasted to Alfius' indigenous menu (55-60).[3]

Footnotes

[1] One manuscript containing both the *Commentary* and the *Saturnalia*, Par. Lat. 6370 (s. ix 3/4, probably Tours) predates Harley, but the two works seem to have been bound together at a later stage. The next omnibus manuscript, also French, does not appear till the 11th century (Par. Lat. 6371).

[2] Where Macrobius manuscripts erroneously read *Optanus* or *Optamus*, Macrobius editors substitute *Optatus* from Pliny *NH* 9.64. Kaster records the spelling *Hostia* in the β family of Macrobius manuscripts.

[3] *Epode 2.55-60 lecta de pinguissimis/ oliva ramis arborum/ aut herba lapathi prata amantis et gravi/ malvae salubres corpori/ vel agna festis caesa Terminalibus/ vel haedus ereptus lupo.*

Sallust Jugurtha

The *Jugurtha* survives in seven south German manuscripts, two from the end of the tenth and five from the eleventh century.[1] This text is likely to have been directly available to the scholiast, yet Harley contains only one passage matching Sallust. All other references to Sallust in Harley scholia are inherited from secondary sources.[2]

The same scholion is used to gloss the Syrtes in two poems. In *Odes* 1.22 Horace declares himself immune to danger even at the furthest limits of the world (1-8):

Integer uitae scelerisque purus
non eget Mauris iaculis neque arcu

nec uenenatis grauida sagittis,
 Fusce, pharetra,
 siue per Syrtis iter aestuosas
 siue facturus per inhospitalem
 Caucasum uel quae loca fabulosus
 lambit Hydaspes.

In *Odes* 2.6 Septimius is ready to accompany Horace to remote places (1-4):

Septimi, Gadis aditure mecum et
 Cantabrum indoctum iuga ferre nostra et
 barbaras Syrtis, ubi Maura semper
 aestuat unda...

The scholiast glosses *Syrtis* with a composite note:

Sallust *Iug.* 78 (Kurfess, 1954)

***Odes* 1.22.5**

id oppidum ... situm inter duas Syrtis,
 quibus nomen ex re inditum. nam
 duo sunt sinus prope in extrema Africa,
 inpares magnitudine, pari natura; quorum
 proxuma terrae praealta sunt, cetera uti fors
 tulit alta alia, alia in tempestate uadosa.
 nam ubi mare magnum esse et saevire
 ventis coepit, limum harenamque et saxa
 ingentia fluctus trahunt: ita facies locorum
 cum ventis simul mutatur. Syrtis ab tractu
 nominatae. **Sol. 27.3-4**
 ...extenditur inter duas Syrtis,
 quas inaccessas uadosum ac reciprocum
 mare efficit. cuius sali defectus uel
 incrementa haud promptum est
 prehendere, ita incertis motibus
 nunc in breuia residit dorsuosa, nunc
 inundatur aestibus inquietis, ut Varro
 auctor est, perflabilem ibi terram uentis
 penetrantibus subitam uim spiritus
 citissime aut reuomere maria aut resorbere.

duo sunt sinus prope in extrema Affrica
 inpari [3] magnitudine, pari natura; quorum
 proxima terre praealta sunt, cetera uti fors
 tulit alta, alia in tempestate vadosa.
 nam ubi mare magnum esse et seuire
 ventis cepit, limum arenamque et saxa
 ingentia fluctus trahunt: ita facies locorum
 cum ventis mutatur. Syrtis a tractu
 nominate sunt.
 quas inaccessas vadosum ac reciprocum
 mare efficit. cuius sali defectus vel
 incrementa haut promptum est
 prehendere, ita incertis mo[n]tibus
 nunc in breui arescit [3] dorsuosa, nunc
 inundatur estibus inquietis, ut auctor
 est Varro, perflabilem ibi terram uentis
 penitranibus subitam vim spiritus citissime
 aut reuertere [3] maria aut resorbere.

The scholiast combines extracts from Sallust and Solinus, who provide practically the same information. This note complements Horace's depiction of the Syrtis as constantly seething (*aestuosas Odes* 1.22, *ubi Maura semper/ aestuat unda Odes* 2.6), explaining that the stormy sea is in fact intermittently replaced by shallows.

Footnotes

[1] Mun. Clm 19479 s. x/xi loc. Tegernsee; Par. Lat. 10195, s. x ex., Echternach (Schroeder); Mun. Clm 4559-I, s. xi., south German, loc. Echternach; Mun. Clm 14477 s. xi, Hersfeld (Hoffmann), loc.? St Emmeram, Regensburg; Basel AN iv 11-I s. xi south German; Berl. Phil. 1902 s. xi south German. The southern location of Mun. Clm 4559-I and Clm 14477, and the southern origin of Basel AN iv 11-I and Berl. Phil. 1902 are not specified in Munk Olsen's catalogue, but are indicated by Reynolds (1983, pp. 344-345, 347). The precise origin of a further four (possibly) German manuscripts has not been established

(Vat. Pal. 889, s. x, German, loc. Lorsch, St Lazare; Par. Lat. 5748, s. x ex, German?; St Gall. 864-III, s. xi in., German or Swiss; Vat. Lat 3328, s. x/xi, German?). Ten German manuscripts survive from the 11th century.

[2] Sallust is referred to by Pseudo-Acro at *Epodes* 5.50 and 16.5; by Servius at *Odes* 2.14.8; 4.6.20; by Isidore at *Odes* 1.6.4, 4.2.29.

[3] The change from *impares* to *impari* (*magnitudine*) is not reported in the Sallust tradition and may be the result of assimilation to the following *pari natura*. The *Odes* 2.6 version of the Harley note differs in the Solinus half, reading *incrementum* and *remove* rather than *incrementa* and *revemere*. The change of Solinus' *incrementa* to erroneous *incrementum*, whether accidental or deliberate, is perhaps inspired by the context: it is coupled with singular *defectus*. The pairs of variants *revemere*/ *remove* represents a crux in the Solinus text. *Remove* is reported in the Solinus tradition, but the variant could have been introduced independently by different scribes and, within Harley scholia, may represent an attempt to make sense of *revemere*. The reading *brevia rescit* is found in Solinus Par. Lat. 7230 s. x (M) and Wolfenb. 163 s. x (G).

The Apocalypse

By the fifth century, the book of *Revelations* had taken its place in the biblical canon. Although Harley scholia contain only one brief citation from the *Apocalypse*, there is no reason to question the availability of this text.

Apollo's favour is sought in the *Carmen Saeculare* (33-34):

condito mitis placidusque telo
supplices audi pueros, Apollo.

A citation from the *Revelations* [9.11] is appended to a Servian note glossing Apollo:

Serv. Ecl. 5.66

sed constat secundum Porphyrii librum, quem Solem appellavit, triplicem esse Apollinis potestatem, et eundem esse Solem apud superos, Liberum patrem in terris, Apollinem apud inferos. unde etiam tria insignia circa eius simulacrum videmus: lyram, quae nobis caelestis harmoniae imaginem monstrat; grypem, quae eum etiam terrenum numen ostendit; sagittas, quibus infernus deus et noxius indicatur, unde etiam Apollo dictus est apo tou apolluein. hinc est quod et Homerus eundem tam pestilentiae dicit quam salutis auctorem, et Horatius ait 'condito mitis placidusque telo/ supplices audi pueros, Apollo'. unde Vergilius, rationis huius peritus, per altaria supernum numen ostendit, per parem numerum infernam indicat potestatem.

C.S. 33

Borfirius† dicit in libro

quem Solem appellavit, triplicem esse Apollinis potestatem, et eundem esse Solem apud superos, Liberum patrem in terris, Apollinem apud inferos. unde etiam tria insignia circa eius simulacrum videmus: lyram, quae nobis celestis armonie imaginem monstrat, crypen eum que etiam terrenum numen ostendit, sagittas, quibus infernalis deus et noxius indicator. unde etiam Apollo dictus est ΑΠΟΤΟΥΑΠΟΛΛΙΝ, hinc est quod et Homerus eundem tam pestilentie dicit quam salutis auctorem, et Oracius dicit in hoc loco 'condito mitis placitusque† telo/ supplices audi pueros, Apollo'. unde Iohannes dicit in Apocalypsi 'et habent super se regem angelum abyssi cui nomen Hebrayce Abaddon, Grece autem Apollion et Latine habet nomen Exterminans.

The Servian note explains Horace's oblique reference to Apollo's bow (*condito... telo*) and the different aspects of the deity, sometimes hostile, at other times – benevolent. Servius quotes the *Carmen Saeculare* to illustrate Apollo's peaceful

function. This quotation must have attracted the attention of our scholiast. (The role of quotation in selecting glossing material is illustrated by numerous examples in Chapter 6.)

Not satisfied with Servius alone, our scholiast adds one more sentence about Apollo from the *Apocalypse*. The *Revelations* passage is not needed for glossing Horace, but was chosen for its similarity to Servius: the Bible picks up Servius' depiction of Apollo as a destructive infernal deity.

This unexpected use of the Bible to gloss a pagan poet is unique among Harley scholia.

Perseus and Andromeda: an Ovidian story

An extensive story of Perseus and Andromeda appears in the margin of *Odes* 3.27-8; no intended lemma is apparent. This is the only extensive narrative among Harley notes, which matches no traced source verbatim. It is clear that the scholion is based on the *Metamorphoses* (4.668-5.241), for it follows the same outline of the story, contains four brief quotations and further Ovidian echoes. The scholion is not related to the well-known collection of prose paraphrases of Ovidian myth, the *Narrationes Fabularum Ovidianarum*.

The passage is distinguished by its technique of incorporating poetic quotation into the narrative prose.[1] This style of composition finds no obvious parallel among Harley scholia.[2] It is not clear, if this story was composed by our scholiast and where its author obtained his Ovidian material.

Tarrant (1983, p. 276–282) observes that the *Metamorphoses* tradition is remarkable for the absence of complete witnesses earlier than the second half of the eleventh century. One of the partial witnesses predating our scholion is German: Harley 2610 (ε), from the second half of the tenth century, contains *Met.* 1.1-3.622.[3] The section of the narrative relevant to Harley (*Met.* 4.668-5.241) appears in only one of the early manuscripts, the tenth-century Italian BL Add. 11967 (β) containing *Met.* 4.292-5.389.

The Harley text itself preserves one anachronistic feature. The ampersand is used

at the juncture of words in the *Met.* 5.23 quotation (*sponsusv&ulisti*), which suggests that the text was not (fully) divided into words.

Footnotes

[1] Rainer Jakobi draws my attention to similar Ovidian narratives, particularly the story of Diana and Acteon, in Giovanni Sagarelli's Renaissance commentary edited by Hafemann (2003, p. 236ff.).

[2] This passage is compared to the entire body of Harley material in the general Conclusions (10.2.4).

[3] Tegernsee manuscript τ, Mun. Clm 29208 (olim 29007a) s. xi ex., contains parts of books 1, 4, 6, 8-15. Prior to editing Ovid, Anderson (1979) re-examined the value of ε and τ German fragments for reconstructing the text and concluded that Book 1 and 2 fragments of τ descend from ε, but the latter books (never written in ε) represent a younger exemplar related to Florentinus 223.

I present the Harley story of Andromeda with a running commentary, which records its debt to Ovid.

Andromedam Cepheo regi Cephenum Casiope nimpha genuit [1], que Casiope forma preluxit cunctis inter quas habitaverat puellis, at quam mater ceteris mulieribus tam matri filia prenitebat pulchritudinis dotibus.[2] sed Fortuna nulla alicui permittit commoda nisi aliquo infortunio intermixta, nam '*factus† inest pulchris, sequiturque superbia formam.*'[3]

[1] In the *Metamorphoses*, Andromeda first appears at 4.671, Cepheus and Cassiope – at 4.738. The nation is named three times: 4.764 *Cepheni proceres*, 5.1 *Cephenum medio...agmine*, 5.97 *Cephenum ... regem* (contrast 4.669 *Cephea ...arva*).

[2] In Hyginus' version, the punishment is incurred through Cassiope's boast about her daughter's looks (Hyg. 64 *filiae suae Andromedae formam Nereidibus anteposuit*), but Ovid's Cassiope bragged of her own beauty, as her daughter confesses to Perseus (*Met.* 4.687): *quantaque maternae fuerit fiducia formae,/ indicat.* (cf. *Narr. Ovid.* 4.19 *propter superbiam matris, quae se nympharum pulchritudini praetulerat*). The motif of daughter outshining mother is drawn from the fourth Book of the *Metamorphoses* (210f), where Leucothoe, the beloved of Sol, is thus compared to her mother Eurynome: *sed postquam filia crevit,/ quam mater cunctas, tam matrem filia vicit.*

[3] *Fasti* 1.419; the story of Priapus and Lotis begins '*fastus inest pulchris...*'

unde mater spernendo reppulit amorem Iovis; multominus eundem dignata est nata recipere thalamis. spretus vero Iuppiter a filia et matre contemptum solis penis vindicabat nate. hanc exposuit marinis bestiis vorandam,[4] auxilio Nereidum [5] mediis fluctibus [6] '*ad duras cantas† religatam*'[7]. hoc malum parentes cum cognatis frustra inspexerant,[8] nam prohibiti numine auxilium ferre non potuerant, hoc tu proterve Phineu vidisti nec '*opem patruus sponsusve tulisti*'. [9]

[4] A gloss *BELVAE bestiae marinae* appears in the Virgilian glossary offered by the 9th-10th-century Bern 16, published together with Servius' commentary by Thilo and Hagen (1887, vol. III).

[5] At *Met.* 5.16f. Cepheus mentions the hostile Nereids, reminding Phineus that his bride had been snatched away prior to Perseus' arrival: *quam tibi non Perseus, verum si quaeris, ademit,/ sed grave Nereidum numen, sed corniger Ammon,/ sed quae visceribus veniebat belua ponti/ exsaturanda meis*

[6] For the phrase describing sea rocks, compare *Aeneid* 1.109 (also Serv. *ad loc.*): *saxa vocant Itali mediis quae in fluctibus aras.*

[7] *Met.* 4.672 *ad duras religatam brachia cautes*

[8] cf. *Met.* 5.91-4 *genitor lugubris et una/ mater adest...vinctoque in corpore adhaerent*

[9] *Met.* 5.23; note the use of the ampersand at the juncture of words (vide supra): *sponsusv&ulisti*

forte sub hoc tempore Perseus, quem Acrisionea Dane 'pluviani ceperat auro',[10]
Gorgonea cede reversus [11] vinctam indignis catenis [12] virginem conspexit
conspecteque amoribus concaluit utque sua esset si sua virtute servaretur a mestis
parentibus pepigit.[13]

[10] Danae is called daughter of Acrisius in the Harley note on *Odes* 3.16.1 (from Serv. *Aen.* 7.372). The adjective *Acrisioeneus* occurs at *Met.* 5.239 (*nam fratre per arma fugato/ Acrisioneas Proetus possederat arces*), *Aen.* 7.410 (*quam dicitur urbem/ Acrisioeneis Danae fundasse colonis / praecipiti delata Noto*), and *Sil. It.* 1.661 (*qui permutare coacti/ Acrisioeneis Tirynthia culmina muris*). (For the availability of Silius Italicus in south Germany and / or Switzerland, see Reeve (1983, pp. 389-390 in *Texts and Transmission*). David McKie draws my attention to *Met.* 4.611 as the original hexameter: *Persea, quem pluvio Danae conceperat auro*.

[11] The adjective *Gorgoneus* is used several times by Ovid in this story (*Met.* 4.617 *Gorgonei capitis*, 779 *Gorgoneas...domos*, 801 *Gorgoneum crinem*, *Met.* 5.195f. *viribus... Gorgoneis*).

[12] *Met.* 4.678f. 'o' dixit *'non istis digna catenis, / sed quibus inter se cupidi iunguntur amantes*

[13] *Met.* 4.703 *ut mea sit servata mea virtute, paciscor*

accepta igitur coniugii pactione 'elatus in aera pennis'[14] venientem beluam
falcato ense perculit,[15] solutamque Andromeden [16] 'precium et causam
laboris'[17] secum ad littora perduxit. gaudebant 'Casiope Cepheusque pater' [18]
pro recepta prole.

[14] The phrase *sublatus in aera pennis* appears at *Met.* 7.353 describing Cerambus' rescue from Deucalion's flood to which Medea's escape is compared.

[15] *Met.* 4.726f. *nunc laterum costas, nunc qua tenuissima cauda/ desinit in piscem, falcato verberat ense...*

[16] *Andromeden* is attested once only in the First Vatican Mythographer (72). The form is perhaps inspired by *Andromedan*, which occurs four times in Ovid (*Ars* 1.53, *Her.* 18.143, *Met.* 4.668 and 757) as well as other poets and could have been invented by different compilers independently.

[17] *Met.* 4.738f. *resoluta catenis/ incedit virgo, pretiumque et causa laboris*

[18] *Met.* 4.356ff. *gaudent generumque salutant/ auxiliumque domus servatoremque fatentur/ Cassiope Cepheusque pater*

simul excellentis generi oblato honore placatisque numinibus merito munere,[19]
convivia festaque iugalia regio paratu inire.[20] mediis ecce sub nuptiis Bacheo
munere animis dilata^etatis [21] audax Phineus pro raptu pacte coniugis seuiens
domum convivii armato milite inrupit repentinus,[22] incendium dolentis animi
Perseo sanguine extincturus.

[19] The religious ceremonies are described by Ovid at *Met.* 4.753-6: *Dis tribus ille focus totidem de caespite ponit, / laevum Mercurio, dextrum tibi, bellica virgo, / ara Iovis media est; mactatur vacca Minervae, / alipedi vitulus, taurus tibi, summe deorum*.

[20] cf. *Met.* 5.3 *coniugialia festa*

[21] Ovid speaks of 'Bacchus' gift' affecting men's spirits at the still peaceful ending of Book 4 (765f.): *Postquam epulis functi generosi munere Bacchi/ diffudere animos...*

[22] cf. *Met.* 5.10 'en' ait, 'en adsum praereptae coniugis ultor. Ovid applies *repentinus* to the unrest itself rather than to Phineus (*Met.* 5.5f. *inque repentinos convivia versa tumultus/ adsimulare freto possis*)

memor igitur Daneus heros [23] innati vigoris, prosilui<t> inpiger quibus recubuit
toris,[24] acclinatoque dorso saxee columnae, vim incursantum† versus in omnes
partes reppulit pretenta cuspide,[25] ut aper quem circumsonat turba canuum in
girim actus se ab hostibus defendit dentium fulmine.[26]

[23] The epithet *Danaeius heros* is used at the opening of Book 5: *Dumque ea Cephenum medio Danaeius heros/ agmine commemorat.*

[24] cf. *Met.* 5.32f. *cunctatusque brevi contortam viribus hastam,/ quantas ira dabat, nequiquam in Persea misit./ ut stetit illa toro, stratis tum denique Perseus/ exsiluit*

[25] cf. *Met.* 5.160f. *adplicat hic umeros ad magnae saxa columnae/ tutaque terga gerens adversaque in agmina versus/ sustinet instantes.* The phrase *cuspidē praetenta* occurs in another Ovidian combat scene, namely Cadmus' slaying of the dragon (*Met.* 3.82f. *sustinet incursus instantiaque ora retardat/ cuspidē praetenta*).

[26] The simile of a boar surrounded by hounds is used by Ovid a little earlier to describe the sea monster slain by Perseus (*Met.* 4. 721-3): *modo more ferocis/ versat apri, quem turba canum circumsona terret.* Boar teeth are described as flashing by several poets including Ovid (*Met.* 10.550): *fulmen habent acres in aduncis dentibus apri.* (cf. Phaedr. 1.21.3; Mart. 11.69.7; *Theb.* 6.868, 11.530ff.; Dracont. *Romul.* 2.94; Claud. *Rut. Namat.* 1.625)

sanguineis poculis mensas madescere, altaria cesis corporibus videres
pinguescere;[27] 'sonus armorum gemitusque' in mortem cadentum† vicit et
+protrium+ oblectamina dulce hymineon canentium.[28]

[27] cf. *Met.* 5.76 *sanguine, quo late tellus maefacta tepebat.* An altar features twice in Ovid's battle scene: Phineus takes refuge behind it (*Met.* 5.36f. *nisi post altaria Phineus/ isset: et – indignum – scelerato profuit ara.*); Emathion is slaughtered clutching at the altar (*Met.* 5.103f. *huic Chromis amplexo tremulis altaria palmis/ decutit ense caput, quod protinus incidit arae...*). The motif of wine at a feast replaced with blood of battle occurs in the *Thebaid* (2.86f. *tunc pocula pulchrum/ spargere et inmerito sociorum sanguine fuso/ instaurare diem festasque reponere mensas*; 5.257f. *iugulisque modo torrentis apertis/ sanguine permixto redeuntem in pocula Bacchum*).

[28] *Met.* 5.152f. *hac pro parte socer frustra pius et nova coniunx/ cum genetrice favent ululatuque atria complent,/ sed sonus armorum superat gemitusque cadentum*

sed ubi occisis plures successerant nec vires unius viri tot milibus suffecerant, a
vulnificis quibus pugnabat armis ad saxifica arma confugerat iuvenis.[29] nec mora
quod absconsum habebat retexit et terrificos vultus Gorgonei monstri erexit. mira
res, 'citius quam tibi facta renarro',[30] omnia corpora inpugnantium riguerunt
saxo,[31] ipse etiam Phineus 'auctor belli temerarius' [32] in monimenta sceleris
Cepheia donio [*lege domo*] per omne evum spectabitur saxeus.[33]

[29] cf. *Met.* 5.177f. *Verum ubi virtutem turbae succumbere vidit,/ 'auxilium' Perseus, 'quoniam sic cogitis ipsi,/ dixit 'ab hoste petam: vultus avertite vestros,/ si quis amicus adest!' et Gorgonis extulit ora.* The adjective *saxificus*, coined by Ovid, appears at *Met.* 5.217: 'vincis' ait, 'Perseu! remove tua monstra tuaeque/ saxificos vultus... Ovid uses the adjective *vulnificus* to describe arms at *Met.* 2.496: *vulnifico fuerat fixurus pectora telo* (cf. Virgil *Aen.* 8.446 *volnificusque chalybs vasta fornace liquescit*, Stat. *Theb.* 4.84 *aspera volnifico subter latus ense riget Sphinx*).

[30] The phrase *et citius, quam nunc tibi facta renarro* appears later in Book 5, describing the transformation of Arethusa (*Met.* 5.632).

[31] cf. *Met.* 5.209 *Gorgone bis centum riguerunt corpora visa*

[32] Thus Ovid describes Phineus at the outbreak of the hostilities (*Met.* 5.8): *primus in his Phineus, belli temerarius auctor.*

[33] *Met.* 5.227f. *quin etiam mansura dabo monimenta per aevum,/ inque domo soceri semper spectabere nostri*

While following the general outline of Ovid's Perseus and Andromeda episode, Harley compresses the Ovidian narrative. For instance, the sentence *forte sub hoc*

tempore Perseus... a mestis parentibus pepigit summarises the first thirty lines of Ovid's story (*Met.* 4.672-703); the description of religious ceremonies (*Met.* 4.753-6) is stated in a single phrase (*simul excellentis ... merito munere*). Some Ovidian elements are reordered: while Ovid's Cepheus reproaches Phineus with inactivity after Andromeda's rescue, Harley inserts '*opem patruus sponsusve tulisti*' earlier, showing Cepheus among the terrified onlookers; Ovid's boar simile describing the doomed monster is reapplied to surrounded Perseus.

Remarkably, Harley uses not only the Perseus and Andromeda episode, but incorporates two quotations from elsewhere in the *Metamorphoses*, one for the idea of mother outshining daughter (Leucothoe and Eurynome at *Met.* 4.210f.), another – for airborne Perseus (from Medea's chariot at *Met.* 7.353), as well as a quotation from the *Fasti* for the motif of proud beauty (Lotis in *Fasti* 1.419). Several other small phrases may have been inherited from poetry: the narrative turn *nec mora* occurs sixteen times in the *Metamorphoses*; the descriptive phrase *praetenta cuspide* is found elsewhere in Ovid, while *mediis fluctibus* appears in Virgil.

Quotations and echoes apart, the style of the note is far from plain. The narrative is coloured by several poetic images: the flashing teeth of the boar, wine for the feast replaced with blood of battle (perhaps from Statius), Phineus seeking to extinguish his anger with Perseus' blood. Ovid's epic epithet *Danaeius heros*, is imitated in *Acrisioenea Danae*, *Gorgonea cede* and *Gorgoneum monstrum*. (The latter adjective does not appear in Ovid at all). The scholiast plays with Ovid's coinage *saxifica arma*: these are juxtaposed with *vulnifica arma* and produce *terrificos vultus*. A tableau of the battle is framed by two pairs of rhymes: *mensas madescere... altaria ...pinguescere* and '*sonus ...in mortem cadentum'... dulce hymineon canentium*.

CHAPTER 5: Isidore's *Etymologiae*

This chapter examines Harley notes matching Isidore's *Etymologiae*. Isidorian material is particularly useful for glossing purposes because it offers etymological explanations of words, often accompanied by further information. The source is highly tralatician, but the scale of verbatim overlap suggests that at least some of these passages are drawn directly from Isidore.

5.0 Introduction

0.1 The *Etymologiae* as source of Harley scholia

The *Etymologiae*, compiled by Isidore in the early seventh century, quickly gained wide-spread popularity. Nearly a thousand manuscripts survive.¹ Spanish, French and Italian families of manuscripts offer national versions of the text.² The manuscripts spread throughout Europe, including south Germany.³ The *Etymologiae* are certainly likely to have been available to the scholiast, but he need not have obtained all Isidorian material from this highly tralatician source directly. Isidore often excerpted his own sources verbatim and his *Etymologiae*, in their own turn, became the Western encyclopaedia for centuries to come.⁴

The scholiast never names Isidore as his source. Some Isidorian material may well have reached our scholiast in the form of anonymous marginalia. In Chapter 2, we saw one Harley passage, which appears in identical form in Isidore and Lucan scholia (Historian Text 21). It is impossible to prove direct derivation of any given passage from Isidore, yet this material can be evaluated from three angles.

The first is large-scale verbatim overlap. Quantitative evidence for the scholiast using Isidore is considerable: twenty-four Harley notes match Isidore verbatim. The majority range between ten and a hundred words, two passages extending to 250 and 280 words (Texts 12 and 23). To illustrate the scale of verbatim overlap, I reproduce the most extensive example in Appendix 5.1.

¹ A recent overview of Isidore studies is offered in the introduction to Barney's translation of the *Etymologiae* (2006). The manuscript tradition is laid out by Codoner (2005).

² P. K. Marshall (1983) p. 194 in *Texts and Transmission*

³ Among the early codices used by Lindsay, three come from south Germany: Mun. Clm 29051 contains two fragments, both s. viii, from St Emmeram; Mun. Clm 6250, s. ix, Freising.

⁴ Barney et al. (2006) pp. 24-6

Secondly, I show that Harley material matches Isidore rather than Isidore's known sources and excerptors. Two of Isidore's main sources, Solinus and Servius,⁵ were also used by our scholiast. It is usually clear, from distinctive detail or extent of the extract, whether a particular Harley scholion goes back to Servius, Solinus or Isidore.⁶ Where no other potential sources are known, Isidore is named, by default, as the (ultimate) source of all Harley passages matching the *Etymologiae* verbatim.

The third type of evidence is textual transmission. Corruptions shared by Harley with Isidore manuscripts are noted throughout. In the second half of the chapter, I present three Harley passages containing interesting Isidore variants (5.2).

0.2 Editions of Isidore's *Etymologiae*

The only edition containing the work in its entirety is that by Lindsay (1911).⁷ Editions of individual books in the new Belles Lettres series offer a greater variety of readings from over a dozen manuscripts and provide notes on Isidore's sources. Even the enlarged apparatus of the Belles Lettres publications is not sufficient to locate Harley variants within the vast Isidore tradition. Book 15, published separately, has a modest apparatus. Twelve of the twenty Belles Lettres volumes have been published so far, two more volumes are due to appear later this year. The one book used in Harley, which is not yet covered by the new editions, is Book 8.

⁵ For a brief discussion of Isidore's sources, see Barney (2006, pp. 13-15, p. 14 for Servius and Solinus).

⁶ One brief Harley note, appearing in identical form in both Servius and Isidore, is catalogued, by default, as Servius (Servius Text 38 glossing the Carpathian sea in *Odes* 1.35.8 and *Odes* 4.5.10).

⁷ The Oroz Reta-Marcos Casquero (1993) edition accompanies Lindsay's text with a Spanish translation and notes.

5.1 Isidore as source of Harley scholia

The longest Isidore excerpt, extending to 280 words, is reproduced in Appendix 5.1.

I begin with a Harley note, for the most part identical to a passage from the *Etymologiae*, but ending in a phrase which does not match Isidore verbatim. I suggest that this phrase was inspired by Isidore and, therefore, does not require an external source.

Isidore Text 8

In *Odes* 1.20 Horace promises his patron the wine laid down when Maecenas received applause at the theatre (1-4):

Vile potabis modicis Sabinum
cantharis, Graeca quod ego ipse testa
conditum leui, datus in theatro
cum tibi plausus

The scholiast glosses *theatro*:

Isid. Et. 18.42.1 (Canto Llorca)

theatrum est quo scena includitur, semicirculi figuram habens, in quo stantes omnes inspiciunt. cuius forma primum rotunda erat, sicut et amphitheatri; postea ex medio amphitheatro theatrum factum est. theatrum autem ab spectaculo nominatum, ἀπὸ τῆς θεωρίας, quod in eo populus stans desuper atque spectans ludos contemplaretur.

***Odes* 1.20.3**

theatrum est quo cena† includitur; semicirculi figuram habet, in quo stantes omnes aspiciunt. cuius prius figura rotunda erat, sicut et amphitheatri;* postea ex medio amphiteatro teatrum factum est. teoros enim Grece, Latine spectaculum.

This note matches Isidore verbatim up to *factum est*. The synonyms *teoros enim Grece, Latine spectaculum* resemble a glossary entry, yet the corrupt form *teoros* is not attested in Goetz' *Corpus Glossarum*. The corruption *teoros* rather seems to arise from the etymology ἀπὸ τῆς θεωρίας, which occurs in the following sentence of Isidore.[1]

Footnotes

[1] The corrupt *theoros* recurs in Conrad de Mure's 13th-century *Lexicon*, where it is equated with *videre*: *THEATHRVM est locus publicus communibus ludis et spectaculis deputatus, a Greco 'theoros', quod Latine dicitur uidere*.

In Appendix 5.1, I present one more Harley passage, differing slightly from Isidore's original (Text 16). In that case, I argue, the scholiast has simplified and abbreviated Isidore, in order to focus on the Horatian lemma.

My next example draws attention to a feature of Isidore's text, which helped the scholiast to select glossing material.

Isidore Text 19

At the opening of *Odes* 3.18 Horace addresses Faunus as a woman-chaser:

Faune, Nympharum fugientum amator...

This Horace line is quoted in the *Etymologiae* extract glossing the poem:

Isid. Et. 8.11.103-4

Pilosi, qui Graece Panitae, Latine Incubi appellantur, sive Inui ab ineundo passim cum animalibus. unde et Incubi dicuntur ab incumbendo, hoc est stuprando. saepe enim improbi existunt etiam mulieribus et earum peragunt concubitus: quos daemones Galli Dusios vocant, quia assidue hanc peragunt inmunditiam. quem autem vulgo Incubonem vocant, hunc Romani Faunum ficarium dicunt. ad quem Horatius dicit 'Faune, Nympharum fugientium amator,/ per meos fines et aprica rura/ lenis incedas.'

Odes 3.18.1?

Pilosi, qui Grece Panite, Latine Incubi appellantur, sive Inui ab ineundo passim cum animalibus. unde et Incubi ab incumbendo, hoc est stuprando. sepe enim improbi existunt etiam mulieribus et earum peragunt concubitus: quos daemones Galli Dusios vocant, quia assidue peragunt hanc inmundiciam. quem autem vulgus† Incubonem vocant, hunc Romani Faunum vicarium [1] dicunt. ad quem Oracius dicit 'Faune Nympharum fugientem amator/ per meos fines et aprica rura/ lenis incedas.'

Although Horace's Faunus features in Isidore's list of wild and lascivious mythological creatures, this passage has no direct relevance to the ode and offers no help towards its interpretation. The only feature, attractive for a Horace scholiast in this passage, is the Horace quotation. In the following chapter, devoted to Servius, we shall observe that Horace quotations appear in many Harley excerpts. This example is unique among Harley's Isidorian material – which comes as no surprise since the *Etymologiae* contain only six quotations from Horace's lyric.[2]

Footnotes

[1] The reading *vicarium* occurs in Wolfenb. Weis. 64.

[2] Isidore quotes Horace's lyric at Et. 1.39.24, 4.12.6, 11.2.14, 15.2.4, 15.8.6=19.12, 16.5.18. There are five more quotations from the hexameters.

5.2 The scholiast's text of Isidore

In the second half of this chapter, I examine Harley passages containing interesting variant readings unreported in the Isidore tradition: Text 14 emends a corrupt phrase; Text 11 presents a less corrupt Greek form than do Isidore manuscripts; a minor variant in Text 16 may point to a lost pre-Isidore source.

Isidore Text 14

In *Odes* 1.32 Alcaeus sings of Bacchus, Venus, and the Muses (9-10):

Liberum et Musas Veneremque et illi
semper haerentem puerum canebat...

Isidore's definition glosses *Liberum*:

Isid. Et. 8.11.43-4

Liberum a liberamento appellatum volunt, quod quasi mares in coeundo per eius beneficium emissis seminibus liberentur; quod idem Liber muliebri et delicato corpore pingitur. dicunt enim mulieres ei adtributas et vinum propter excitandam libidinem. unde et frons eius pampino cingitur. sed ideo coronam viteam et cornu habet, quia cum grate et moderate vinum bibitur, laetitiam praestat; cum ultra modum, excitat lites, id est quasi cornua dat. idem autem et Lyaeus ὁπὸ τοῦ λύειν, quod multo vino membra solvantur. iste et Graece Διόνυσος a monte Indiae Nysa, ubi dicitur esse nutritus. ceterum est et Nysa civitas, in qua colitur idem Liber, unde Nysaeus dictus est.

Odes 1.32.9

Liberum a liberamento appellatum volunt, quod quasi maris† [1] in coeundo per eius beneficium emissis seminibus liberentur; quod idem Liber muliebri et delicato corpore pingitur. dicunt enim mulieres ei adtributas et vinum propter excitandam libidinem. unde et frons eius pampino cingitur. sed ideo coronam viteam et cornu habet, quia [1] cum grate et moderate vinum bibitur, letitiam praestat; cum ultra modum, excitat lites, id est quasi cornu invadit. idem autem et levis ΑΠΩ ΤΥΛΕΙΝ, eo quod multo vino membra solvantur.[2] sed Grece Dionisius a monte Indico Nis<e>,[2] ubi dicitur esse nutritus. ceterum et Nisa civitas est, ubi [1] colitur idem Liber, unde et Nisius dictus est.

The idiom *cornua dat* is corrupted to *cor invadat* in Isidore manuscripts, Voss. lat. F. 74 and Weissenburg 64 (C₁K). The Harley reading *cornu invadit* is not reported by Lindsay. This is a remarkable instance of Harley offering an emended version of a source text. The change may have been inspired by *excitat lites* in the very same passage of Isidore and may not have been deliberate. The alteration is not connected to the Horatian context and need not be the work of our Horace scholiast.

Footnotes

[1] The scholion is corrected in a different ink: *mares* replaces *maris*; an absurd *qui* replaces *quia*; *est*, *ubi* are written in erasure, the latter modelled on the preceding clause.

[2] *Solvuntur* is reported in Leid. Voss. Lat. F 74, *Nise* – in Wolfenb. Weis. 64 and Tol. 15.8.

Isidore Text 11

In *Odes* 1.27 Horace reminds his companions that Median daggers are out of place at a banquet symbolised by wine and lamps (5-7):

Vino et lucernis Medus acinaces
immane quantum discrepat...

The scholion on *lucernis* matches Isidore:

Isid. Et. 20.10.2 (Guillaumin)

lucerna a lychno dicta est; unde et brevis est 'lu', ut Persius [5.181] '*dispositae pinguem nebulam vomuere lucernae*'. si enim a luce diceretur, non staret versus. licinius autem quasi lucinius; est enim cicindela lucernae.

Odes 1.27.5

lucerna a lichno dicta est; unde et brevis est 'lu', ut Persi<u>s '*disposite pinguem nebulam vomuere lucerne*'. si enim a luce diceretur, non staret versus. lichnus aut quasi lucinius; est enim cicendela† lucerne.

A very similar gloss explains *lucernae* at *Odes* 3.21.23. That note, however, misidentifies Persius as Juvenal and contains a further Horace quotation:

a lychno autem lucerna est dicta, unde et brevis est ‘ly’, ut Iuvenalis dicit [Pers. 5.181] ‘*disposite pinguem nebulam vomuere lucerne*’, Oratius [cf. *Serm.* 1.6.123-4] ‘*ungor olivo./ non quo furatis immundus Natta lucernis*’.[1] si enim a luce diceretur, ‘lu’ longa esset et non staret versus.[2]

The scholiast did not combine Isidore with another source: the entire *Odes* 3.21 note, including the misidentification of Persius, was drawn not from Isidore but from Servius *ad Aen.* 1.726. Thus, *lucerna* is explained from two different sources, Isidore and Servius, in different parts of the manuscript.

The Harley note contains one interesting variant: where Isidore manuscripts have *licinius* [3], Harley has *lichnus*. *Lichnus* is the Greek word, from which Isidore initially derived *lucerna*: a *lychno*. It would be logical for Isidore to provide an explanation of the Greek term – indeed Lindsay and Guillaumin assume that *lychnus* was the original Isidore reading here. The first occurrence of the word, a *lychno*, is corrupt in some Isidore manuscripts, but not in Harley.[4] A careful reader of Isidore could have recovered the second correct form *lychnus* from the preceding sentence. This reader may or may not have been our Horace scholiast.

Footnotes

[1] The variant reading *furatis* rather than *fraudatis* at *Serm.* 1.6.124 belongs to Servius.

[2] The explanatory ‘*lu*’ *longa esset* was added to Servius’ last sentence by our scholiast.

[3] *Licinius* is only attested as a proper name. Guillaumin (2010, p. 82, note 336) points to a confusion with *licinium* at *Etym.* 19.19.3.

[4] Tol. 15.8 has *licino*; Wolfenb. Weis. 64 and Bern 101 have *licinio*.

Isidore Text 17

Horace’s vision of the underworld in *Odes* 2.13 ends with Orion taking a rest from chasing lions and lynxes at the sound of Alcaeus’ song (39-40):

nec curat Orion leones
aut timidos agitare lynchas.

The note on *lynchas* matches Isidore:

Isid. Et. 12.2.20

lynxis dictus, quia in luporum genere numeratur; bestia maculis terga distincta ut pardus, sed similis lupo: unde et ille λύκος, iste lynxis. huius urinam convertere in duritiam pretiosi lapidis dicunt, qui lyncurius appellatur, quod et ipsas lynces sentire hoc documento probatur. nam egestum liquorem harenis, in quantum potuerint, contegunt, invidia quadam naturae, ne talis egestio transeat in usum humanum. lynces dicit Plinius Secundus [cf. *N.H.* 8.43] extra unum non admittere fetum.

Odes 2.13.40

lincus† dictus, qui et in luporum genere numeratur, bestia maculis distincta ut pardus, sed similis lupo: unde et ille licos [1] iste linci<s>. huius urinam convertere in duriciam pretiosi lapidis dicunt, qui licurius appellatur, quod et ipsas lince sentire hoc documento probatur. nam egestum liquorem harenis, in quantum potuerint, tegunt, invidia quadam nature, ne talis egestio transeat in usum humanum. lince dicit Plinius Secundus extra unum non admittunt fetum.

Many phrases in this passage match Solinus (2.38), who must be the ultimate source of everything but lynx's leopard spots and the etymological parallel with wolves, presumably added by Isidore himself.[2] Here is Solinus' account. (I underline phrases where he differs from Isidore.)

in hoc animalium genere numerantur et lynces, quarum urinas coire in duritiem pretiosi calculi fatentur qui naturas lapidum exquisitius sunt persecuti. istud etiam ipsas lynces persentiscere hoc documento probatur, quod egestum liquorem ilico harenarum tumultis quantum ualent contegunt, invidia scilicet ne talis egeries transeat in nostrum usum.

Isidore offers a paraphrased version of Solinus. Harley shares that paraphrase with Isidore, but has one interesting variant in the opening sentence, which is not reported in the Isidore tradition: *qui et* for *quia in*. This could be a slip, for instance, due to misread abbreviation. It could even have originated in Isidore manuscripts – after all, the *Etymologiae* have a vast tradition, which is not fully represented by editions.

On the other hand, if Harley preserves a true text, it makes interesting comparison with Solinus: Harley's *qui et in luporum genere numeratur*, is closer to Solinus' *in hoc animalium genere numerantur et lynces* than Isidore's etymological *lincus dictus quia in luporum*. If so, Harley and Isidore must both derive verbatim from an unknown common source based on Solinus: Harley retained that source's wording, Isidore altered it for his etymological purposes. The case cannot be argued convincingly on the strength of a single example and, in the absence of other evidence, remains open.

Footnotes

[1] Harley's rendition of the Greek *licos* is shared by the majority of manuscripts reported by André (1986, p. 105).

[2] The importance of Solinus as a source for *Etymologiae* 12 is discussed by André (1986, pp. 18-19).

5.3 Conclusion

Isidore's *Etymologiae* were identified as a source of Harley scholia on the basis of extensive verbatim overlap and textual corruptions shared by Harley with Isidore manuscripts. In one remarkable case, our scholiast may have used an unknown source standing between Solinus and Isidore (the note on lynxes at *Odes* 2.13.40).

Comparison of Harley scholia with Isidore editions reminds us, that a large part of the Isidore tradition remains undocumented and unstudied. The sensible 'emendation' *cornu invadit* at *Odes* 1.32.9 finds no close parallel among other Harley scholia and may well resurface in Isidore manuscripts. The same applies to Harley's superior reading *lichnus* at *Odes* 1.27.5.

Let us imagine that all Harley passages matching the *Etymologiae* were drawn from Isidore's work directly. Apart from two notes on music, matching the third book, the rest of the Harley passages come from books 8-20, except books 10 and 19.¹ This pattern may indicate a lack of the opening books. Alternatively, we may note that Harley annotations match the books dealing with everyday objects rather than abstract ideas.

I next review the topics covered by Harley's Isidore material, taking into account all Harley extracts matching the *Etymologiae*, including the less remarkable examples, which did not merit detailed discussion in the chapter proper.

Etymologiae extracts provide not only definitions and etymologies, but other information about language, including prosody (Text 11), synonyms (Texts 16, 19), related words (Text 11, *frena dicta...* at *Odes* 1.8.7, *pharetra sagitarum...* at *Odes* 1.21.11, *musica est pericia...* at *Odes* 1.26), differentiation between similar words (*fortuna* / *fatum* at *Odes* 1.31.10, *flumen* / *fluvius* at *Odes* 3.29.33). Language is not the only topic covered: Isidore considers the shape of a *theatrum* (Text 8), rationalises the Muses (*Odes* 1.26), names the inventors of the lyre (Text 16), describes types of rivers (*Odes* 3.29.33), discusses the extraction of bitumen and its properties (*Epodes* 5.82). Two longest *Etymologiae* passages are devoted to different types of vines (*Odes* 1.31.9ff.) and to the Roman triumphal procession (Text 22).

In view of the great variety of material offered by Isidore, it is surprising that our scholiast used this source so little. Servius is the only other Harley source to offer

¹ The absence of Book 10, *de vocabulis*, is not as surprising as it may seem at first glance, for it deals largely with adjectives.

a comparable range of information. The *Etymologiae*, boasting clear section divisions and a detailed table of contents, seem an infinitely more inviting source for a commentator to consult, than Servius' commentaries. On three occasions the scholiast uses both Servius and Isidore,² but the source preferred by the scholiast is, paradoxically, Servius (127 Servius extracts *versus* 24 from Isidore).

Comparing material extracted from Servius with that offered by Isidore, I found that the scholiast could have obtained from the *Etymologiae* twenty of his language notes (in about half of which Isidore himself excerpts Servius) and at least four stories.³ Admittedly, narrative and extensive notes are infrequent in the *Etymologiae*. The two Harley extracts exceeding 250 words reflect the scholiast's particular interest in large-scale excerption. Isidore cannot compete with Servius on the subject of myth. Servius also seems to offer better coverage of proper names used by Horace. Finally, we have observed that Isidore contains few Horace quotations; in the following chapter, devoted to Servius, we shall see, that quotations played an important role in the compilation of Harley material.

² The scholiast twice provides a note on the same subject from both Servius and Isidore (on trophies and triumphs at *Odes* 4.2.49; on lamps at *Odes* 3.21.23 and *Odes* 1.27.5 from Servius and Isidore respectively) and once blends the two together (on the Cyclades at *Odes* 1.14.20).

³ Isidore, rather than Servius, could have supplied the scholiast with stories about *Quirites* at *Odes* 2.7.3 from *Etym.* 9.2.81; about Geryon at *Odes* 2.14.8 from *Etym.* 11.3.28; about the Chimera at *O.* 2.17.13 from *Etym.* 11.3.36 (also 1.40.4); about the hydra at *Odes* 4.4.61 from *Etym.* 11.3.34, 35 or 12.4.23.

CHAPTER 6: Servius and Virgil

This chapter examines some 120 notes matching Servius' commentaries on Virgil, which constitute the greater portion of Harley material. Servius' school-room commentaries have a strong focus on language, but also provide material on other topics, the most voluminous among which is myth. It is clear that at least some portion of Harley material was drawn from this highly tralatician source directly, since on six occasions Servius is explicitly named by the scholiast.

6.0 Introduction

0.1 Servius as a tralatician text

Distinctive in its methods and opinions, Servius' work resembles other scholia in being based on earlier commentaries and in being supported by reference to literary authorities, which in some cases would have been lost but for Servius' unique witness.¹ The likelihood of a medieval scholar having access to pre-Servian material should not be exaggerated, yet one scholar, apparently in seventh-century Ireland, did blend his Servius with another ancient Virgilian commentary, perhaps by Donatus himself. This medieval compilation is known as 'Servius Danielis' after its first editor, but also as 'Servius Auctus' – imprecisely, since the Compiler also cuts and edits Servius. Unlike the Servius Danielis Compiler, our scholiast does not appear to have had pre-Servian material or other Virgilian exegesis. Two possible exceptions are discussed in Chapter 9.²

The popularity of both Virgil and Servius is apparent from the great number of surviving manuscripts.³ This source is highly tralatician. Servius' commentary served not only readers of Virgil, but was quarried as a general encyclopaedia by many scholars,

¹ Pre-Servian *testimonia* were collected by Servius editors Thilo and Hagen. For instance, Text 81 (on *Odes* 2.18.25) includes a citation from the Twelve Tables.

² The Harley scholion on *oscines* and *praepetes* at *Odes* 3.27.11 is partly identical to Servius, but also more complete; the lemma-less note about Iuppiter, Neptune, and Pluto on 4vo matches no known Virgil scholia, but seems to have Virgilian connections.

³ Munk Olsen (1996) tabulates 38 manuscripts of the *Eclogues* from the 9th-10th centuries and 27 – from the 11th, similarly, 42 and 30 – of the *Georgics*, 53 and 46 – of the *Aeneid*.

including pre-Harley Horace commentators. Horace commentaries contain numerous Virgilian quotations.⁴ Servius is named once in Pseudo-Acro and twice in λφψ scholia.⁵ Unacknowledged borrowings from Servius in Horace scholia remain subject to investigation. Among Harley annotations, the gloss on Sthenelus in *Odes* 1.15.24 appears in identical form in both Pseudo-Acro (at *Odes* 4.9.20) and Servius (*Aen.* 2.261).

Servius was also used by two of the non-Horatian Harley sources, Isidore and Remigius.⁶ As noted in the preceding chapter, it is nearly always clear, whether a particular Harley note originates with Servius or Isidore, from the extent of the extract and its phrasing; only the brief gloss on the Carpathian sea at *Odes* 1.35.8 and *Odes* 4.5.10 (Servius Text 37) appears in identical form in both Servius (*Aen.* 5.595) and Isidore (*Etym.* 13.16.5). Examples of Servian material apparently transmitted through Remigius are discussed in Chapter 7. (Martianus Text 15 is of particular interest.)

Several of the Servius extracts found in Harley were also used by the First and Second Vatican Mythographers. The date of these texts is uncertain, but is, in a broader sense, comparable to Harley: their *terminus post quem*, Remigius, is also the latest source used in Harley scholia. Harley shares with each Mythographer a single Servius extract, which is fully identical in extent and wording.⁷ I shall keep an eye on the Mythographers as a potential indirect source of Servian material. A detailed note about the nature and limited availability of these texts is provided below (6.0.4).

⁴ Soon after Keller's publication of Pseudo-Acro, Langenhorst (1908, p. 30) pointed to circa 800 Virgilian citations in the lyric part of the scholia, noted some remarkable parallels between Servius and the lyric *Expositio A*, and established Servius as the *terminus post quem* for that portion of Σ. (I am aware of Langenhorst's catalogue from Noske's (1969, p. 275) report.) Examining the authority of Virgil in Porphyrio's commentary, Mastellone Iovane (1998) noted 163 Virgil quotations. Conversely, Santini (1979) demonstrated the unrivalled prominence of Horace in Servius, tabulating 251 Horatian references as compared to 199 references to Homer, 182 to Sallust, 169 to Cicero, 151 to Lucan, 140 to Terence, 93 to Juvenal, 83 to Statius etc. (Cf. the 'Horatius' entry in the Mountford-Schultz Servian *Index rerum et nominum* (1930, pp. 80-81)). Santini (1979, pp. 69-71) and later Geymonat (1998) pointed to these parallels as evidence for Servius' role in the late antique revival of Horace. In a detailed and well-illustrated 'Servius' article of the *Enciclopedia Oraziana* (III, 1998, pp. 66-72), Timpanaro drew attention to Servius' valuable discussions of Horace's rare poetical usage (pp. 69-70).

⁵ Pseudo-Acro (*Serm.* 1.9.76) *sic Servius, magister urbis, exposuit*. The λφψ note on *Epode* 16.11 refers to Servius on *Aen.* 6.563: *et melius dicendum 'insisto illam rem', quam 'illi rei' teste Servio*. The λφψ note on *Odes* 1.1.15 refers to *Aeneid* 6.14 and Servius' note on it: *Icarus... quae res plenius apud Servium et Vergilium*. Whether by coincidence or in response to this advice, Harley scholia offer Servius' myth, although at a different poem, *Odes O.* 4.2.2 (Text 105 *indicato a Sole adulterio*).

⁶ The sources of *Thebaid* scholia remain subject to investigation; there is no conspicuous overlap between Harley extracts of *Thebaid* scholia and Servius.

⁷ Both instances are noted in the Transcript: *Eryx Veneris* at *Odes* 1.2.33 = VM 1.53 and *Cordus dux* at *Odes* 3.19.2 = VM 2.216.

A great proportion of Harley Servius extracts deal with language, which is, indeed, the main focus of Servius' commentary.⁸ Many of these notes could be readily applied in a non-Virgilian context as glosses on other authors or lexicographical entries. To describe such examples, I use the term 'loose' note.

0.2 Servius as source of Harley scholia (Order of discussion)

The overwhelming quantity of Harley material matching Servius makes it unnecessary to demonstrate the scholiast's use of this source with examples of extensive overlap.⁹ Servius is named six times as source of Harley lyric marginalia (Texts 43, 51, 55, 70, 99, 116). We have already seen the scholiast name Servius, when contrasting his account of Troilus with another named source, Dares, in Chapter 2 (Trojan Historian Text 6). I begin this chapter with one further example.

Apart from the six cases where Servius is named, one cannot be certain, if any given passage is drawn from this extremely tralatician source directly. We can, on the other hand, identify a number of features, which are less likely to have been retained through multiple stages of recycling. In Section 6.1, I present a passage which is already corrupt in the Servius tradition and would hardly attract excerptors other than our scholiast, glossing a particular lemma. The following two sections (6.2 and 6.3) draw attention to information retained by our scholiast, in spite of it being irrelevant in the new Horatian context: firstly, redundant Horace quotations; secondly, connection to the Virgilian lemma and Servian context. Examination of the Virgilian context also shows that some 'loose' notes were originally written to gloss Virgil (6.4 and 6.5). I consider notes, whose wording departs from Servius, with particular care (6.5). In section 6.6, I examine adjacent passages of Servius as secondary evidence in favour of direct derivation.

Much of the Servian material is so fluid and complex that the terms of its relation to Harley can only be conjectured. The benefit of this enquiry lies in demonstrating the problems of tralaticious culture and the multiple roles played by commentary. For this reason, I illustrate my discussion with a particularly generous Appendix of further examples.

⁸ Kaster (1988, p. 170) observes that two out of three notes in Servius' commentary are concerned with language.

⁹ The longest passage, Text 122, extends to 375 words.

In the second half of the chapter, the focus of my discussion shifts to the scholiast's treatment of Servian material. Section 6.7 collects interesting examples of editing. In section 6.8, I consider what inspired the scholiast to combine several extracts. (At this point I also note the relation of Harley to the Vatican Mythographers). In section 6.9, I examine the role played by Virgil quotation in selecting and combining glossing material, and argue that quotations encouraged the scholiast to cross-reference between multiple passages of Servius.

In sections 6.10 and 6.11, I pursue the scholiast's technique of cross-referencing between Harley scholia and between Horace poems. In section 6.10, I discuss Harley's Pseudo-Acronian notes, apparently affected by Servius. In section 6.11, I draw attention to Servius extracts, which were originally applied to an Horace lemma other than the lemma glossed in Harley.

I end with a unique scholion making use of a five-line Virgilian passage as well as Servius (6.12).

0.3 A note on Servius editions

The Auctus version of Servius is not relevant to the present investigation. Harley scholia contain none of its additional material. Thilo and Hagen's edition, which is unsuitable for the study of Servius Danielis, serves my purpose sufficiently. It remains the only edition presenting Servius' commentary in full. The Harvard Servius project, launched in 1938 in order to disentangle the two strands of the Servius Danielis commentary, has produced only two volumes covering *Aeneid* 1-5 (1946, 1965). Books 9 and 7 were recently edited by Ramires (1996, 2003), whose wide manuscript basis is praised and whose critical judgement is questioned by Murgia (2004).¹⁰ Jeunet-Mancy's *Aeneid* 6 Budé offers an informative introduction.

The Servius text, reproduced in this chapter, is that of Thilo and Hagen, with the exception of four *Aeneid* 7 passages for which Ramires' edition makes clearer comparison with Harley. In two of these cases, Thilo and Hagen print Servius Auctus variants, which are irrelevant for Harley (Texts 49 and 88). In another case, Ramires prints additions shared by Harley with some Servius manuscripts (Text 113). In one case, Ramires supplies a version of

¹⁰ McDonough, Prior, and Stansbury (2002) commented translation of *Aeneid* 4 uses the Harvard (1965) text of Servius. For further bibliography on the Servius Auctus question, see Timpanaro's 'Servius' article in the *Enciclopedia Oraziana* (III, 1998, p. 72).

Servius, which is entirely unacknowledged in the Thilo-Hagen apparatus (Text 45). Where alternative editions of Servius are lacking, I can only assume that discrepancies between Servius and Harley are due to corruption, editing, or indeed to use of another source.

0.4 A note on the First and Second Vatican Mythographers

The Vatican Mythographers are early medieval anthologies of myth compiled from a variety of scholia, literary, mythographic, and reference works with the apparent purpose of aiding the reader of classical poetry.¹¹ The Mythographers mainly feature in modern scholarship as sources used by early medieval writers: they get listed, together with the late antique compilations of Hyginus and Fulgentius, as the default sources of myth. Rare mention is made of evidence for when, where, and how widely these texts were available.¹²

The two Mythographers were discovered together in a twelfth-century manuscript, Vat. Reg. Lat. 1401, whose German origin was established by Bischoff. This manuscript is a unique copy of the First Mythographer, while the Second survives in one further twelfth-century manuscript (Clm. 9682) and a dozen manuscripts from the Renaissance. Zorzetti fixes the date of both Mythographers between 875 and 1075, the Second Mythographer post-dating and drawing on the First.¹³ It is not clear from current evidence, if either of the Mythographer collections would have been available to the Horace scholiast.

The sources of the Mythographers were investigated by Zorzetti. His 1995 edition offers detailed notes on the First Mythographer, but his 1988 study of both Mythographers' sources is only available in a local publication, which I have as yet been

¹¹ For a recent discussion of both Mythographers, see Zorzetti's edition of the first mythographer (1995). The numeration of the *Fabulae* of the First Vatican Mythographer differs slightly in Kulcsar (1987) and Zorzetti (1995) editions, as the latter divides the collection into three books, also making a few individual alterations. I reproduce both numbers, where relevant.

¹² The Mythographers appear on the source lists of Ramelli's 2006 and Teeuwen 2002 publications of Martianus scholia, although Zorzetti's 1995 edition of the First Vatican Mythographer demonstrates the opposite relationship (cf. Lutz' 1939, 1944, 1962-5 editions of Martianus scholia and Bolton's 1977 studies of Boethius scholia).

¹³ See Zorzetti (1995, xi-xii). The latest source used by the First Mythographer is Remigius of Auxerre (late 9th century); the first text, definitely drawing on the First Mythographer, is the Second Mythographer. The *terminus ante quem* of the Second Mythographer is Bernard of Utrecht's commentary on Theodulus (1076-99), unless it was used earlier by Sigebert of Gembloux (ca 1030-112).

unable to access. It remains unclear to me, to what extent the Mythographers may have excerpted earlier mythographic compilations unknown to us.

In comparison with the preceding chapters, this chapter, inevitably, makes greater demands on the reader. In view of its nature, Servian material requires copious and detailed lexical analysis.

1. Servius demonstrated as Harley source

I begin with one of six examples where Servius is explicitly named as the source of a Harley note. The most interesting of the other examples, Text 70, is presented in Appendix 6.1

Servius Text 51

Hyper-seductive Barine, the addressee of *Odes* 2.8, is a cause of concern among mothers, stingy old men, and newly wedded Roman matrons (21-24):

te suis matres metuunt iuvenis,
te senes parci, miseraeque nuper
virgines nuptae, tua ne retardet
aura maritos

The scholiast draws on Servius to explain that Horace is able to call married (*nuptae*) women *virgines*, because the word *virgines* originally signified ‘women’ in general:

Serv. Aen. 11.687

usus obtinuit, ut innuptas ‘virgines’, nuptas ‘mulieres’ vocemus: nam apud maiores indiscrete virgo dicebatur et mulier. utrumque enim sexum tantum significabat, ut ecce hoc loco dicit ‘armis muliebribus’, cum Camillam innuptam fuisse manifestum sit. item in bucolicis legimus [*Ecl.*6.47] “*a, virgo infelix*”, cum Pasiphaen constat ex Minoe ante amorem tauri liberos suscepisse: Terentius etiam mulierem post partum virginem vocat.

Odes 2.8.23

Servius dicit: usus obtinuit, ut innuptas virgines, nuptas mulieres vocemus. nam apud maiores indiscrete virgo dicebatur et mulier. unum [1] enim utrumque sexum tantum significat, [1] ut ecce hoc loco dicit ‘armis mulieribus’ cum Camillam innuptam fuisse manifestum sit. item in bucolicis legimus “*a, virgo infelix*”, cum Pasiphen constat ex Minoe ante timorem [1] tauri liberos suscepisse. Terentius etiam post partum virginem vocat.

Servius glosses the adjective *muliebris* referring to the maiden Camilla, as she threatens Ornytus in *Aeneid* 11 (687-688):

...advenit qui vestra dies muliebribus armis
verba redarguerit.

One element of Servius’ note does not fit Horace: *hoc loco dicit ‘armis muliebribus’*... clearly refers to the original Virgilian rather than the new Horatian context.

Footnotes

[1] Harley shares the readings *unum* and *significat* with St Gall 861-2 (S) and Karlsruhe 116 (A) Servius manuscripts. The graphic error *timorem* for *amorem* is not documented in the Servian tradition.

I continue with a passage extracted, in spite of its corrupt state in the Servius tradition. While the medieval reader may, of necessity, have greater tolerance of nonsensical text, this passage is less likely to have attracted many excerptors.

Servius Text 48

In *Odes* 2.6 Horace describes Tarentum (17-20):

uer ubi longum tepidasque praebet
Iuppiter brumas et amicus Aulon
fertili Baccho minimum Falernis
inuidet uuis.

The scholiast glosses *Aulon*:

Serv. Aen. 3.553

Aulon mons est Calabrie, ut Horatius
'et amicus Aulon/fertilis Baccho', in quo
oppidum fuit quod secundum Hyginum,
qui scripsit De Situ Urbium Italicarum
<...> +olim non est.

Odes 2.6.18

Aulon mons est Calabrie, ut Horatius dicit
'et amicus Aulon/fertilis Baccho', in quo
oppidum fuit quod secundum Hyginum,
qui scripsit De Situ Urbium Italicarum
<...> +olim non est.

This corrupt text originates with Servius, glossing *Caulonis arces*, one of the south Italian landmarks spotted by Aeneas' men in *Aeneid* 3.[1] The precise connection between *Caulonisque arces* and Aulon is lost, but its essence seems to have been etymological, as Servius Auctus continues the etymological line of argument with '*alii a Caulo...*' etc. It is remarkable that the Horace scholiast, probably attracted by the Horace quotation,[2] chose to copy the entire corrupt note.

Footnotes:

[1] *Aen.* 3.551-554 *hinc sinus Herculei (si uera est fama) Tarenti/ cernitur; attolit se diva Lacinia contra/ Caulonisque arces et navifragum Scylaceum.*

[2] Servius' reading '*fertilis Baccho*' is shared by some Horace manuscripts, but not the Horace text of Harley 2724, which reads '*fertili Baccho*'.

2. Retained Horace quotations

Over twenty of Harley's Servian notes contain Horace quotations. Three quarters of these extracts are used to gloss the Horace line quoted by Servius. It is, therefore, likely that the quotations drew the scholiast's attention to those particular Servian passages. Although the Horatian lines cited by Servius are no longer needed by the reader of Horace, in most cases they are nonetheless retained by the scholiast. I demonstrate this practice with a single spectacular example containing an entire Horatian stanza.

Servius Text 41

A note about Pollio accompanies *Odes* 2.1 addressed to the great man (l. 14):

Serv. Ecl. 4.1

Asinius Pollio, ductor
Germanici exercitus, cum
post captam Salonam,
Dalmatiae civitatem, primo
meruisset lauream, post
etiam consulatum adeptus
fuisset, eodem anno suscepit
filium, quem a capta civitate
Saloninum vocavit, cui nunc
Vergilius genethliacon dicit.
quem constat natum risisse
statim: quod parentibus
omen est infelicitatis: nam
ipsum puerum inter ipsa
primordia perisse
manifestum est.

Odes 2.1.14

Asinius Pollio, ductor
Germanici exercitus,
post captam Salonam,
Dalmatie civitatem, primo
meruisset lauream, post etiam
consulatum adeptus fuisset.
eodem anno suscepit filium,
quem a capta civitate
Saloninum vocavit. fuit etiam
tragoediarum et historiarum
scriptor, quod utrumque in eo
laudat Horatius dicens
'*periculose plenum opus alee/
tractas et incedis per ignes/
soppositos cineri doloso/
paululum*† *severe musa*
tragoedie/ desit theatri.'

Serv. Ecl. 3.84

blanditur iam Pollioni
patrono, quem et
tragoediarum et historiarum
scriptorem Horatius fuisse
testatur: nam in secundo
carminum dicit de historiis
[*Odes* 2.1.6-10] '*periculosae
plenum opus aleae/ tractas et
incedis per ignes/ suppositos
cineri doloso*', item paulo
post '*paulum severae musa*
tragoediae/ desit theatri.'

This scholion draws on two nearby Servian notes, the second quoting the ode under discussion. Servius' description of Pollio's literary occupation at *Eclogue* 3, corresponds to *Odes* 2.1, but the scholiast is not satisfied with that alone and adds Servius' review of Pollio's political achievement from *Eclogue* 4.

It is clear that the scholiast copied Horace's words not mechanically, but deliberately, for he omits Servius' aside '*item paulo post*'. The scholiast is also attentive to Horace quotations elsewhere, sometimes introducing them with *hoc loco* (Texts 81 and 117), *hic dicit* (Text 75), *in hoc loco* (Text 92), *dicit in hoc loco* (Text 126). In several instances, Harley cites an Horace poem other than the one under discussion (Texts 33, 63, 90), in some cases marked with the words *alio loco* (Texts 32b, 58, 66a). A handful of Harley notes lack Horace citations, present in the matching passages of Servius (Texts 4a, 32a, 71, 78). In one case, the Horace quotation is replaced with the Virgilian lemma (the gloss on Marica at *Odes* 3.17.7). Conversely, the scholiast can substitute Horace for Virgilian quotation (Texts 47) or for Virgilian context (Text 11). One Horace quotation is simply appended to Servius' note (Text 44).

3. Retained reference to Virgil and Servius

A number of Servius extracts retain a strong connection to their original context. For example, the note glossing *fortuitum* at *Odes* 2.15.17, begins with the Virgilian

lemma *itur* (Text 69 in Appendix 6.1). The following example was likewise clearly written to gloss a Virgilian lemma.

Servius Text 38

Faith appears among the acolytes of Fortuna in *Odes* 1.35 (21-22):

te Spes et albo rara Fides colit
velata panno, nec comitem abnegat...

The scholiast provides a note about *Fides*:

Serv. Aen. 1.292

canam autem fidem dixit vel quod in canis hominibus invenitur, vel quod ei albo panno involuta manu sacrificatur per quod ostenditur fidem debere esse secretam. unde et Horatius ‘et albo rara *Fides* colit velata panno’

Odes 1.35.21-2

canam autem fidem dixit vel quod in canis hominibus invenitur, vel quod ei albo panno involuta manu sacrificatur, per quod ostenditur fidem esse secretam. unde et Horatius ‘et alba[1] rara *Fides* colit velata panno’

Clearly, the note was written to gloss not Horace, but a passage where *fides* is called *cana*. *Cana Fides* is the subject of Servius’ note on Jupiter’s prophecy in *Aeneid* 1 (292-293):

cana Fides et Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus
iura dabunt...

The Horace quotation illustrating the whiteness of *Fides* must have drawn the attention of the Horace scholiast: indeed the note helps to explain, why Horace’s *Fides* is dressed in white (*albo velata panno*).

Footnotes

[1] The Harley corruption *alba* was probably inspired by Servius’ context. Harley Horace text reads *albo*.

Several other examples of Harley extracts, closely linked to Virgilian lemmata, are presented in Appendix 6.1: Text 39 written to expound Virgil’s use of *Hesperia* to mean Italy, Text 49 – to explain Virgil’s antiquarian description of the Sabines as *prisci Quirites*, and Text 56 – to gloss the river Niphates, standing for the inhabitants of its banks.

The above note on *cana fides* not only features the Virgilian lemma, but also includes Servius’ reference to Virgil in third person: *canam autem fidem dixit*... Several more examples of redundant references, retained by the Horace scholiast, are presented in Appendix 6.1. These can be summarised as follows. In Text 12, Servius supplies the story of Priam’s visit to Achilles, touched on by Virgil: *per transitum historiam tangit*. (Compare also the gloss on *Odes* 2.14.9, starting *Acheronta vult*.) In

Text 19, Servius explains the meaning of *freta* ‘in this particular context’ (*modo*). Text 35 retains Servius’ reference to an earlier part of his own commentary, *unde est supra*. By contrast, the note on *Odes* 2.7.23 (*exple...*), matching Servius on *Aeneid* 6.545, omits Servius’ cross-reference *ut diximus supra* – if indeed that note was drawn directly from Servius.

4. ‘Loose’ notes originating with Servius

Corrupt Servius text, Virgilian lemmata, or references to Virgilian and Servian context are unlikely to have been retained through multiple stages of recycling. In other words, one may reasonably suggest, that these passages were extracted by the Horace scholiast from Servius. In this section, I discuss brief ‘loose’ notes, which could readily be used to explain the relevant word in any author or in a glossary. Close examination will show, that even some ‘loose’ notes in fact focus on Virgilian lemmata. Servius is certainly their original source, if not necessarily the immediate source, used by the Horace scholiast.

Servius Text 42

Horace ends *Odes* 2.1 with an admonition to his Muse (37-40):

sed ne relictis, Musa procax, iocis
 Ceae retractes munera neniae
 mecum Dionaëo sub antro
 quaere modos leviori plectro.

The scholiast glosses the adjective *procax*:

Serv. Aen. 1.536

perseverantibus. et procax proprie
petax est, nam procare est petere,
 unde et proci [petitores] dicuntur.

Odes 2.1.37

procax est perseverans,
 nam procare est petere,
 unde pro<ci> petitores vocantur.

The Harley scholion has the appearance of a loose lexical note, but it does not quite make sense as it stands: the transition from *procax-perseverans* to *procare-petere* is abrupt; the logic of *nam* is unclear. This occurs because Harley lacks the adjective *petax*, connected with the verb *petere*: *procax-petax*, to match *procare-petere*. *Petax* glosses *procax* in several texts, of which Servius is the closest to our Horace scholion.[1] The adjective *perseverans* is in fact Servius’ gloss on the relentless winds (*procacibus austris*) in *Aeneid* 1,[2] but it happens to suit Horace’s request, that his Muse desist from subjects, appropriate to more solemn genres.

One further piece of circumstantial evidence supports the notion that the passage was drawn from Servius directly: Servius' story of Orion, glossing the preceding line of Virgil, also appears in Harley at *Odes* 1.28.21 and 3.27.18 (*Oenopion rex*).

Footnotes

[1] Donatus and Isidore are further from Harley: **Don. ad Ter. Hec. 1.159** *PROCAX dispoliatrix et petax; procare enim est petere...*; **Isid. 10. 214** *procax proprie idem quod petax, nam procare est petere; unde et petitores nuptiarum proci dicuntur.*

[2] Aeneas describes a storm (*Aen.* 1.535-538): *cum subito adsurgens fluctu nimbosus Orion/ in vada caeca tulit, penitusque procacibus austris/ perque undas, superante salo, perque invia saxa/ dispulit; huc pauci vestris adnavimus oris.*

Another linguistic note, focusing on Virgil's adjective *eburnum* rather than Horace's noun lemma *ebur*, is presented in Appendix 6.1 (Text 77). The following note on the lyre-caduceus exchange between Mercury and Apollo does not match Servius verbatim, but contains the Virgilian lemma *virga*.

Servius Text 27

In *Odes* 1.21 Apollo is pictured with the quiver and the lyre (11-12):

insignemque pharetra
fraternaque umerum lyra

In Harley, two notes explain why the lyre is called *fraterna*. One is a Pseudo-Acronian scholion:

quia a Mercurio lyra inventa dicitur et Apollini data ab eo, quia Apollinis frater Mercurius putatur.

The second note is similar, but mentions also the other part of the bargain:

Mercurius lyram invenit et eam Apollini tradidit, donata sibi virga, caduceo

Both the lyre and the *caduceus* feature in Servius' story of this exchange in his commentary on *Aeneid* 4. Servius glosses Virgil's oblique reference to the *caduceus*, picked up by Mercury as he sets out to recall Aeneas from Carthage (*Aen.* 4.242): *tum virgam capit...* Servius explains:

id est caduceum, quod primo Apollo habuit et donavit Mercurio, lyra sibi tradita.

The phrasing of the Harley story differs from Servius, giving precedence to the Horatian lyre; its shape and wording (*invenit*) partly imitate the Pseudo-Acronian note.[1] Yet the fact, that the scholiast speaks of a *virga* as well as the *caduceus*, points to the Virgilian origin of this scholion. *Virga* is not a standard term for the *caduceus*: it is the Virgilian lemma quoted by Servius.

Footnotes

[1] Apollo's caduceus as well as Mercury's lyre are mentioned in Pseudo-Acro at *Odes* 1.10.6, but without reference to the exchange between the gods: *CVRVAEQVE LIRAE PARENTEM*] *ipse enim dicitur lyrae inuentor et Apollo caducei*.

Some loose notes can be traced back to Servius, because they gloss rare lemmata or offer an unusual explanation known in no source but Servius. For instance, Virgil is the only glossed author to call the river Hydaspes Median rather than Indian (Text 28 in Appendix 6.1.)

The following examples of 'loose' notes also focus on their Virgilian lemmata in different ways: Text 26 is particularly pertinent to Virgil; Text 10 is structured to focus on Servius' lemma.

Servius Text 26

In *Odes* 1.21 Horace urges choruses to praise Latona and her children (9-10):

uos Tempe totidem tollite laudibus
natalemque, mares, Delon Apollinis...

The gloss on *Tempe* matches verbatim Servius' note on *Georg.* 2.469:

Tempe sunt proprie loca amena Thessalie, abusive cuiusvis loci amenitas

The note explains that in its literal sense (*proprie*) Tempe signifies a specific valley in Thessaly, but in the transferred sense (*abusive*) it stands for any pleasance. In Horace, Tempe has its more obvious literal meaning, standing for the Thessalian valley sacred to Apollo. Information about the other potential meaning of this word is irrelevant to Horace, but most pertinent in the original Virgilian context. In *Georgic* 2 Virgil praises the coolness of *tempe* among the blessings of a farmer's life (*Georg.* 2.467-471):

at secura quies et nescia fallere uita,
diues opum uariarum, at latis otia fundis,
speluncae uiuique lacus, at frigida tempe
mugitusque boum mollesque sub arbore somni
non absunt...

In this case *tempe* refers not to the specific Greek location, but any pleasant spot enjoyed by Virgil's Italian farmer.

Another loose note pointed for Virgil can be found in Appendix 6.1 (Text 15).

Servius Text 10

Odes 1.9 famously opens "*Vides ut alta stet nive candidum/ Soracte...*". A scholion discusses possible meanings of *stet*:

Serv. Aen. 1.646

modo 'est'; alias 'horret', ut [Aen. 6.300] "*stant lumina flamma*" et [Aen. 8.233] "*stabat acuta silex*"; item 'plenum est' ut [Aen. 12.407-8] "*iam pulvere celum stare vident*" et [Ecl. 7.53] "*stant et iuniperi et castaneae hirsutae*"; item 'positum est', ut [Aen. 3.63] "*stant manibus arae*"; item 'placet', ut [Aen. 12.678] "*stat conferre manum Aeneae*" et [Aen. 2.750] "*stat casus renovare omnes*". pro loco ergo hic sermo intellegendus est.

Odes 1.9.1

aliquando 'est'; alias 'horret', ut "*stant lumina flamme* [1]"; item 'plenum est', ut "*iam pulvere celum stare vident*"; item 'positum est', ut "*stant manibus are*"; item 'placet', ut "*stat conferre manum*". pro loco ergo hic sermo intellegendus est.

I have so far found no source but Servius presenting this set of meanings,[1] yet the Harley note contains only half of the citations offered in the *Aeneid* scholion. The structural similarity between Harley and Servius suggests a close relationship: all but the first meaning (*est*) are illustrated by quotations. In Servius' case, the first meaning requires no quotation, because it glosses the Virgilian lemma: (Aen. 1.646): *omnis in Ascanio cari stat cura parentis*". In this context *stat* means 'is': *modo* 'est'. In the Harley note, this first meaning is presented as one of several possibilities (*aliquando* 'est'), but, unlike other alternatives, it is supported by no quotation – as in Servius. Unlike 'alias', 'aliquando' is not used elsewhere to introduce different uses: it surely replaces Servius' *modo* reference to his Virgilian context.

Footnotes

[1] Published Σ do not explain multiple meanings, but do supply quotations. **Porph. ad loc.** (followed by λφψ) *stet autem 'plenum sit' significat, ut Ennius [Ann. 8. fr. 198B] "stant puluere campi", et Vergilius [Aen. 12.407f] "iam puluere caelum/ stare uides" et in Bucolicis [Ecl. 7.53] "stant et iuniperi et castaneae hirsutae"; PsA ad loc. cooperiatur, ut [Verg. Aen. VI 300] "stant lumina flammae" et [Verg. Aen. XII 407f.] "puluere caelum/ stare uident". The variant *flammae* seen in both Harley and Pseudo-Acro is printed by Harvard editors (1946) from unspecified Servius Auctus manuscripts.*

Another 'loose' note, opening with the Virgilian rather than the Horatian lemma, is presented in Appendix 6.1 (Text 64). (Compare also the gloss on *Lenaee* at *Odes* 3.25.19, beginning with Bacchus' other epithet *pater*, which is used by Virgil.) The shape of the following brief note clearly shows it to be an extract.

Servius Text 46

In *Odes* 2.6, discussing favourite locations for retirement, Horace states that, should Tibur fail him, he will seek the banks of the Galaesus (9-12):

Vnde si Parcae prohibent iniquae,
dulce pellitis ouibus Galaesi
flumen et regnata petam Laconi
rura Phalantho.

The scholiast glosses the name of the river noting its location:

Serv. *Georg.* 4.125

Oebalia ipsa est Laconia: unde de Castore
et Polluce ait Statius [*Silv.* 3.2.10]
“*Oebalidae fratres*”. Galaesus vero fluvius
est Calabriae, qui iuxta civitatem labitur
Tarentinam, in qua se hortos...

***Odes* 2.6.10**

Galesus vero fluvius
est Calabriae qui iuxta civitatem labitur
Tarentiam.

The conjunction *vero* indicates that this note was extracted from its context.

Apart from Horace, the Galaesus appears in Livy, Propertius, Silius Italicus, Martial, and Virgil, among whom only Virgil was an annotated school author. The Harley extract is the second of two geographical glosses in Servius’ note on *Georgic* 4 where Virgil sets the scene for his ideal kitchen garden near Tarentum (*Georg.* 4.125-126):

namque sub Oebaliae memini me turribus arcis,
qua niger umectat flaventia culta Galaesus...

Servius’ explanation of *Oebalia arx* is probably left out because Horace speaks of Tarentum as Phalanthus’ realm. Servius’ reference to the Virgilian kitchen garden is similarly irrelevant.

Two more Harley extracts matching Servius begin with conjunction *autem* retained from their old context: the note on *prela* in *Odes* 1.20.9; the note on Romulus at *Odes* 1.2.46 and *Odes* 2.7.3.

5. No need to claim other source?

Where the wording of the Horace note differs from Servius, one must consider whether the Harley version contains any additional information requiring a different source, or whether the discrepancies simply reflect editing on the part of the scholiast.

Several extracts, almost certainly edited by our scholiast, are presented in Appendix 6.1. The Harley version of Servius’ note on the *Corybantes* requires no additional source and was surely reshaped so as to begin with a Latin gloss rather than a Greek word, which itself needs explanation (Text 22). Other passages were edited for the Horatian lemmata. Servius’ note on how long Priam reigned (Text 20) is rephrased to make Horace’s lemma *regnum* (*Odes* 1.15.8) the subject. Servius’ differentiae on *uterus*, *alvus*, *venter* (Text 111) glossing Virgilian *uterus* is adjusted to gloss *alvus* in Horace (*Odes* 4.6.20). Servius’ gloss on *fidibus* (Text 29) is altered for Horace’s accusative lemma (*Odes* 1.24.14).

There is an interesting piece of circumstantial evidence in favour of the last two examples being drawn directly from Servius. The lyre, glossed by the Horace scholiast, and the lyre, glossed by Servius, both belong to Orpheus. The *uterus* note applied to the Trojan horse in Virgil, is again used in a sack of Troy context at *Odes* 4.6. Contextual association may have helped the Horace scholiast to find these particular glosses in Servius.

The following more complex example was likewise probably augmented by the Horace scholiast.

Servius Text 44

In *Odes* 2.4 Horace's addressee is teased about his slave girl-friend (13-16):

nescias an te generum beati
Phyllidis flavae decorent parentes;
regium certe genus et Penatis
maeret iniquos.

The scholiast provides a note about the verb *maeret*:

Serv. Aen. 4.82
MAERET per diphthongon 'est tristis';
nam aliter militiam significat.

sane 'mereor' aliud est.

Odes 2.4.16
MERET per diptongon luctum significat,
nam aliter milic<iam> significat et est breve,
ut Horatius dicit [cf. *Ars* 345] 'hic meret <e>ra
liber Sosis'. sane mere<or> aliud est.

Servius is the only source of this information, which I could trace.[1] Two elements of this loose note are unmatched by Servius: the observation, that the syllable is short, and the quotation from the *Ars Poetica*. Neither of the two additional items demands an external source. *Et est breve* can be deduced by contrast with the diphthong; its addition is made necessary by the spelling, which no longer differentiates between the diphthong and the short vowel. I have not found the *Ars Poetica* quotation in any secondary source, but the parallel readily presents itself to the reader of Horace.

Footnotes

[1] In Isidore's *Differentiae* (365), *meret* receives its wider meaning, 'deserves': *inter meretur et moeret. qui meretur dignus est aliquo beneficio; qui moeret, tristis est*. Nonius, like Servius, gives *meret* its military meaning, but offers only a short gloss (*de comp. doct.* 4 p. 344 M, l. 34): *meret militat*.

Another loose note, containing phrases absent from Servius, is presented in Appendix 6.1 (Text 106). That Harley note is suggestively labeled '*differentia*', yet the discrepancies between Harley and Servius require no additional information and may

well be the work of the Horace scholiast. Below I present another set of *differentiae* shared by Servius and Harley, in opposition to other sources.

Servius Text 36

Addressing Venus in *Odes* 1.30, Horace names Iuventas as an attendant of Venus, since one is not pleasing without the other (7):

et parum comis sine te Iuventas

The scholiast offers a note differentiating between *iuventus*, *Iuventas*, and *iuventa*:

Serv. Aen. 1.590

‘iuventus’ est multitudo iuvenum, ‘Iuventas’ dea ipsa, sicut Libertas, ‘iuventa’ vero aetas; sed haec a poetis confunduntur plerumque.

Odes 1.30.7

‘iuventus’ est multitudo iuvenum, ‘Iuventas’ dea ipsa, sicut Libertas, ‘iuventa’ vero etas; sed h<ec> confundunt plerumque poete.

This scholion matches Servius’ note on *lumen iuventae*, one of the gifts bestowed by Venus on her son in *Aeneid* 1.[1] The *differentiae* are not closely connected to either poem: they begin neither with Virgil’s *iuventa* nor the Horatian goddess *Iuventas*, but with *iuventus*. By contrast, Pseudo-Acro’s note *ad locum* starts with Horace’s *iuventas* and identifies *iuventas* as age, but *Iuventa* – as the goddess.[2]

The interpretation of *iuventas* as *aetas* and *Iuventa* as the goddess, seen in Pseudo-Acro, is widespread. It occurs in four grammatical texts (Agroec. *Ars* p.124 l.7; Caper *de verb. dub.* p. 110 l.8; Bede *de Orth.*p.276 l.14; *Diff. Serm.* p. 281. l.15) in this order: *iuventus*, *iuventas*, *Iuventa*; also, starting with *Iuventa*, in Servius Auctus on *Aen.* 4.32.[3] The contrasting identification of *iuventa* as age and *Iuventas* as the goddess, seen in Servius and Harley, is found in one other text: Isidore’s *Differentiae* 399 (310). This text matches Servius’ information, including the remark about the inconsistent treatment of these words in poetry, but is worded differently from Servius and Harley.[4]

The above Harley note, matching Servius on *Aeneid* 1.590, is loose, but its information is distinct from many other *differentiae* on the same words.

Footnotes

[1] *Aen.* 1.588-591 *Restitit Aeneas claraque in luce refulsit, / os umerosque deo similis; namque ipsa decoram / caesariem nato genetrix lumenque iuventae / purpureum et laetos oculis adflarat honores...*

[2] PsA *ad loc.* *aliud est tamen iuventas, aliud iuventa, aliud iuventus. Iuventas aetatis putatur, iuventa ipsum numen, iuventus adulescentia.*

[3] The Virgilian lemma in *Aeneid* 4 is *iuventa*, meaning age rather than the goddess (32f. *solane perpetua maerens carpere iuventa, / nec dulcis natos Veneris nec praemia noris*) The Servius Auctus note is at variance with its lemma.

[4] Isid. *Diff.* 399 (310) *Inter Iuventam et iuventutem. Iuventus est iuvenum multitudo; iuventa autem hominum est aetas. iuventas vero decus iuventutis; sed auctores in plerisque locis aliter posuerunt.*

My final example contains a phrase, which could have been added to Servius by the Horace scholiast, but would fit more snugly in a hypothetical common source.

Servius Text 40

All eyes turn on Damalis at the end of *Odes* 1.36 (17-20):

omnes in Damalin putres
deponent oculos nec Damalis nouo
diuelletur adultero
lasciuis hederis ambitiosior

The scholiast provides a note about eyes:

Serv. Aen. 8.310

physici dicunt ex vino mobiliiores oculos fieri: Plautus 'faciles' oculos habet, id est mobiles vino.

Odes 1.36.17

physici dicunt ex vino mobiliiores oculos fieri; Plautus 'faciles' oculos habet, id est mobiles vino; Horatius 'putres'.

This scholion explains a passage where eyes are depicted as moving rather than *putres*. In Servius, the note glosses Aeneas' eyes described by the adjective *facilis*, when the hero looks around Evander's kingdom in Book 8 (310f.): *miratur facilisque oculos fert omnia circum/ Aeneas...*

Yet it is by no means clear, if this scholion was written to gloss Virgil. The adjective *facilis* features here not as the Virgilian lemma, but as an unknown Plautus parallel; wine is prominent in the explanation, but has no relevance for the *Aeneid*. The drinking context is much more appropriate to Horace: *Horatius 'putres'* exemplifies another effect of wine.

If the meaning of *Horatius putres* is clear, its origin is not. We may imagine our scholiast adding such words in order to connect the note to his Horatian context, but this instance has no close parallel in the editing of other Harley scholia. Indeed, the phrase would make better sense if Horace, like Plautus, were mentioned by an unknown source in a discussion about the effect of wine on the eyes.

6. Evidence of adjacent passages

The evidence of passages, adjacent in Servius' commentary, has already been noted with regard to Text 42 (*procax*). Below I present a pair of passages, which are adjacent not only in Servius, but also in Harley. Two more pairs (Texts 30 and 31, Texts 53 and 54) are presented in Appendix 6.1. The double proximity suggests, that the scholiast drew on Servius directly. This hypothesis would be strong indeed, were it

not for the fact that each of the three pairs has a common subject, which could have attracted excerptors other than our scholiast: the passages below deal with monsters, the two pairs in Appendix 6.1 – with meteorological phenomena and with parts of doorways.

Servius Texts 72, 73, 109

In *Odes* 2.17 Horace claims that not even Chimera's fiery breath can separate him from Maecenas (13-15):

Me nec Chimaerae spiritus igneae
nec, si resurgat centimanus gigas,
diuillet umquam...

The scholiast provides a note about the Chimera (Text 73 below) and another – about the hundred-hander (Text 74):

Serv. Aen. 6.287

centumgeminus Briareus centies duplex:
secundum fabulas ipse est Aegaeon

Odes 2.17.14

Briareus centum habuit formas:
secundum fabulas ipse est Geriones.

The Harley note does not quite match Servius. Servius glosses the Virgilian *centumgeminus Briareus* as *centies duplex*; the Horace scholion speaks of a hundred shapes. It is not clear, whether the Horace scholiast simply adapted Servius for the new lemma – in which case fifty shapes would explain a hundred hands more logically – or used another source. If Servius is the source, it is also unclear, why the Horace scholiast replaces *Aegaeon* with *Geriones*. (The latter monster is the protagonist of another Harley note drawn from Servius, Text 65 on *Odes* 2.14.8.)

Two more Harley notes about monsters are adjacent to the above in Servius' commentary: one glosses the Hydra later in Harley (Text 109 on *Odes* 4.4.61), and another – the Chimera in the preceding line of *Odes* 2.17 (Text 73):

Serv. Aen. 6.288

ore leo, postremis partibus
draco, media caprea secundum fabulas
fuit, re vera autem mons est Ciliciae, cuius
hodieque ardet cacumen, iuxta quod sunt
leones; media autem pascua sunt;
ima vero montis serpentibus plena. hunc
Bellerophontes habitabilem fecit, unde
Chimaeram dicitur occidisce.

Odes 2.17.13

Chimera monstrum est ore leo, postremis
partibus draco, media caprea.
re vera enim mons est Cilitie, cuius
hodieque ardet cacumen, iuxta quod sunt
leones, media autem parte [3] pascua sunt,
ima vero montis sunt serpentibus plena. hunc
Bellerofons [3] habita<bil>em fecit, unde
Chimeram monstrum occidisce asseritur.

One element absent from the Servian note, the gloss *Chimera monstrum est*, also repeated in the last sentence (*Chimeram monstrum*), appears in Σ, which are lacking in Harley, but may have been present in its exemplar.[1]

The story itself is loose. It appears also in the Second Vatican Mythographer, who (unlike Harley) retains Servius' ending (154):

Chimera autem dicta est bestia ore leo, postremis partibus draco, media parte capra.
re uera autem mons est Cilicie cuius hodieque ardet cacumen, iugata quod sunt
leones, media autem pascua sunt, ima uero montis serpentibus plena. hunc
Bellorofons habitabilem fecit unde Chimeram dicitur occidisse.

Let us disregard the corruption *iugata* and the variant *capra*,[2] so far documented only in twelfth-century Mythographer manuscripts. Our scholiast clearly did not draw on the Mythographer: the Mythographer glosses the Chimera once as *bestia*, Harley names her *monstrum* twice. Both Harley and the Mythographer omit *secundum fabulas*, use the phrase *media parte* and the form *Bellorofons*. Perhaps further study of the Servius tradition will retrace some of these readings back to Servius,[3] but, on current evidence, Harley and the Mythographer appear to be related through a post-Servian common source.

The note on the *hydra* (Text 109) matches Servius in all but the opening:

Serv. Aen. 6.287

hydram dicit quae fuit
in Lerna Argivorum palude...

Odes. 4.4.61

secundum fabulas ydra monstrum fuit iacens
in Lerna Argivorum palude...

Harley's *secundum fabulas* could refer to a mythographic source, yet the same phrase features in Servius' note on the Chimera. The Harley Chimera note lacks *secundum fabulas*. If the Chimera and the hydra notes were excerpted together, it is conceivable that *secundum fabulas* could have migrated from one note to the other.

The other Harley item absent from Servius is the *monstrum* gloss. This could have been inspired by the ode under discussion, where Hydra is coupled with *monstra* slain by Jason and Cadmus (*Odes* 4.4.61-4):

non hydra secto corpore firmior
vinci dolentem crevit in Herculem,
monstrumue submittere Colchi
maius Echioniaeue Thebae.

Alternatively, *monstrum* glosses on both the hydra and the Chimera could reflect the heading under which these Servius extracts would have been collected by a pre-Harley excerptor, namely *monstra*. As we have seen, the two-hundred-handed Briareus does not match Horace's *centimanus gigas*, the Chimera note may draw on a lost source standing between Servius and the Second Vatican Mythographer. All three monster passages were probably extracted from Servius by a single excerptor, but this excerptor need not have been our Horace scholiast.

Footnotes

[1] The Chimera is named a monster in the Pseudo-Acronian notes *ad locum* and on *Odes* 1.27.24, and also the λφψ note on *Odes* 1.27.24. The latter is present in Harley, but lacks the final sentence featuring the monster: *Chimaera autem monstrum est in prima parte leo, media capra, postrema serpens*. As this last sentence gives crucial explanation of the lemma *triformis*, it was probably lost by accident rather than omitted deliberately.

[2] The first *fabula* of the same mythographer has the reading *caprea* in the same context: *Prima leo, postrema draco, media ipsa Chimera, id est caprea*.

[3] *Bellorofons* may not be significant, since Servius manuscript Reginensis 1674 (R) has *Bellereffons*. In Harley *Bellorofons* also features in the λφψ scholion on *Odes* 1.27.24. *Media...parte* resembles the reading of Servius Auctus manuscript F (Par. 7929): *media autem pars huius pascua habet*.

7. Examples of editing

We have seen that a number of Servius extracts were adjusted for the Horatian lemmata or clarification. Occasionally the editing reveals particular preoccupations. Thus a short historical note on the length of Priam's reign was high-lighted as '*necessaria scientia*' (Text 20 discussed above in Section 6.5). In Appendix 6.1, I present several more extensive examples of editing. In Text 98 the scholiast apparently adds an introduction, summarising the rest of the passage. A note on Baiae (Text 80) is picked out from Servius' extensive scholion on Acheron. Adjusting Servius' excursus on Caesar's horoscope to gloss *Odes* 2.17 (Text 74), the scholiast substitutes Maecenas' name for Caesar, making nonsense of the horoscope, but linking the passage to his new lemma. We have already seen the scholiast combine two nearby passages of Servius in Text 41. (Compare the gloss on *diris* at *Epode* 5.92). In the following sections, I present examples of more sophisticated editing, involving multiple passages of Servius, other sources, and cross-reference between poems.

8. Compilations**Servius Text 62**

In *Odes* 2.12 the giants appear among subjects of serious poetry (5-9):

nec saeuos Lapithas et nimium mero
Hylaeum domitosque Herculea manu
Telluris iuuenes, unde periculum
fulgens contremuit domus
Saturni ueteris...

The scholion on *Telluris iuuenes* matches a pair of Servian notes:

Serv. Aen. 6.580
Titanas enim contra Saturnum genuit,
Gigantas postea contra Iovem. et ferunt
fabulae Titanas ab irata contra deos Terra ad
eius ultionem creatos, unde et Titanes dicti
sunt απο της τισεως, id est ab ultione.

de his autem solus Sol abstinuisse narratur

***Odes* 2.12.7**

ferunt
fabulae Titanas a Terra irata contra deos ad

eius ultionem creatos, unde et Titanes dicti sunt, ΑΠΩ ΘΩ ΘΙΧΩC, id est ab ultione. de his autem solus Sol abstinuisse narratur ab iniuria numinum, unde et caelum meruit. **Aen. 3.578** bene se fabulosam rem dicturus excusat: nam re vera ... sed Varro dicit in diluvio aliquos ad montes confugisse cum utensilibus, qui lacessiti postea bello ab his, qui de aliis veniebant montibus, facile ex locis superioribus vicerunt: unde fictum [1] est ut dii superiores dicerentur, inferiores vero terrigenae. et quia de humillimis ad summa reptabant, dicti sunt pro pedibus habuisse serpentes.

ab iniuria numinum, unde et celum meruit. Titanas enim contra Saturnum genuit, Gigantes [1] postea contra Iovem. sed hec fabulosa sunt, nam Varro dicit in diluvio aliquos ad montes confugisse cum utensilibus. qui postea lacessiti bello ab his, qui de aliis veniebant montibus, facile ex locis superioribus vicerunt. unde fictum est ut dii superiores dicerentur, inferiores vero terrigene, et quia de humilibus [1] ad summa reptabant, dicti sunt pro pedibus habuisse serpentes.

The Horace lemma *telluris iuvenes* requires a genealogical explanation.[2] This information is provided later in the Harley scholion. Instead, the scholiast focuses on the fabulous nature of Earth's sons, postponing the opening sentence of the *Aeneid* 6 note and starting with *ferunt fabule*. [3] Not contented with this story, he turns to *Aeneid* 3, where Servius cites Varro's rational explanation in order to offset the description of Aetna as the resting place of Enceladus.

Footnotes

[1] *Gigantes* features in Naples Vind. Lat. 5 (N) and Kassel poet. fol. 6 (C). I print *fictum* as the vulgate Servius reading (shared by Harley), where all editors print *factum*. (For *factum* Thilo and Hagen point to Leipzig 1 n 36 and the Third Vatican Mythographer, that is the 12th-century Master Alberic of London.) According to Thilo-Hagen, Harley shares *humilibus* with Kassel poet. fol. 6 (C) and Auctus manuscript Bern 172 (F), to which the Harvard editors add Karlsruhe Aug. 116 (A).

[2] Both Virgil and Horace speak of earth-born monsters in terms of their genealogy. It is clear from the reference to Hercules, that Horace means the giants rather than the Titans. This fact is indeed explained in Porphyrio and Pseudo-Acro notes *ad locum*, but in Harley this part of lyric is not covered by Σ.

[3] In *Aeneid* 6 Virgil speaks of the Titans in Tartarus (*Aen.* 6.580-581): *hic genus antiquom Terrae, Titania pubes, / fulmine deiecti fundo volvuntur in imo*.

Servius Texts 8a, 8b, 8c

In *Odes* 1.6 Achilles' anger exemplifies epic subject matter (5-6):

Nos, Agrippa, neque haec dicere nec grauem
Pelidae stomachum cedere nescii...

The note on the patronymic *Pelides* combines the hero's genealogy with stories of his baptism and demise:

Serv. Aen. 6.57 [1]

Achilles,
a matre tinctus in Stygem
paludem, toto corpore invulnerabilis fuit,
excepta parte qua tentus est. qui cum
amatam Polyxenam ut in templo acciperet
statuisset, insidiis Paridis post simulacrum
latentis occisus est...

Odes 1.6.6

PELIDE id est Achillis qui filius fuit Pelei et Thetidis. hic natus a matre tinctus in Stygiem†
paludem, toto corpore invulnerabilis fuit,
excepta parte qua tentus est. qui cum
amatam Polixenam ut in templo acciperet
statuisset, insidiis Paridis post simulacrum
latentis occisus est.

One element of the Harley note unmatched by Servius is Achilles' parentage. His father's name could be assumed from *Pelidae*, glossed above the line as *Achillis*. This gloss is shared by other Horace manuscripts, whose scholia have not been published.[2] Although Thetis remains an anonymous *mater* in Servius, in Harley her relation to Achilles is explained at *Odes* 1.8.14, where *Filium ... Thetidis* receives the (Pseudo-Acronian) gloss *Achillem*. [3]

Unlike the genealogy explaining *Pelidae*, the story has no relevance to this poem: Achilles' baptism and death, away from the battle-field, complement rather than illustrate Horace's depiction of the hero's bellicose anger (*Pelidae stomachum*). Achilles' mortality is relevant in two further Harley scholia.

In *Odes* 2.16 Achilles and Tithonus exemplify the mortal condition (29-30):

abstulit clarum cita mors Achillem,
longa Tithonum minuit senectus

Achilles also appears among Apollo's victims at the opening of *Odes* 4.6:

Dive, quem proles Niobea magnae
vindicem linguae Tityosque raptor
sensit et Troiae prope victor altae
Phthius Achilles

In both cases the scholiast glosses Achilles with the following compilation:

Serv. Aen. 6.57

Achilles, a matre
tinctus in Stygem paludem,
toto corpore invulnerabilis
fuit, excepta parte qua
tentus est. qui cum amatam
Polyxenam
ut in templo acciperet
statuisset, insidiis Paridis
post simulacrum latentis
occisus
est,

unde fingitur
quod tenente Apolline Paris
direxerit tela. et bene
'direxti'...

Odes 4.6.4

Achilles a matre Thetide in
Stygiem† paludem tinctus,
toto corpore invulnerabilis
fuit, excepta parte qua
tentus est. qui cum circa
muros Troye bellum gereret,
Polyxenam visam adamavit
et condicione pacis in
matrimonium postulavit.
quam cum Troyani fraude
promisissent Paris frater
Polyxene post Trimb<r>ei
Apollinis simulacrum latuit
et venientem Achillem ad
fedus missa[m] occidit
sagitta. unde fingitur
quod tenente Apolline Paris
direxerit tela in Achillem. tunc
moriens Achilles petiit, ut
evicta Troya ad eius
sepulchrum Polyxena
immolaretur quod postea filius
eius Pyrus inplevit.

Serv. Aen. 3.321

Achilles dum circa muros
Troiae bellum gereret,
Polyxenam visam adamavit
et condicione pacis in
matrimonium postulavit.
quam cum Troiani fraude
promisissent, Paris
post Thymbraei
Apollinis simulacrum latuit
et venientem Achillem ad
foedus missa vulneravit
sagitta.

tum
Achilles moriens petiit, ut
evicta Troia ad eius
sepulchrum Polyxena
immolaretur: quod
Pyrrhus implevit.

In both odes Horace speaks of Achilles' end: the hero's mortality and death are the focus of the scholiast's compilation. The scholion begins with Achilles' baptism drawn from Servius' note on *Aeneid* 6, which we also saw used at *Odes* 1.6.[4] The name of Achilles' mother, added here, also featured at *Odes* 1.6. For the story of Achilles' downfall through his love of Polyxena, the scholiast switches to a longer Servius note on *Aeneid* 3;[5] keeping an eye on *Aeneid* 6, he adds the detail of Apollo directing Paris' arrow. He then returns to *Aeneid* 3 for Achilles' dying wish. The scholiast fills out Servius' story with several explanatory phrases: *Paris frater Polyxene, direxit tela in Achillem, postea filius eius* Pyrus.[6] Excepting *postea*, these are absent from the *Odes* 2.6 copy of the note, appearing at *Odes* 4.6 alone. The *Odes* 2.16 and *Odes* 4.6 versions are otherwise identical.[7]

All three Harley notes share the corruption *Stygiem*. This makes interesting comparison with the First Vatican Mythographer's copy of the *Aeneid* 6 story, which offers an adjective *Stygiam* (VM 1.36). The other distinctive reading of the Mythographer, the addition of *ea* in *excepta ea parte* is not shared by Harley. Therefore Harley's *Stygiem* and the Mythographer's *Stygiam* probably go back to a common source, which may even be an undocumented manuscript of Servius.

Servius' note on *Aeneid* 3 (*moriens... implevit*) is also used verbatim by the First Mythographer (137): it shares the *Odes* 4.6 addition *filius eius*, but not *postea* found in both Harley notes. Once again it is clear, that the Harley note does not originate with the Mythographer, but their resemblance reminds us that the story may well have circulated independently from Servius' commentary.

Footnotes

[1] Servius explains why Apollo, evoked by Aeneas at Cumae, is addressed as the god who directed Paris' arrow against Achilles (*Aen.* 6.56-58): '*Phoebe, grauis Troiae semper miserate labores./ Dardana qui Paridis derexit tela manusque/ corpus in Aecidae...*'

[2] Vat. Reg. 1703, 1672, 1675, Vat. Chig. H. V. 165, Mun. Clm 375, Lond. Harl. 2725

[3] Should a more explicit source be sought, Achilles' parentage is stated in Dictys (1.14.12) as well as obliquely in Servius (*Aen.* 1.619, 2.263). (The genealogy occurs also in Hyginus' *Fabulae* (97.2, 270.3, 257), which were never used in Harley scholia. The source of VM 1.206, containing the same genealogy, but an Achilles story different to Harley's, is unknown.)

[4] The Virgilian lines glossed by Servius, *Aeneid* 6.57-58, are quoted in Pseudo-Acro scholia on *Odes* 4.6. This does not seem to be relevant for the Harley scholiast's use of Servius, as we have already seen Servius' note on *Aeneid* 6 used on its own at *Odes* 1.6.

[5] Servius glosses Andromache's reference to Polyxena in *Aeneid* 3 (321-523): '*o felix una ante alias Priameia virgo,/ hostilem ad tumulum Troiae sub moenibus altis/ iussa mori...*'

[6] The parentage of both Paris and Polyxena is clear from Dares' version of the same story, which is used to gloss Antilochus in *Odes* 2.9. It is not clear where the scholiast learned of Achilles' relationship to Pyrrhus: it is mentioned in Porphyrio's note on *Odes* 2.4.2, which however is absent from Harley. (cf. Serv. *Aen.* 3.332, 9.262)

[7] The *Odes* 2.16 and *Odes* 4.6 versions share the verb *occidit* (in place of *vulneravit*), which is not reported in the Servian tradition, but is perhaps inspired by *occisus est* at Serv. 6.57 (so at *Odes* 1.6).

Both versions also share the reading *tunc Achilles moriens*: the variant appears in two Servius manuscripts, but could have been created independently by different scribes.

Not all Servian scholia are compiled with a focus on the Horatian lemma, as the above story of Achilles. Glossing Inachus in *Odes* 3.19, the scholiast combines two Servius passages about Io rather than Inachus (Text 88 in Appendix 6.1).

9. The role of Virgil quotations

I now turn to Virgil quotations as a trigger for the use of Servius. As noted in the introduction, Virgil is quoted frequently in *Expositio A* on lyric. Thirteen of Harley's Servian extracts pertain to Virgilian lines quoted in 'Pseudo-Acro', one more – quoted in Porphyrio *ad locum*. None of these Σ appear in Harley. In one case, additional evidence suggests that the scholiast did use the Porphyrio note lacking in Harley (Text 9).

Servius Text 9

Describing his beloved Tibur in *Odes* 1.7, Horace mentions 'the halls of resounding Albunea' among the local attractions (12-14):

...domus Albunae resonantis
et praeceptis Anio ac Tiburni lucus et uda
mobilibus pomaria riuus.

The scholiast glosses *Albunea*:

Serv. Aen. 7.83

alta quia est in Tiburtinis altissimis montibus. et Albunea dicta est ab aquae qualitate, quae in illo fonte est: unde etiam nonnulli ipsam Leucotheam volunt. sciendum sane unum nomen esse fontis et silvae.

Odes 1.7.12

Albunea fons est quidam in Tyburtinis altissimis montibus; et Albunea dicta [1] ab aquae qualitate, quae in illo fonte est. unde etiam nonnulli ipsam Leucateam [1] volunt. sciendum sane unum nomen esse fontis et silvae.

In *Aeneid* 7 Turnus consults the oracle of Faunus in a grove beneath the 'tall Albunea', (82f.) *sub alta/ consulit Albunea* [2]. It is with the adjective *alta* that Servius begins his note. The Harley scholion, on the other hand, opens with a different gloss, *fons est quidam*. This description of Albunea as a spring is not inspired by the *Aeneid* and its commentary: in Virgil *Albunea* is grammatically attached to the grove rather than the spring. (Servius notes at the end, that the name can be used to describe either the spring or the grove.) The one source that connects the name specifically with the spring or, to be precise, its nymph, is Porphyrio's note *ad locum*:

Albunearum deam esse in regione Tiburtina fontis praesidem et Vergil(ius) testis est, qui in septimo sic ait [82-4] “*lucosque sub alta/ consulit Albunea nemorum quae maxima s(acro)/f(onte) <sona>t.*”

Porphyrion cites the very line of Virgil, for which the Harley scholiast consulted

Servius’ commentary. While this Porphyrio note is absent from Harley, it seems to have been known to our scholiast, who glossed Albunea as a spring and consulted Servius’ commentary on the Virgilian quotation.

Footnotes

[1] The spelling *Leucateia* and the omission of *est* are both shared by several Servius manuscripts, but neither error is distinctive enough to suggest that these manuscripts are related to Harley scholia.

[2] *Aen.* 7.81-84: *at rex sollicitus monstris oracula Fauni,/ fatidici genitoris, adit lucosque sub alta/ consulit Albunea, nemorum quae maxima sacro/ fonte sonat saeuamque exhalat opaca mephitim.*

In the following three examples, the scholiast consults Servius on the Virgil line quoted in various sources: by Servius himself, by the *Thebaid* scholiast, and in a note of unknown origin.

Servius Texts 34a, 34b

Ridiculing Iccius’ choice of a military career in *Odes* 1.29, Horace writes (1-2):

Icci, beatis nunc Arabum inuides

gazis ...

In *Odes* 2.16 treasure is said to offer no escape from worries (9-12):

Non enim gazae neque consularis
summuet lictor miseros tumultus
mentis et curas laqueata circum
tectis uolantis.

A brief note accompanies *Odes* 2.16: *gaza Persicus sermo est et significat diuitias.*[1]

The longer note on *Odes* 1.29 starts with the same sentence, but combines two Servius extracts:

Serv. Aen. 1.119

Gaza Persicus sermo est et significat diuitias. est autem generis feminini, ut [*Aen.* 5.40] “*et gaza laetus agresti*”, quo exemplo apparet quoque superfluo quaeri a multis, quemadmodum potuerit aurum natum, nescientibus gazas, id est opes, dici omne quod possidemus.

Aen. 5.40 GAZA AGRESTI

opibus rusticis: nam gaza omnis fructus est.

Odes 1.29.2

Gaza Persicus sermo est et significat diuitias. est autem generis feminini, ut “*et gaza <let>us agresti*”,

nam gaza omnis est fructus.

The opening portion of the Harley note matches verbatim Servius’ note on *Aeneid* 1, where Trojan possessions are tossed by the stormy waves.[2] Servius discusses the foreign origin, meaning, and grammatical form of the word. He adduces a

quotation from *Aeneid* 5 to show that the word can mean treasure in the widest sense of the word, hence the ‘floating treasure’ in *Aeneid* 1. It is clear that this note was originally written to explain the special Virgilian usage, although it also makes a useful gloss on Horace.

On the other hand, the final phrase of the Harley scholion (*nam gaza omnis est fructus*) has no relevance to Horace. This phrase also belongs to Servius, explaining the use of *gaza* at *Aeneid* 5.40.[3] The *Aeneid* 5 quotation, adduced by Servius to explain *Aeneid* 1, encouraged the Horace scholiast to seek further information about *gaza* in the fifth book of the *Aeneid* commentary. The scholiast copied the information in spite of its lack of relevance for Horace.

Footnotes

[1] It may be relevant, that *Aeneid* 1.119 is quoted in the Pseudo-Acro note on *Odes* 2.16 (absent from Harley).

[2] *Aen.* 1.118-119 *adparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto,/ arma virum tabulaeque et Troia gaza per undas.*

[3] In *Aeneid* 5 ‘rustic wealth’ describes Acestes’ hospitality to Aeneas (39-41): *veterum non immemor ille parentum/ gratatur reduces et gaza laetus agresti/ excipit, ac fessos opibus solatur amicis.*

In Appendix 6.1, I present another example, in which a Virgil line quoted by Servius prompts the scholiast to consult a further passage of Servius and combine two distant Servian notes (Texts 59).

Servius Texts 123a, b

In *Odes* 1.17 Horace invites Tyndaris to sing of Penelope and Circe (17-20):

hic in reducta ualle Caniculae
uitabis aestus et fide Teia
dices laborantis in uno
Penelopen uitreamque Circen.

In *Epode* 17, addressed to Canidia, Circe is an exemplum of clemency (15-17):

saetosa duris exuere pelliibus
laboriosi remiges Vlixiei
volente Circa membra...

In both cases the scholiast offers a note about Circe:

Odes 1.17.17

Circe vero mortalis fuit, quam stulti filiam Solis putabant, si fas [1] ut dei filia credatur esse mortalis. sed ordinem fabule perstringamus. hec igitur Circe in insula Menia delatos ad se in feras mutabat. ad hanc forte delatus Ulixes Euriloquum cum xx et duobus sociis misit, quos ad† humana specie co<m>mutavit. sed Euriloquus inde auffugit et Ulixi nunciavit. is solus ad eam proficiscitur, cui in itinere Mercurius remedium dedit, monstravit quomodo Circen deciperet. qui postquam ad eam venit, ab ea poculo accepto Mercurius [1] remedium miscuit et edunt† [1] ensem eique minatus est ut socios sibi restitueret. tunc Circe sensit sine voluntate deorum non esse factum fideque data sibi socios ei restituit. ipse cum ea concubuit, ex qua Thelecnium procreavit.

Servius Aen. 7.19

...Circe autem ideo Solis fingitur filia, quia clarissima meretrix fuit, et nihil est Sole clarius. haec libidine sua et blandimentis homines in ferinam vitam ab humana deducebat, ut libidini et voluptatibus operam darent: unde datus est locus fabulae. aperte Horatius [*Eps.1.2.23f.*] ‘*sub domina meretrice fuisset turpis et excors.*’

Sch. Theb. 4.550 ...

Circe ergo fuit mortalis, quam stulti Solis filiam fuisse dixerunt, si fas est ut dei filia credatur esse mortalis. sed ordinem fabulae perstringamus. haec igitur Circe in insula Maeonia delatos ad se in feras mutabat. ad hanc forte delatus Ulixes Eurylochum cum viginti et duobus sociis misit, quos ab humana specie commutavit. sed Eurylochus inde fugit et Ulixi nuntiavit. is solus ad eam proficiscitur, cui in itinere Mercurius remedium dedit monstravitque quomodo Circen deciperet. qui, postquam ad eam venit, ab ea poculo accepto Mercurii remedium miscuit et eduxit ensem eique minatus est ut socios sibi restituisset.[1] tunc Circe sensit sine voluntate deorum non esse factum fideque data socios ei restituit. ipse cum ea concubuit, ex qua Telegonum procreavit. inde proficiscens ad Avernum delatus ad inferos descendit – reliquos labores eius Tiresius vates edocuit.

Epode 17.17

Circe autem ideo Solis fingitur filia quia clarissima meretrix fuit. nihil est Sole clarius. haec libidine sua et blandimentis homines in ferinam vitam ab humana deducebat, ut libidini et voluptatibus operam darent: unde datus est locus fabulae aperte [1].

hec igitur Circe in insula Meonia delatos ad se in feras mutabat. ad hanc forte delatus Ulixes Euriloquum cum xx et duobus sociis misit, quos ab humana specie mutavit. sed Euriloquus inde fugit Ulixi nunciavit. is solus ad eam proficiscitur, cui in itinere Mercurius remedium dedit, monstravit quomodo Circen deciperet. qui postquam ad eam venit, ab ea poculo accepto Mercurius [1] remedium miscuit et eduxit ensem eique minatus est ut socios sibi restituisset. tunc Cyrce sensit sine voluntate deorum non esse factum, fideque data socios ei restituit. ipse cum ea concubuit ex qua Thelegonum procreavit.

Both Harley notes contain the same myth matching a *Thebaid* scholion.[2] The story is appropriate to both the ode, where Circe is paired with Penelope as pining for Odysseus, and the epode, where she pities Odysseus and restores his companions to human state.

In addition to the story, both notes raise the question of Circe's divinity. In the *Epode* 17 note, this issue is expounded by an additional extract from Servius, who rationalises Circe as a *meretrix*. Servius' depiction of Circe has no striking resemblance to Horace: in *Epode* 17 Circe is the counter-part of Canidia, depicted as a witch rather than a *meretrix*. The scholiast was probably led to Servius' note by the relevant line of Virgil, quoted earlier in the *Thebaid* commentary. At the opening of the *Thebaid* scholion, Circe is compared to other witches named by Statius:

... Circen autem non carminibus constat, sed herbis valuisse, quia decipiebat poculis transeuntes, ut Vergilius [*Aen.* 7.19-20] "*potentibus herbis/ induerat Circe in vultus ac terga ferarum*". equidem cum sit naturae ratio fingendo corpora facere homines qui fuerant belvae, resoluta ferae figura humanos vultus effingunt. Circe ergo fuit mortalis...

Footnotes

[1] Both copies are clearly drawn from the same archetype, for they share the error *Mercurius* for *Mercurii*. The *Odes* 1.17 scholion is corrected in darker and thinner pen: *si nefas* to *sed nefas*, *edunt* to *eddit*. At the end of the Servius note, *aperte* is taken with *fabule* by some Servius manuscripts and editions. Sweeney prints *restituere* after Renaissance manuscripts, but notes *restituisset* as the archetype reading in the apparatus.
[2] The original source is Hyginus (*Fab.* 125.8-10), but Harley shares the shorter redaction of the *Thebaid* scholiast. The myth also appears in the First Vatican Mythographer (1.15), whose distinctive variants are unshared by Harley.

Servius Text 4

In *Odes* 3.27 Horace warns Galatea of the dangers of sea travel, from his own experience of the Adriatic and the wind Iapyx (18-20):

Ego quid sit ater
Hadriae noui sinus et quid albus
peccet Iapyx.

Iapyx is glossed:

Iapia† est Apulia unde Virgilius ait '*et Iapidis unda Timavi*'. appellatus est autem ventus Iapis† quia de Iapia† flat, id est de Apulia.

This note matches no source verbatim, but the facts appear in Porphyrio (*Odes* 1.3.2):

Iapyx ventus a regione, unde flat, dicitur. Iapygia autem est, quae nunc Apulia appellatur.

In addition to Porphyrio's information, the Harley scholion quotes a half line of Virgil featuring a Iapydian river Timavus (cf. *Georg.* 3.475) [1]. The Harley scholiast erroneously

identified Iapygia with a north Italian location in Virgil: the river Timavus is situated in Illyrian Iapydia, and not in south Italian Iapygia. (This misunderstanding is not connected with the corruption ‘Iapia’: we shall presently see Horatian ‘Apigia’ in another Harley copy of this note.) The Virgilian phrase is, therefore, adduced as a parallel for Horace’s usage.

The combination of material, which we have just seen at *Odes* 3.27, appears once more, incorporated into a longer note on *Odes* 1.3. In this poem Horace wishes Virgil’s ship a prosperous journey to Athens, guided by Venus, the Dioscuri, and the wind Iapyx (1-5):

Sic te diua potens Cypri,
sic fratres Helenae, lucida sidera,
uentorumque regat pater
obstrictis aliis praeter Iapyga,
naus...

Iapyx is glossed more fully:

PsA ad loc.

ventus utilis de Apulia flans Athenas
petentibus; Graece Ἀργέστης dicitur.
Harl. O. 3.27.20 Iapia est Apulia
unde Virgilius ait ‘*et Iapidis unda Timavi*’.
appellatus est autem ventus Iapis quia de
Iapi<gi>a flat, id est de Apulia. **Serv. Aen.**
8.710 vento qui de Apulia flans optime ad
Orientem ducit; Horatius [*Odes* 1.3.4]
“*obstrictis aliis praeter Iapyga*”

Odes 1.3.4

ventus utilis de Apulia flans Athenas
petentibus, qui Grece Argister dicitur.
Iapia est Apulia, Iapia et Venecia,
unde et Virgilius ‘*et Iapidis unda Timavi*’.
apellatus est autem ventus Iapis quia de
Apigia flat, hoc est de Apulia.
hic autem ventus bene ad Oriente<m> ducit.

The scholion opens with the Pseudo-Acro gloss on the wind. The middle section about the country, from which this wind flows (*Iapia est... de Apulia*). matches the note on *Odes* 3.27, including the *Georgic* quotation. The scholiast consulted Servius’ commentary on that *Georgic* line and obtained from it the identification of Iapydia as Veneto: *Iapia et Venecia*.^[2] The final statement that the wind directs craft towards the orient, particularly relevant for *Odes* 1.3, matches another Servius note,^[3] which cites the Horace lemma under discussion (citation absent from Harley).

There remains the questions of where the scholiast obtained the *Georgic* phrase. Only two other Harley notes contain additional Virgil quotations. Text 23, discussed at the end of this chapter, is unique: there the scholiast uses a longer passage, weaving Virgilian words into his own paraphrase narrative. In Chapter 2 we encountered a Virgil quotation,

which appears not only in Harley, but also, at the same lemma, in another roughly contemporary Horace manuscript (Historian Text 1b at *Odes* 1.12.47). ‘*Et Iapidis unda Timavi*’ does not seem to belong in Horace scholia (Σ) – not so much because its use for glossing the Iapyx involves a misunderstanding, but because no Σ accompany *Odes* 3.27 in Harley. (I have not encountered this quotation in other Horace manuscripts.) The most natural source of this Virgilian line would be an annotated manuscript of Virgil.

Footnotes

[1] Virg. *Georg.* 3.474-477 *tum sciat, aérias Alpis et Norica si quis/ castella in tumulis et Iapydis arua Timau/ nunc quoque post tanto uideat, desertaque regna/ pastorum et longe saltus lateque uacantis.* *Arva Timavi* is variously corrupted in the Virgilian tradition (*arma, ora*). Harley variant *unda* is reported in none of the Virgilian manuscripts cited by Geymonat (1973). This substitution may have been inspired by the Horatian context.

[2] Serv. *Georg.* 3.475 *ET IAPYDIS A(RVA) T(IMAVI) id est Venetiam: nam Iapydia pars est Venetiae, dicta ab Iapydio oppido: Sallustius primam modo Iapydiam ingressus.* (cf. Serv. *Aen.* 11.247 *et haec est Iapygia Apuliae, a qua et Iapyx ventus est nominatus, ad quam Iapyx delatus, unde sic nominatus est: nam Iapydia Venetiae regio est.*)

[3] Servius glosses the flight of Cleopatra with the blast of the Iapyx (8.709f.), fashioned by Vulcan on Aeneas’ shield: *illam inter caedes pallentem morte futura/ fecerat Ignipotens undis et iapyge ferri...*

The following passage is a remarkable, if less certain, example of cross-reference similarly inspired by a Virgilian quotation.

Servius Texts 32a, 32b, 32c

In *Odes* 1.28 Tantalus cannot escape mortality in spite of hosting banquets for the immortals (7):

occidit et Pelopis genitor, conviva deorum

In *Odes* 2.13 he finds relief from his punishment in the sound of Horace’s lyric (37-38):

Quin et Prometheus et Pelopis parens
dulci laborum decipitur sono...

In *Epode* 17 Tantalus appears among other exempla of unceasing punishment (65-66):

optat quietem Pelopis infidi pater,
egens benignae Tantalus semper dapis

All three lemmata are accompanied by the story of Tantalus’ injurious banquet and punishment, which matches Servius’ note on the forbidden banquet set for the sinners in the underworld of *Aeneid* 6.[1]

Odes 1.28.7

Tantalus rex Choriinthiorum amicus numinibus fuit. que frequenter cum susciperet et quodam tempore defuissent epule, filium suum Pelopem occidit et diis ad epulandum posuit. tunc abstinentibus cunctis, Ceres humerum eius exedit, et cum eum dii per Mercurium revocare ad superos vellent, eburneus ei est brachius† restitutus.

ideo autem sola Ceres dicitur comedisse, quia ipsa est terra, que corpus resolvit. per Mercurium autem ob hoc fingitur revocatus, quod ipse est deus prudentie, per quam philosophiprehenderunt ΗΑΛΙΝΓΗΝΗCΙΑΝ vel ΜΗΘΗΜΨΥΧWСYN. Tantalus autem hac lege dampnatus esse dicitur apud inferos, ut in Heridano inferorum stans nec undis presentibus nec vicinis eius pomariis perfruatur.

Serv. Aen. 6.603

aliud est. Tantalus, rex Corinthiorum, amicus numinibus fuit. quae cum frequenter susciperet et quodam tempore defuissent epulae, filium suum Pelopem occidit et diis epulandum adposuit. tunc abstinentibus cunctis, Ceres umerum eius exedit, et cum eum dii per Mercurium revocare ad superos vellent, eburneus ei est umerus restitutus,

[Georg. 3.7] ut “*umeroque Pelops insignis eburno*”. ideo autem sola Ceres dicitur comesse, quia ipsa est terra, quae corpus resolvit. per Mercurium autem ob hoc fingitur esse revocatus, quod ipse est deus prudentiae, per quam philosophiprehenderunt palingenesian vel metempsuchôsin. Tantalus autem hac lege apud inferos dicitur esse damnatus, ut in Eridano inferorum stans nec undis praesentibus nec vicinis eius pomariis perfruatur. per haec autem avaritia significatur, ut etiam Horatius [Sat. 1.1.69] “*quid rides? mutato nomine de te fabula narratur*”.

Odes 2.13.37

Tantalus rex Corinthiorum amicus numinibus fuit. que cum frequenter susciperet et quodam tempore defuissent epule, filium suum Pelopem occidit et diis epulandum apposit. tunc abstinentibus cunctis, Ceres humerum eius exedit, quem cum dii per Mercurium revocare ad superos vellent, eburneus ei est umerus restitutus sicut Virgilius, ut ‘*umeroque Pelops insignis eburno*’. ideo autem sola Ceres comedisse, quia ipsa est terra, que corpus resolvit. per Mercurium autem ob hoc fingitur revocatus, quod ipse est deus prudentie, per quam philosophiprehendere ΗΑΛΙΝΓΗNECΙΑΝ vel ΜΗΘΗMСY?XWSYN. Tantalus autem hac lege damnatus esse apud inferos dicitur. ut in Eridano inferorum stans nec undis presentibus nec vicinis eius pomariis perfruatur. per hec autem avaritia significatur, ut etiam alio loco dicit Oracius ‘*quid rides? mutato nomine de te/ fabula narratur*’.

This scholion fits all three Horatian lemmata as it speaks both of Tantalus' punishment, featuring in *Odes* 2.13 and *Epode* 17, and of his impious crime, to which all three poems refer (obliquely at *Odes* 2.13 and *Epode* 17 naming Tantalus Pelops' father). The three Harley versions of this note differ in length. (The shortest note on *Epode* 17 is reproduced below.[2]) All three versions of the note contain distinctive errors.[3] The *Odes* 2.13 scholion matches Servius' note in full, while the *Odes* 1.28 version omits the Virgil and Horace quotations and the rationalisation of Tantalus' sin as avarice. The *Epodes* 17 note makes further omissions. It cuts the remaining rationalisations: of Ceres, as flesh-claiming earth, and of Mercury rescuing Tantalus, as philosophical rebirth. The removal of Servius' rationalisations in two stages, from two versions of the scholion, suggests deliberate editing.

Some phrases have been added by the scholiast. At *Odes* 2.13 he clarifies the source of the *Georgic* and *Satires* quotations: *sicut Virgilius* and *alio loco dicit Oracius*. The *Odes* 1.28 note omits the quotations, but contains another curious element: Pelops' limb is called *brachus* rather than *humerus*. This word is used by Servius at *Georgic* 3.7, where he briefly tells the same story:

Tantalus, pater Pelopis, volens deorum temptare divinitatem invitatis filium suum epulandum adposuit. a quo omnes dii abstinerunt, excepta Cerere quae brachium eius consumpsit. postea dii, punito Tantalos, cum voluisset eius filium revocare ab inferis, Ceres ei eburneum brachium restituit. quod ideo fingitur, quia Ceres ipsa terra quae corpora universa consumit ossa tantum reservans.

Georgic 3.7 is the very line of Virgil quoted in Servius' note on *Aeneid* 6, which is used by the Horace scholiast. Once again our scholiast appears to have consulted Servius on the quoted line and drawn from it, deliberately or subconsciously, the synonym *brachium* ('*brachus*' in Harley).

The source of a single word cannot be established with certainty, but the case is strengthened by further examples. In Text 113 (Appendix 6.1), the substitution of *uterus* for Servius' word *venter* in the story of Asclepius' birth is apparently inspired by reference to another Harley scholion, also matching Servius, which explains the correct usage of *uterus* and *venter* in the preceding poem. Other instances of similar cross-reference are discussed in the next section.

Footnotes

[1] Virgil applies the punishment, often associated with Tantalus, to the whole community of sinners (*Aen.* 6.603-606): *lucent genialibus altis/ aurea fulcra toris, epulaeque ante ora paratae/ regifico luxu; Furiarumque maxima iuxta/ accubat et manibus prohibet contingere mensas...* Servius reminds his reader about Tantalus, by narrating 'that other' famous banquet story of Tantalus serving the gods with the flesh of his son (*aliud est*). Servius' story is also used by the Second Vatican Mythographer (124), whose more elaborate version departs further from Servius, than does Harley.

[2] Harl. *Epode* 17.65 *Tantalus, rex Choroanthiorum, amicus numinibus fuit. que cum frequenter susciperet et quodam tempore defuissent epule, filium suum Pelopem occidit et diis epulandum apposuit. tunc abstinentibus cunctis, Ceres humanum† eius exedit. et cum dii per Mercurium revocare ad superos vellent, eburneus ei est humerus restitutus. Tantalus autem hac lege damnatus esse dicitur apud inferos, ut in Heridano inferorum stans nec undis presentibus nec vicinis eius pomariis perfruatur.*

[3] Each version contains an error unshared by others: *et* [quodam tempore] omitted at *Odes* 1.28, *dicitur* omitted at *Odes* 2.13, *humanum* for *humerum* at *Epode* 17. Similarly, no Harley variant is shared by all versions of the note: *posuit* at *Odes* 1.28 and 2.13, but Servian *adposuit* at *Epode* 17; *comedisse* (rather than *comesse*) at *Odes* 1.28 and 2.13 does not feature at *Epode* 17; *quem cum* at *Odes* 2.13, but *et cum eum* at *Odes* 1.28 and *et cum* at *Epode* 17.

10. Cross-referencing Pseudo-Acro

In these two passages the scholiast cross-references between Servius and Σ.

Servius Text 71

In *Odes* 2.16 Achilles and Tithonus exemplify mortality (29-30):

abstulit clarum cita mors Achillem,
longa Tithonum minuit senectus...

The scholiast glosses Tithonus:

Serv. Aen. 4.585

Tithonus frater
Laomedontis fuit:
hunc Aurora amatum
in caelum levavit.[1]
quem longinquitas
vitae in cicadam
convertit. Horatius
[*Odes* 2.16.30]:
'longa Tithonum
minuit senectus'

Odes 2.16.30

Tithonus fuit frater
Lamedontis, quem sibi
maritum propter
pulchritudinem Aurora rapuit.

qui post optatam
longissimam vitam in
cycadam dicitur esse
conversus.

Serv. Georg. 3.328

QVERVLAE CICADAE
canorae, Horatius [*Odes*
3.8.30] 'sub cantu querulae
despice tibiae'; aut certe
'querulae' propter illam
fabulam, quod Tithonus,
maritus Aurorae, post optatam
longissimam vitam in cicadam
dicitur esse conversus.

The Horace line under discussion is quoted by Servius, commenting on the epic image of dawn in *Aeneid* 4.[2] The opening of the Harley scholion matches Servius' note on this line, explaining that Tithonus was Laomedon's brother, carried off to heaven by Aurora.[3] In order to gloss Horace's depiction of Tithonus withering away through endless old age, the scholiast adds Servius' note on *Georgic* 3.[4] (The fact that another Horatian ode is mentioned by Servius at that point may be relevant.) The description of Tithonus as husband rather than lover of Aurora must also come from Servius' second note. Harley's phrase *propter pulchritudinem*, on the other hand, appears in neither Servius (or Virgil) passage and may have been assumed from the context.

This Servian compilation makes interesting comparison with Harley's Pseudo-Acronian note glossing Tithonus in *Odes* 1.28.8: *Tithonum, Laomedontis fratrem,*

Aurore maritum in auras receptum, hoc est mortuum dicit. Where Harley reads *Laomedontis fratrem*, other Horace manuscripts have *Laomedontis filium*. Our scholiast apparently altered the Pseudo-Acro note in order to agree with the information provided by Servius.

Footnotes

[1] Where other Servius manuscripts read *levavit*, the variant *rapuit* is found in Auctus manuscript Bern 172.

[2] *Aen.* 4.584-585 *et iam prima novo spargebat lumine terras/ Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile.*

[3] The same information is found in two further Servius notes, neither of which, however, mentions the heavens. (Serv. *Georg.* 3.48 ...*Tithonus frater Laomedontis fuit, quem proeliantem Aurora dilexit et rapuit*...; Serv. *Aen.* 1.489 *Tithonus, frater Laomedontis, raptus ab Aurora*...)

[4] Servius explains Virgil's description of the cicada as *querula* in *Georgic* 3 (327f.): *inde ubi quarta sitim caeli collegerit hora/ et cantu querulae rumpent arbusta cicadae*...

Servius Text 79

In *Odes* 2.18 Horace denies an interest in Rome's Attalid inheritance (1-6):

Non ebur neque aureum
mea renidet in domo lacunar;
non trabes Hymettiae
premunt columnas ultima recisas
Africa, neque Attali
ignotus heres regiam occupauit

The scholiast provides the following note about Attalus and his relation to the Romans

Serv. *Aen* 1.697

AVLAEIS velis pictis, quae ideo aulaea dicta sunt, quod primum in aula Attali regis Asiae, qui populum Romanum scripsit heredem, inventa sunt.

Odes 2.18.5

Attalus rex Asie ditissimus fuit, qui populum Romanum testamento sibi fecit heredes. in cuius aula primum inventa sunt picta velamina, quae ideo aulaea sunt dicta quod primum in aula sunt inv<en>ta.

PsA *Odes* 1.1.12

Attalus Pergamenorum rex ditissimus fuit, cui propter opum magnitudinem populus Romanus testamento successit.

This Harley scholion differs from the Pseudo-Acronian note *ad locum* in two respects: it names Attalus king of Asia and appends information about embroidered hangings. The only source containing both items is Servius' note on *aulaea* in *Aeneid* 1.[1] The scholiast altered Pseudo-Acro's *Pergamenorum rex* to agree with Servius' information.

It is also interesting that the scholiast chose to add the note on *aulae*, which is entirely irrelevant to the glossed ode. The word *aulaea* occurs three times in Horace: meaning a theatrical curtain at *Epist.* 2.1.189 and at *Ars Poetica* 154; meaning an object of luxury in *Odes* 3.29. In *Odes* 3.29 Horace invites Maecenas for a simple meal (13-16):

Plerumque gratae diuitibus uices

mundaeque paruo sub lare pauperum
cenae sine aulaeis et ostro
sollicitam explicuere frontem.

The above scholion would suit this lemma well. It could indeed have been originally written for it. (The phrase *fecit heredes* in the Harley scholion need not depend on the *Odes* 2.18 lemma *ignotus heres*: it could rather be inspired by Servius' *scripsit heredem*.)

Footnotes

[1] Attalus is also called the king of Asia by Porphyrio at *Odes* 2.18.5 and by Orosius 5.8.4. Among the sources connecting *aulea* with Attalus' court, Servius' other note on *Georgic* 3.25 and Isidore *Et.* 19.26.8 (perhaps drawn from Servius) are also close to Harley wording, but lack reference to his Asian kingdom.

11. Recycling at other Horace lemmata

In addition to the above example, Harley lemmata, glossed by several other Servian extracts, are clearly not the lemmata, to which they were originally applied. Two examples are presented in Appendix 6.1. Text 45 begins with the *Odes* 1.18.2 phrase *menia Catilli*, but appears at *Odes* 2.6. Text 7 glosses *choros* in *Odes* 1.4.5, but ends with its original *Odes* 1.9.13 lemma *choreas*. The following example may have been similarly recycled.

Servius Text 60

In *Odes* 2.11 Horace invites Quinctius to join his banquet (13-16):

Cur non sub alta uel platano uel hac
pinu iacentes sic temere et rosa
canos odorati capillos,
dum licet, Assyriaque nardo
potamus uncti?

The scholiast glosses *temere*:

Serv. Aen 9.373 (=375)

HAUD TEMERE particula haec modo **non sine causa** significat, alias **fortuito**, alias **male**, alias **inprovide** quae pro loco intelleguntur.

Serv. Aen 9.327 (=329)

TEMERE **passim**, **fortuito**, **neglegenter**

Odes 2.11.14

TEMERE polisemus sermo est et multas habet significationes: modo **neglegenter** significat, alias **fortuito**, alias **male**, alia<s> **inprovide**, alias **passim**, alias <...> **sine causa**, que pro loco intelleguntur.

The Harley set of meanings refers to a glossed text – *modo*, ‘in this context’ – and gives *neglegenter* as the meaning pertaining to its lemma. In *Odes* 2.11 *temere* implies ‘at ease’, ‘in a carefree fashion’. *Neglegenter* is close, but its negative connotations are inappropriate in this poem. This definition would better suit *Satires*

1.3.66-7: *eheu,/ quam temere in nosmet legem sancimus iniquam*. The *Satires* usage is unglossed in Harley, but seems a likely original lemma for this comment.

I found this particular set of synonyms only in the two Servius notes, one of which also contains *quae pro loco intelleguntur*.^[1] It is clear that the Harley note ultimately depends on Servius, because it shares an error (omission on *non* before *sine causa*) with some Servius manuscripts ^[2] and contains no material beyond that offered by Servius. It is impossible to prove, whether the scholiast used Servius directly.

Harley's composite note could, in fact, be a recompilation of Servius in order to gloss the same Virgilian lemmata: the selected '*modo*' definition *neglegenter* fits Virgil's depiction of the sleeping enemy at both lines 327 and 373.^[3] The two Servian sets of synonyms are further interconnected in Servius Auctus, which is never used by the Horace scholiast himself, but may be related to Harley through an intermediate source.^[4] It remains to be noted, that Harley contains no other Servian note on the ninth book of the *Aeneid*.

Footnotes

[1] In addition to the above, the phrase *pro loco intellegendum/ intellegitur* appears in Servius three times (*Aen.* 1.122, 1.646, 2.165). One of these passages, the 1.646 set of '*stare*' meanings, is used in Harley to gloss *Odes* 1.9.

[2] Harley shares the omission of *non* before *sine causa* with Servius manuscripts Karlsruhe 116 (A) and St Gall 861-2 (S). Many Servius manuscripts have the variant spelling *fortuitu*.

[3] At *Aen.* 9.329-330 Nisus slaughters the sleeping enemy: *tris iuxta famulos temere inter tela iacentis/ armigerumque Remi peremit*... At *Aen.* 9.373-375 Euryalus' shining armour is spotted by Volcens: *et galea Euryalum sublustri noctis in umbra/ prodidit immemorem radiisque aduersa refulsit./ haud temere est uisum. conclamat ab agmine Volcens*... Servius glosses *haud temere* here as 'not without good reason', implying that Euryalus deserved to be spotted because of his greed for armour, not that the armour succeeded in giving Euryalus away to the enemy.

[4] Servius Auctus on line 373 quotes line 327. Auctus additions are [[shown in brackets]]. *HAUD TEMERE particula haec modo 'non sine causa' significat, alias 'fortuito', alias 'male', alias 'inprovidē', [[alias 'passim', ut [327] 'temere inter lora iacentes', alias 'facile': Plautus rapidus fluvius est hic, non hac temere transiri potest:]] quae pro loco [[accipiuntur et]] intelleguntur*. Servius Auctus has additional synonyms *passim* and *facile*, of which only the former appears in Harley. (It is interesting that, while Servius does not use *neglegenter* at 375, Charisius does (p. 286, 1.20): *Temere pro neglegenter Maro VIII [375], "haud temere est visum, conclamat ab agmine Volcens"*.)

We have encountered two notes (Text 7 on *choreas* and 45 on *menia Cathilli*), which were certainly written for lemmata other than the lemmata they gloss in Harley. It is clear that at least these two notes were not compiled in Harley, but were copied into it. Two other notes may have been similarly recycled (Texts 60 on *temere* and 79 on Attalus). One more uncertain example featured earlier in this chapter: the *Ars Poetica* line quoted in Harley at *Odes* 2.4.16 (Text 44), but not in Servius, could have been the Horace lemma originally glossed by that Servius extract.

12. The use of Virgil

Servius Text 23

I conclude with a unique example using a five line passage of Virgil as well as Servius.[1] In *Odes* 1.18 Horace begs Bacchus to withhold his horn and tympana (13-14): *saeua tene cum Berecynthio/cornu tympana...* The scholiast glosses the Berecynthian horn:

Serv. Aen. 11.737
BACCHI autem ideo, quia
apud veteres ludi theatrales
non erant, nisi in honorem
Liberi patris.

Serv. Aen. 1.686
REGALES INTER
MENSAS epulas
intemperantes, in quibus
castitas rara est et facilis
amoris occasio: unde est
sine Cerere et Libero friget
Venus

Odes 1.18
a Berecyncto monte. nam apud
<...> ludi theatrales in
honorem Liberi patris non nisi
in lucis per noctem fiebant. ad
quos sacerdos sacrificaturos
cantu tibiarum
tympanorumque vocabat,
actisque sacrificiis post [2]
epulas intemperatas in quibus
cas†<...> [3] et facilis amoris
ocasio Lucerne exstingebantur
et [2] indiscreta licentia omnia
voluptuose fiebant [2]

Virg. Aen. 11.736-740
“...at non in Venerem
segnes nocturnaque
bella,/ aut ubi curva
choros indixit tibia
Bacchi,/ expectate dapes
et plenae pocula mensae/
(hic amor, hoc studium),
dum sacra secundus
haruspex/ nuntiet ac
lucos vocet hostia
pinguis in altos!”

The scholiast begins by glossing the adjective *Berecynthio* as named after a mountain. The phrase *Berecynthio monte* appears in the Pseudo-Acro note *ad locum*; Servius’ explanation of the same adjective in *Aeneid* 9, *a monte Berecyncto*, is closer still.[4]

The scholiast continues with a description of a dramatic contest and feasting in honour of Bacchus, which suits the party setting of this ode. The scholion is largely inspired by *Aeneid* 11, where Tarchon attempts to rouse the Trojans against Camilla, taunting them with accusations of carnal desires and comparing them to devotees of Bacchus. Servius’ note on this lemma supplies the first piece of information about the *ludi theatrales* as celebration of Bacchus. The scholiast copies Servius verbatim, but puts his phrase *non nisi* to a new use, adding from Virgil himself the idea of celebrating in the wild by night: *in lucis per noctem* is apparently based on *nocturnaque bella* and *lucos*. The call to the sacrifice is surely also inspired by Virgil’s soothsayer, proclaiming good omens and the victim, filling the woods with its bellowing (739-40). Horace’s tympana (14) complete the picture, complementing Virgil’s *tibia* (737). Virgil’s sacrifice is followed by a feast (*dapes* 738), for which the scholiast supplies further detail from Servius’ note on *Aeneid* 1, particularly suitable, because it speaks of

immoderate revelry (*epulas intemperantes*) and amatory excess (*facilis amoris occasio*).

The idea of confusing right and wrong (*indiscreta licentia*) is Horatian and appears a few lines later in the same poem, describing the barbarous Sithonians (9-11):

... monet Sithoniis non levis Euhius,
cum fas [3] atque nefas exiguo fine libidinum
discernunt auidi.

The extinguished lamps may also have been inspired by Horace's *caecus Amor* (13-14) [5]:

saeua tene cum Berecynthio
cornu tympana, quae subsequitur caecus amor sui...

This composite note conflates Virgil's scene with Servius' historic aside. The depiction is further enhanced with several Horatian details, which firmly connect the compilation to this ode. This technique of embellishing a commentary with vocabulary and ideas drawn from the author(s), finds no parallel among Harley extracts of Servius. It can, on the other hand, be compared to the scholiast's use of Martianus together with Remigius, discussed in the following chapter.

Footnotes

[1] It may be relevant, that the last line of Virgil (*Aen.* 11.740) is quoted in Harley in the Pseudo-Acronian note on *Odes* 1.37.3, which explains the connection between pagan sacrifice and feast.

[2] The text was corrected in several places in darker ink, supplying the *et* in *et indiscreta*, substituting *post* for *per* in *post epulas*, changing the final *voluptuosa* to *voluptuose*, and supplying *iebant* at the end.

[3] Harley corruption *cas* could arise from Horace's *fas*, although Servius' *castitas rara* seems to be the more likely original reading.

[4] **Serv. Aen. 9.616** *BERECYNTIA a monte Berecyntho*; **cf. Aen. 9.81** *BERECYNTIA mater deum a monte Phrygiae Berecyntho*; **PsA ad loc.** *idest sicut in Berecynthio monte reprimitur ebrietas per misteria matris deum, sic et tu reprime. precatur Liberum, ut contineat ab eo furoris incitamenta, quae per se ipsa insaniam accendunt, ut in Berecynthio monte per misteria matris deum; nam tympanorum strepitum pro ebrietate posuit.*

[5] The meaning of Horace's *amor sui* is somewhat obscured by the Pseudo-Arco gloss on *caecus*: *per ebrietatem nescius sui*. Yet Harley has only the first half of this gloss: *per ebrietatem*.

6.13 Conclusion

My discussion of Harley's Servian material in this chapter was illustrated by a necessarily limited number of examples, but this conclusion takes into account the entire body of Harley material matching Servius.

13.1 Servius as source of Harley scholia

My analysis of the material has shown that the scholiast used Servius, and more specifically, the non-Auctus version of his commentaries.[1] Servius is explicitly named six times and matched by the greatest proportion of Harley annotations. The scholiast's use of Servius to gloss Horace is hardly surprising: as noted in the introduction, Horace is the most prominent among the authors referred to by Servius.

Direct evidence for the scholiast using Virgil is slender: a half-line is quoted in two Harley notes on Iapyx (at *Odes* 1.3.4 and 3.27.20); Virgil's words and ideas are woven into the note on Berecynthian revelry (*Odes* 1.18.13). Circumstantial evidence, on the other hand, supports the idea that the scholiast used Servius in conjunction with the glossed author. It would not be easy to navigate the commentary, let alone to cross-reference between several passages of Servius, without the aid of Virgil.

All parts of Servius commentary on the *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and every book of the *Aeneid* are represented, to some extent, in Harley scholia. Half of the Harley extracts match the commentary on *Aeneid* 1 and 6, a large number also corresponding to *Aeneid* 3 and 7 (over ten notes on each), few notes matching *Aeneid* 9, 10, 12 and *Georgic* 3-4.

13.2 The place of Harley notes in the Servius tradition

The considerable quantity of Harley material matching Servius raises the expectation that one may be able to define the place of Harley scholia within the Servius tradition.[2] Indeed, over twenty Harley passages contain significant variants. The variants match a variety of Servius manuscripts, but often, different Servius manuscripts correspond to different readings within the same Harley passage. As an example, I reproduce one of the notes discussed above (Text 12 in the Appendix):

Serv. ad Aen. 1.487

...sane per transitum historiam tetigit, quia
constat Priamum, cum ad
supplicandum tentorium Achillis fuisset
ingressus, dormientem Achillem excitavisse,
ut pro filii corpore rogaret eum, cum eum
potuisset occidere...

Odes 1.10.13

per transitum historiam tangit, quia
constat Priamum, Mercurio duce cum ad
supplicandum venisset,
dormientem Achillem excitavisse,
ut rogaret eum pro filii corpore, cum eum
potuisset occidere.

According to the Thilo-Hagen apparatus, C (Cassellanus poet. fol. 6) uses the single verb *venisset*, where other manuscripts read *tentorium Achillis fuisset ingressus*. The present tense *tangit*, on the other hand, appears in L (Leipzig rep. I n. 36b).

It is clear that neither Thilo and Hagen's Servius nor the later editions can take full account of the vast and contaminated tradition of Servius. In other words, available evidence does not point to the use of any single recorded copy of Servius.

At one point, where Servius manuscripts have a small lacuna, Harley adds to the list of variants offered by post-Servian sources (*Odes* 4.3.20 from Serv. *Aen.* 7.700):

Plinius dicit in naturali historia, cignos ideo suavius canere, quia colla longa et inflexa habent, et necesse est eluctantem vocem per longum et flexuosum spacium varias reddere modulationes.

Most Servius manuscripts have a lacuna where Harley reads *spacium*. A corrector of Servius manuscript Leipzig rep. I 36b (reported by Thilo-Hagen) supplies *collum*, Isidore offers *iter* (*Et.* 12.7.18), Servius Auctus has *meatum*.

13.3 Treatment of Servian material

The scholiast's treatment of Servius is paralleled by his use of other sources. I now wish to draw attention to several features of the scholiast's work not because they are peculiar to Servian extracts, but because their pattern emerges clearly from the large sample of Harley material matching this source.

We noted the role of quotations in the compilation of scholia (6.9). Particularly interesting were the five instances, where the quoted Virgil line inspired the scholiast to consult a further Servian passage, in one case importing a single word.

I also drew attention to two examples, where contextual association helped the scholiast find a gloss on a particular lemma (6.5).

We encountered two notes written for Horace lemmata other than the lemmata glossed in Harley and another three examples of the same phenomenon, which are less

certain (6.11). These notes were not compiled in Harley, but had been copied into Harley from another Horace manuscript.

I noted individual manifestations of the scholiast's interests: the *necessaria scientia* label attached to the note on the Trojan kingdom at *Odes* 1.15.8 (6.7); the focus on rationalising the Titans at *Odes* 2.12.7 rather than on genealogy required by the lemma *telluris iuvenes* (6.8); the interest in rationalising Circe, irrelevant to *Epode* 17 (6.9).[3]

We may also observe a general interest in the collecting of information: not one, but two Servian extracts offer different information about Bacchus at *Odes* 3.25.19; ostensibly glossing Inachus in *Odes* 3.19, the scholiast tells the full story of Io from two Servian passages, which just mention her father in the opening sentence. The stories chosen by the scholiast may not only be irrelevant, but even contrary to Horace and Horace scholia (Σ): unlike Horace's Hippolytus in *Odes* 4.7, the scholiast's Hippolytus does get rescued by Diana; whereas the Pseudo-Acronian interlinear gloss on *Odes* 1.16.12 identifies Jupiter as *aer*, the Servian marginal note names him *aether*.

13.4 Harley's Servius in relation to Servius' paradigmatic commentary

Our scholiast shows a regard for Servius' authority: he used Servius more than any other source, named him on a par with literary authors, and apparently changed some Σ to match Servius' information (6.1.10). Let us consider, how far our scholiast's selection of Servius extracts is influenced by this paradigmatic work, and to what extent it reflects the scholiast's own interests.

I compared the 127 Harley Servian notes with a sample of Servius' commentary on the opening of *Aeneid* 6 covering 127 Virgilian lemmata. (Book 6 was used most in Harley after Book 1. Book 1 was rejected as the most expansive and, therefore, the least typical part of the commentary.) I examined the size of the notes, their content, the range of information, and the relative prominence of particular topics. The following patterns emerged.

The length of a typical note used by our scholiast is much greater, than the length of a typical Servius note. The majority (91%) of Servius' notes are less than 50 words long, over a third of them are under 10 words. A good half (54%) of Harley passages are

between 10 and 40 words long, a large portion (27%) falls between 40 and 100, and a considerable number (12%) exceeds 100 words (2% in Servius).

Many of Servius' notes are short because 50% of them explain the meaning and usage of particular words,[4] whereas in Harley, language notes comprise only 30% of the Servian extracts. It is true that in Harley equivalent information is provided by Σ , yet the presence or lack of Σ for different portions of lyric had no effect on our scholiast's use of Servius.

Apart from language notes and comprehension aids, which are irrelevant for Horace,[5] Servius offers twenty notes (16%), whose content may be described as encyclopedic. Among these are three historical and mythical narratives and four shorter explanations of Virgil's references to myth. By contrast, in Harley more than half the notes deal with myth and history (52%); a further 12% of Harley extracts provide information on geography, astrology and other scientific topics.

To conclude, the Harley selection of Servian material is not a miniature replica of Servius' commentary: our scholiast's use of Servius reflects his individual interests and choices. While our scholiast extracts many notes on language (30%), he is interested still more in narrative and in fact (64%). This emphasis is partly dictated by the kind of lemma the Horace scholiast wishes to gloss: a third of the Horace lemmata are proper names (contrast 7% in Servius).

Footnotes

[1] It was noted in the introduction, that Harley scholia contain no additional material offered by Servius Auctus. Harley does share a couple of variants with Servius Auctus manuscripts: Text 10 shares the error *flamme* with unspecified Auctus manuscripts; Text 71 shares the verb *rapuit* (rather than *levavit*) with Auctus Bern 172. (In Text 72 Harley shares with Auctus Bern 172 (F) the addition of word *pars*, but is closer than Bern 172 to the phrasing of the vulgate Servius text.) The shared readings are more probably due to contamination between pure Servius and Servius Auctus manuscripts, than the otherwise undocumented affinity between Harley and Servius Auctus. Thus, in Text 62, Harley shares the reading *humilibus* with non-Auctus manuscripts Kassel poet. fol. 6 and Karlsruhe Aug. 116 (C and A) as well as Auctus Bern 172 (F).

[2] In the introduction, I raised the question of whether Harley scholia may descend from Servius indirectly through the First or Second Vatican Mythographers. My examination has shown, that some Harley notes contain variants, which are recorded in the Mythographers rather than in the direct Servius tradition. Yet no Harley note matches all Mythographer readings against Servius. Therefore the Mythographers cannot stand between Servius and Harley.

[3] By contrast, Servius' rationalisation of Tantalus' story is progressively removed from two copies of this note (Text 32; 6.9). However, since the scholiast also removes Virgil and Horace quotations (*Odes* 1.28), which are regularly retained elsewhere in Harley scholia (6.2), the purpose of this editing seems to be abbreviation.

[4] About 20% of Servius' notes do not merely gloss a word, but provide further linguistic information on etymology, related words, comparison with Greek, grammar, and syntax.

[5] A third of Servius' notes aid comprehension: they explain poetic tropes, the plot, and Virgil's meaning.

CHAPTER 7: Remigius and Martianus

Nearly forty Harley notes match Martianus scholia and, more specifically, the commentary of Remigius of Auxerre.¹ The notes vary in length from a single phrase to ca 200 words. Information provided includes mythology, cosmography, and etymology as well as the glossing of difficult words.

7.0 Introduction

0.1 Martianus scholia as source of Harley annotations

De Nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae by Martianus Capella was synonymous with secular culture for Gregory of Tours at the end of the sixth century (*Hist. Franc.* 10.18), it continued to be the ‘text-book’ on the liberal arts in Carolingian times, and retained popularity in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.² The most tangible evidence for the intensive study of the text is offered by numerous annotated manuscripts.³ Two Carolingian scholars, known to have commented Martianus, are John the Scot (ca 815–877) and Remigius of Auxerre (ca 841–908); though the precise constitution of their commentaries is debated, particularly in the case of John, both names are attached with considerable certainty to surviving commentaries.⁴ A further anonymous commentary, first attributed, with little reason, to Dunchad and then, on better evidence, but with no greater certainty, to Martin of Laon, is believed to predate John’s.⁵ Unpublished anonymous ninth-century glosses in Corpus Christi Cambridge manuscripts and other undated glosses elsewhere await investigation.⁶

¹ Remigius was a Benedictine theologian, who succeeded his teacher Heiric as head of school at Auxerre (876), was invited to Rheims by Archbishop Fulco (883), and moved to Paris at Fulco’s death (900). He produced numerous commentaries not only on sacred, liturgical, theological and grammatical texts, but also on classical authors, including Boethius and Martianus Capella. For a comprehensive recent overview of Remigius’ work, see Jeudy (1991).

² For the Alcuinian ‘curriculum’, see Schrimpf (1982, pp. 23–48), also Leonardi (1986, pp. 194–196); for recent reviews of medieval Martianus reception, see Ramelli (2001, App. 1, pp. 1013–1081) and Teeuwen (2002, pp. 57–59), also Stahl (1971, p. 65–67) for the 11th century.

³ This late classical text is unfortunately excluded from Munk Olsen’s *Etude* (1982–9). Leonardi’s (1959) census, which is the most comprehensive manuscript listing to date, makes no claim to completeness. The most recent edition is by Willis (1983). Teeuwen (2002, pp. 9–59) offers an up to date detailed review of Martianus’ *fortuna* as well as of Martianus commentary publication and study.

⁴ The debate over attribution is summarised by Teeuwen (2002, pp. 43–47) and by Ramelli (2006, pp. 57–62). See also Lutz’ CTC Martianus article (vol. 2, 1971, pp. 370–81; vol. 3, 1976, pp. 449–452).

⁵ The anonymous commentary was published as ‘Dunchad’ by Lutz. This name will be used for convenience throughout this chapter. Préaux’s (1953) attempt to trace the commentary to Martin of Laon is questioned by Contreni (CTC vol. 3, 1976, pp. 451–2). The debate is summarised by Teeuwen (2002, pp. 36–43) and by Ramelli (2006, pp. 583–7).

⁶ See Teeuwen (2002, p. 49) and Ramelli (2006, p. 774).

The commentaries of ‘Dunchad’ and John were used by Remigius and eclipsed by him. As far as my brief acquaintance permits me to see, Remigius does not excerpt source texts verbatim at length, but incorporates older material into his own prose. It was therefore easy to identify Remigius, rather than his sources, as the text used by the Horace scholiast. Conversely, no evidence suggests that our scholiast used later excerptors of Remigius. As we shall see, the single Harley note, resembling the First Vatican Mythographer as well as Remigius, is clearly related to the latter.⁷

0.2 Order of discussion

The first section demonstrates that our scholiast used a text of Martianus together with Remigius’ commentary (7.1). I begin with passages where the Horace scholiast refers to Martianus by name and supplements extracts from Remigius with Martianus quotations (7.1.1 and 7.1.2). I continue with examples written for Martianus’ context and then proceed to extracts containing errors and other details peculiar to Remigius’ commentary (7.1.3 and 7.1.4). At this point, I shall also note that Remigius provided our scholiast with material from Hyginus and Fulgentius, two mythographers never used directly in Harley scholia. I make a special study of ‘loose’ notes, demonstrating that some of them at least can be pin-pointed as originally written to gloss Martianus (7.1.5).

The second part of the chapter (7.2) considers, whether the Horace scholiast had a fuller text of Remigius, than what we know from current publications.

0.3 Problems related to the publication and study of Martianus scholia

The current state of scholarship on Martianus scholia affects my research in two areas: the publication of scholia and the study of their sources.

3.1 Publication of Martianus scholia

A considerable amount of Martianus scholia is now available in print, but the picture is incomplete. Lutz’ editions of John (1939) and ‘Dunchad’ (1944), which broke fresh ground by giving access to previously unpublished texts, could serve no lasting purpose, for both were based on a single ninth-century Corbie manuscript, Par. Lat. 12960 (C). Lutz made no use of other ‘Dunchad’ manuscripts known to her in

⁷ For the First Vatican Mythographer’s use of Remigius, see Zorzetti (1995, p. xi, pp. xxxf.)

order to supplement this lacunose exemplar. Discoveries of other manuscripts of each commentary followed. The second John manuscript (B = Ox. Bodl. Auct. T. II. 19) come to light just a few years after the publication of C.⁸ The new manuscript, as observed by its discoverer Labowsky, contains a different version of Book 1, which was finally published by Jeauneau (1978). John's scholia await a fuller edition.⁹ A selection of comments belonging to the 'Dunchad' tradition (Book 9 on Harmony as well as relevant notes from Books 1-2) was published by Teeuwen (2002), who also made a study of the manuscript tradition. In the 2010 full edition of the oldest Martianus glosses ('Dunchad'), O'Sullivan demonstrates that they were composed by no single scholar, but were accumulated in stages by multiple contributors (pp. xxvii–xxxiv).¹⁰

Remigius, edited in two volumes by Lutz (1962-4), outstripped his predecessors in popularity: seventy-six manuscripts appear in Jeudy's catalogue (1991), which enlarges Leonardi's census (1959).¹¹ Jeudy also reminds us of the existence of two recensions of the text. Of these, Lutz chose to edit the fuller Version A, since Version B offers an apparently reduced text in the last four books.¹² The unpublished Remigius Version B, of the last four books, is probably of no great significance for the present study, since practically all Harley notes come from Books 1 and 2. The opening books of Remigius' commentary appear in essentially the same form in numerous manuscripts. Yet the very genre of scholia – revised by users or even the author, contaminated with roughly contemporary commentaries, always shifting in quantity – defies the concept of a critical edition of 'original' and even 'full' text.

It remains to note Ramelli's edition (2006), which gathered all published Martianus commentaries into a single volume with the aim of making them accessible through Italian translation. Ramelli used the editions of Lutz, Jeauneau, and Teeuwen, making necessary emendation to Lutz's texts. A parallel Latin and Italian text is

⁸ Labowsky (1943)

⁹ Teeuwen (2002) lists the known manuscripts, outlining the process of identification and naming the scholars involved: see pp. 34-6 for the fourteen/fifteen 'Dunchad' manuscripts and pp. 42-3 for the five/seven manuscripts of John.

¹⁰ O'Sullivan's edition was sadly not available to me at the time of my investigation.

¹¹ Jeudy's monumental review of all known commentaries of Remigius and scholarship on them (1991, pp. 373-97) is accompanied by a catalogue, or *Clavis*, of manuscripts (pp. 458-500). The Martianus commentary is discussed on pp. 390-1 and catalogued on pp. 489-494 of the *Clavis*.

¹² An early manuscript of B is the 10th-century Bern 56B from Auxerre or Fleury.

provided for John's and Remigius' commentaries, an Italian translation alone – for the rest.

3.2 Study of the sources of Martianus Scholia

The sources used by Remigius have as yet received no systematic study. Willis criticised Lutz emphatically for her limited awareness of Remigius' sources. His 1952 dissertation laid a foundation for the study of the sources of John the Scot, also making some observations about Remigius.¹³ In her 1962 edition, Lutz notes classical and patristic authors Remigius cited or obviously used without acknowledgement, but makes no attempt at a comprehensive study of all potential sources of Remigius' information. Recent overviews by Teeuwen and Ramelli follow Lutz' catalogue and offer no news on the subject. Curiously, First and Second Vatican Mythographers appear on both their source lists.¹⁴ Some observations on sources of specific passages are occasionally found in Ramelli's endnotes to each commentary.

In my discussion, I shall make some references to Remigius' sources. All observations about the sources used by Remigius are my own, unless otherwise stated.

¹³ For John, see pp. 84-104 (Section 5.5); for Remigius pp. 167-178; see also Willis's (1952) article in the *PLCS*.

¹⁴ Teeuwen (2002) p. 56 and Ramelli (2006) pp. 844-7

1.1 Remigius demonstrated as source: Martianus named**Martianus Scholia Text 36**

The fourth book of the *Odes* famously opens with an entreaty to Venus:

Intermissa, Venus, diu
rursus bella moues?...

The scholiast glosses Venus:

R. 36.18-37.1 on M. 1.85

HUIC erat SERTATA idest in modum serti implexa CONTEXTIO, VINCULATIS id est compositis et colligatis, ROSIS, DECUSATIM id est honorabiliter et ornate. **20 QUAM** subaudis ab inferioribus, VELLE id est vellet aliquis qui adesset, et est pulchra translatio a tertia persona ad secundam. VELLE illam CONSPICERE NITENTEM id est fulgentem. hoc ad voluptatem oculorum pertinet. ET AUDIRE FANTEM id est loquentem, DULCES ILLECEBRAS, hoc est voluptuosa laetificaque verba. hoc ad aurium voluptatem ET ATTRAHERE id est odorari, REDOLENTEM HALATIBUS FRAGRANTISSIMI SPIRITUS hoc est ad voluptatem olfactus. ET OSCULIS LAMBERE id est demulcere, ET CONTINGERE CORPORE hoc pertinet ad illecebram tactus. VELLE SUSPIRARE id est ardere et inhiare, CUPIDINE EIUS id est amore **37.1** QUAE subaudis Venus, LICET CREDERETUR MATER OMNIUM AMORUM ET VOLUPTATUM, TAMEN DEFEREBANT EI PRINCIPATUM PUDICITIAE. duae namque sunt Veneres, una voluptuaria et libidinum mater, quae fertur Ermafroditum genuisse, altera casta quae praest honestis et licitis amoribus. duo enim sunt amores: est enim amor castus, est et incestus, quem ad differentiam illius casti pluraliter semper amores dicimus.

Odes 4.1

Martianus dicit Venerem habere sertatam, idest in modum serti inplexam contexionem compositis et colligatis rosis, decusatim idest honorabiliter et ornate. quam

nitentem et fulgentem: hoc ad voluptatem oculorum pertinet. fanthem, idest loquentem dulces illecebras, hoc est voluptuosa et letifica verba: hoc pertinet ad aurium voluptatem. redolentem alatibus fragrantissimi spiritus: hoc ad voluptatem olfactus. osculis lambere, idest demulcere: hoc pertinet ad illecebram tactus.

que Venus licet crederetur mater omnium amorum et voluptatum, tamen deferebant ei principatum pudicitie†. duae namque sunt Veneres, una voluptuaria et libidinum mater, quae fertur Ermafroditum† genuisse, altera casta quae praest honestis et licitis amoribus. duo enim sunt amores: est enim amor castus, est et incestus, quem ad differentiam illius casti pluraliter semper amores dicimus.

The Horace scholiast points to Martianus as the authority for this information (*Martianus dicit*), but actually quotes Remigius' commentary, into which copious Martianus lemmata are incorporated. The scholiast removes the verb *velles* and most of its dependant infinitives (*conspicere, et audire, et trahere..., et contingere corpore, velles suspirare...*), representing Martianus' hypothetically desirous reader, and leaves the syntax in tatters (*quam* lacks a verb). These omissions suggest prudish tendencies.

One more example of the scholiast referring to Martianus, but actually drawing on Remigius' commentary, is presented in Appendix 7.1 (Text 39). The following example does in fact contain Martianus text beyond lemmata quoted in Remigius: the scholiast supplements Remigius' commentary with Martianus quotations.

1.2 Remigius demonstrated as source: Martianus quoted

Martianus Scholia Text 18

In *Odes* 2.17 Horace ascribes Maecenas' recovery to the intervention of his planet Jupiter against Saturn's malevolent influence (22-25):

te Iouis impio
tutela Saturno refulgens
eripuit uolucrisque Fati
tardauit alas...

The scholiast turns to Martianus' description of Jupiter's beneficent (2.196) and Saturn's (2.197) austere climate, as expounded by Remigius:

Rem. 75.10 ad Mart. 2.196

EX COMMIXTIONIBUS id est temperamento caloris et humoris quia enim Iovis inter Martem et Saturnum est, utroque temperatur et a Saturno humorem, a Marte trahit calorem. QUADAM TRANQUILLITATE PROSPERITATIS quia prosperam habet constellationem.

Rem. 75.18 ad Mart. 2.197

Saturni enim sidus secundum mathematicos contrarium est et adversam habet constellationem, unde et a mathematicis malitiosus vocatur. 20 EXITIALIS id est pestifer.// IPSI PRAESULI id est principi, Saturno videlicet, VIDEBATUR NUNC, id est aliquando, FACIES DRACONIS propter nimietatem frigoris; NUNC RICTUS LEONIS propter nimium aestum caloris, NUNC VIDEBANTUR ILLI CRISTAE CUM APRINIS DENTIBUS. per cristas cum aprinis dentibus intemperantia omnium elementorum et singulorum temporum significatur.

Rem. 13.4 ad Mart. 1.15

hoc loco mutabilitas humanae vitae exprimitur, que scilicet vita secundum mathematicos planetis moderatur, et in Iovis quidam circulo dicunt esse causam prosperitatis vel felicitatis, in Martis vel Saturni e contra, adversitatis.

Odes 2.17

Circulus Iovis inter Martem et Saturnum est, utroque temperatus, a Saturno humorem, a Marte trahens calorem. qui salubri temperie et quadam tranquillitate prosperitatis effulget quia prosperam habet constellationem. unde Marcianus dicit “*illic sidus erat temperamenti vivifici ac salubris effulgentia blandisque vibrata candoribus*”. Saturni enim sidus secundum mathematicos contrarium est et adversam habet constellationem, unde a mathematicis malitiosus et exitialis atque pestifer vocatur.

huic enim inest facies Draconis propter nimietatem frigoris, rictus habet Leonis propter nimium estum caloris, videtur etiam habere cristas

propter intemperantiam omnium elementorum et singulorum temporum. de quo ita Marcianus dicit “*ipsi presuli nunc facies draconis, nunc rictus leonis, nunc criste cum aprinis dentibus videbantur, totoque exitialis saeviebat horrore*.” vita secundum mathematicos planetis moderatur, et in Iovis quidem circulo dicunt esse causam prosperitatis vel felicitatis, in Martis vel Saturni circulo e contra dicunt esse causam adversitatis.

Mart. 2.196

...ex quo circulo visus Pyrphlegethon amnis ad infera demere. quo transgresso (neque enim labor fuerat hemitonii interiecta transcurrere) in Iovialis sideris pervenere fulgores, cuius circulus pthongo Phrygio personabat.

illic sidus erat temperamenti vivifici ac salubris effulgentia blandisque vibrata candoribus, cuius quidem lucis natura ex calidis umidisque commixtionibus candens quadam prosperitatis tranquillitate rutilabat.

...197 hinc etiam praetergressa circum ac parili interiectione sublimis deorum rigidissimum creatorem in algido haerentem pruinisque nivalibus conspicata; verum idem, quem circumire nitebatur, orbis melo Dorio tinniebat. sed ipsi praesuli nunc draconis facies, nunc rictus leonis, nunc cristae cum aprugnis dentibus videbantur, totoque exitialis saeviebat horrore; cui tamen potestas pro circi granditate maior ac praelata ceteris habebatur. denique harpis bombis que perterrita tam intolerandam congressionem virgo defugit.

The scholiast is again using a commented text of Martianus. Firstly, he focuses on Jupiter's beneficial climate. Remigius' explanation '*quadam tranquillitate prosperitatis*' *quia prosperam habet constellationem* is turned into a sentence with Jupiter as subject. Its verb, *effulget*, and the addition of *salubri temperie* are inspired by Martianus. The scholiast goes on to quote Martianus' sentence in full. The next subject is baneful Saturn. The scholiast inverts Remigius' note (as shown by //), in order to start with the general statement of Saturn's hostility (*Saturni enim... vocatur*), and then proceeds to particulars. Here again Remigius' gloss *exitialis idest pestifer* is incorporated into the scholiast's prose. The description of Saturn is reiterated through another Martianus citation. The scholiast finds an apt conclusion in a different part of the Martianus commentary: Remigius' note on the streams of human fortune mentions both the beneficial influence of Jupiter and the baneful effects of Saturn (and Mars).

It is clear that the Harley note was compiled in order to gloss *Odes* 2.17 and that the Martianus citations had not been part of a fuller redaction of Remigius' commentary, but were deliberately added to expound Horace.

The following Remigius excerpt contains a single word matching Martianus. In view of the above examples, let us consider whether this word is merely an intrusive gloss or another case of the scholiast dipping into Martianus.

Martianus Scholia Text 33

In *Odes* 3.28 Horace celebrates Neptune's festival (1-2):

Festo quid potius die
Neptuni faciam? ...

The scholiast glosses Neptune from four adjacent Remigian notes, perhaps with additional reference to Martianus himself:

R. 31.3 ad Mart. 1.66

Per FUSCINAM mare signatur, nam fuscina est tridens, id est gestamen Neptuni. Tridentem autem dicitur ferre Neptunus propter triplicem aquae naturam: est enim cita, id est mobilis et velox, est potabilis, est et liquida. **R. 35.17 ad M. 1.80** ...UNUS id est Neptunus, subaudis GESTABAT SERTUM CANDIDUM INSTAR ALBIDI SALIS propter colorem maris, sui videlicet elementi... **R. 36.2 on M. 1.81** ... ET HOSPITAM OMNIUM DEORUM hoc est

Odes 3.28.2

Neptunus deus maris gestare dicitur fuscinam idest tridentem propter triplicem aque naturam: est autem cita, idest mobilis et velox, est potabilis, est liquida. sertum candidum gestare dicitur instar albidis salis propter colorem maris, sui videlicet elementi.

Stygem, quae fertur esse uxor Neptuni. ideo autem nutrix et hospita deorum, quia omnes dii de terris per purgationem, quam Styx significat, caeleste meruerunt consortium. **R. 35.22 on M. 1.80-81** ALIUS id est Neptunus, RENUDATUS idest spoliatus et pauper **PROPTER MOLEM ET ELATIONEM** CORPORIS moles ad magnitudinem maris refertur, elatio vero ad tumorem et inundantiam fluctuum. nihil enim mare retinet sed quicquid acceperit aestu et elatione sua reicit, unde sequitur **DESPUENS DIVITIAS...**

cuius Neptuni Styx est uxor, que nutrix et hospita deorum dicitur, quia omnes dii de terris, per purgationem, quam Styx significat, celeste meruerunt consortium. Neptunus pingitur nudus et renudatus idest spoliatus et †propter pauper† molem et elacionem corporis: moles ad magnitudinem maris refertur, elati<o> vero ad tumorem et <in>undantiam fluctuum. nihil mare retinet sed quidquid acceperit estu et elacione sua reicit.

These extracts are clearly drawn from Remigius, as two of them incorporate Martianus lemmata. The scholiast compiles, from several Remigius excerpts, a description of Neptune, essentially in visual terms, unexpectedly inserting his wife, the Styx. The scholiast begins with the trident standing for water's triple nature (31.3), proceeds to the white wreath (from a little later in the commentary, 35.17), and continues with two adjacent Martianus notes in reverse order. The first note is a digression about the Styx (R. 36.2), the second note returns to Neptune's appearance (35.22). One descriptive term used by the Horace scholiast, *nudus*, is absent from Remigius. This adjective is used by Martianus himself.

Throughout his description, Martianus is contrasting Neptune's poverty with Pluto's riches. Neptune is pictured as *renudatus* and, in the following clause, is once again described metaphorically as *nudus*, in the context of his marriage to the Styx – a purging rather than an enriching wife (1.81):

...alius [Neptunus] vero propter molem elationemque corporis renudatus ac despuens divitias oppressione quaesitas. verum utrique diversa coniunx; nam hic nudus omnium nutricem deorumque hospitam secum ducit; ille [Pluto]...

Here, it seems, the scholiast once more kept an eye on Martianus' text, while drawing on Remigius' commentary. This would explain why, after digressing to the Styx, he came back to Neptune's nudity: the word *nudus*, by which Martianus reiterates Neptune's simplicity, made the scholiast look back for the comment on the earlier adjective *renudatus*.

We shall encounter another scholion combining Remigius and Martianus later in the discussion (Text 29). On one occasion, the Horace scholiast uses Martianus without Remigius' commentary: the note on Sardinia at *Odes* 1.31.4, opens with a gloss drawn from Martianus, but the bulk of that text matches Solinus.

As we have seen, incorporating lemmata into the prose of the commentary is a feature of Remigius' style. A number of passages, where our scholiast neither names nor quotes Martianus, are easily identified as Martianus scholia because they contain Martianus lemmata. (Among these are notes on *Odes* 1.12.23f., 3.14.1 discussed below, 3.24.13, 3.21.22, *O.* 4.2.58).

1.3 Remigius demonstrated as source: Martianus context

The source of several Harley notes becomes self-evident once they are placed in their original context. For instance, the note glossing the Graces in *Odes* 3.19 and 4.7 was composed to explain Martianus' peculiar expression *gratia trina* (Text 24 in Appendix 7.1). The following example is similarly embedded in the context of *de Nuptiis*.

Martianus Scholia Text 12

In *Odes* 2.3 Horace urges Dellius to join his party, while their means, age, and the Fates permit (15-16):

...dum res et aetas et sororum
fila trium patiuntur atra.

The scholiast glosses Horace's oblique reference to the Fates:

Remig. 5.16 ad Mart. 1.3

PUGILLO id est scriptura Parcarum,
Parcae sunt exceptrices et librae Iovis.
sunt autem tres: Cloto, Lachesis, et
Atropos; Cloto evocatio, Lachesis sors,
Atropos sine ordine. quo figmento
significatur primum evocatio humanae
vitae, evocantur enim homines ex non esse
in esse; deinde sors qualiter cuique
vivendum sit; succedit postea mors quae
est sine ordine, nullam enim observat
dignitatem, nulli parcit aetati, sed
indifferenter omnia trahit.

***Odes* 2.3.15f.**

Parce sunt exceptrices et librae Iovis.
sunt autem tres: Cloto, Lachesis,
Atropos; Cloto evocatio, Lachesis sors,
Atropos sine ordine. quo figmento
significatur primum evocatio humane
vite, evocantur enim homines ex non esse
in esse; deinde sors qualiter cuique
vivendum sit; succedit postea mors quae
est sine ordine, nullam enim observa[n]t [1]
dignitatem, nulli enim parcit etat<i>, sed
[1] indifferenter trahit omnia.

The bulk of Remigius' note is a reworking of Fulgentius 1.8,[2], but the opening gloss, *exceptrices et librae Iovis*, is firmly imbedded in the context of *de Nuptiis*. At this point Martianus portrays the Fates as affirming Jove's decisions, which the blandishments of his wife alone can soften (1.3):

et quicquid ille exprompta sententia, Parcarum pugillo asservante,
dictaverit, delentum suadae coniugis amplexibus iussuque remove...

Further on, Martianus himself compares the Fates to scribes and archivists (1.65):

Clotho vero Lachesis Atroposque, quoniam sententias Iovis orthographae studio veritatis excipiunt, utpote librariae superum archivique custodes...

It is clear that the scholion shared by Harley and Remigius was originally written to gloss Martianus. While the Fates have no literary connotations in Horace, the note does help to explain Horatian phrases *sororum trium* and *fila atra*.

It is interesting to note that another eleventh-century south German Horace manuscript from Tegernsee, Vat. Lat. 3866, uses the same Remigian scholion to gloss the Fates at *Carmen Saeculare* line 25. I found no further Remigian material in the *Odes* 1, *Epodes*, and *Carmen Saeculare* sections of that manuscript.[3]

Footnotes

[1] The scholion is corrected in a different ink, changing erroneous plural *observant* to the singular, and conjecturing *ad se* in place of the corrupt *etat sed*.

[2] Fulg. 1.8 *tria etiam ipso Plutoni destinant fata; quarum prima Cloto, secunda Lacesis, tertia Atropos – clitos enim Grece euocatio dicitur, Lacesis uero sors nuncupatur, Atropos quoque sine ordine dicitur – hoc uidelicet sentire uolentes quod prima sit natiuitatis euocatio, secunda uitae sors, quemadmodum quis uiuere possit, tertia mortis conditio quae sine lege uenit*. John, also etymologising the Fates a little later in Martianus' story (30.6 ad Mart. 1.65; Lutz), actually names Fulgentius as one of his sources (*ut Fabio placet; fingunt fabule*).

[3] The *Carmen Saeculare* scholia of Vat. Lat. 3866 were published by Massaro (1993), see p. 252 with notes p. 272. Remigius' note on the Fates also appears at the same *Carmen Saeculare* lemma in the 12th-century German Clm 375 (89ro).

Two further Harley extracts, clearly composed to gloss Martianus, are presented in Appendix 7.1. The passage explaining Horace's reference to the Elysian fields in *Odes* 2.13 (Text 16), was originally written to expound Martianus' description of rivers flowing down from the heavens. Text 8 glosses Proserpina in both Martianus and Horace, but Remigius' description of the goddess as a source of bounty contrasts with her funereal role in Horace.

1.4 Remigius demonstrated as source: peculiarities of Remigius

Some of the Harley extracts matching Remigius have no obvious connection to Martianus. In theory, the Harley scholiast and Remigius could have drawn these from an unknown common source. The following two examples belong to this category. In the first, errors shared by Harley and Remigius prove at least a close affinity between them. In the second, Harley shares Remigius' redactions of earlier mythographic sources, which are never used directly by the Horace scholiast.

Martianus Scholia Text 3

In *Odes* 1.12 Liber is praised among other gods and heroes (21-22):

Proeliis audax, neque te silebo, / Liber

In *Odes* 3.21 Horace praises Liber, as he opens a jar of Massic wine (17-24):

Tu spem reducis mentibus anxiis
uiresque et addis cornua pauperi,
post te neque iratos trementi
regum apices neque militum arma.
Te Liber et si laeta aderit Venus
segnesque nodum soluere Gratiae
uiuaeque producent lucernae,
dum rediens fugat astra Phoebus.

In both cases, the scholiast glosses *Liber* with a note matching Remigius' comment on Martianus 1.51, where Liber appears among the guests invited to the wedding.[1]

Remig. 28.15 ad Mart. 1.51

LIBER ipse est Dionisios repertor vitis.
Liber dicitur quia etiam servi ebrii liberi
sibi videntur. Oratius [Ovid A. A. 1.239:]
'*tunc pauper cornua sumit*', idest audaciam
et confidentiam. sive ut alii dicunt Liber
vocatur quia liberat mares missis
seminibus; nam per Iunonem feminae, per
Liberum mares dicuntur liberari et purgari

***Odes* 1.12.22**

Liber est ipse Dionisius repertor vitis.
Liber dicitur quia etiam servi ebrii liberi
sibi videntur. Oratius
'*tunc pauper cornua sumit*', idest audaciam
et confidentiam. sive ut alii dicunt Liber
vocatur quia liberat mares messis†
seminibus; nam per Iunonem femine, per
Liberum mares liberari et p<ur>gari dicuntur.

Harley matches Remigius' note verbatim, including the misattribution of the Ovid quotation to Horace – by no means a surprising error, since Ovid imitates Horace closely. It is unlikely, that the quotation was added by Remigius himself, since (according to Lutz) Ovid is never quoted again in Remigius' commentary. The authorship could have been misremembered at any point before the quotation reached Remigius.[2]

The second etymology offered by this note, also contains a detail peculiar to Remigius: no other text puts Juno in charge of female seeds. I believe, this peculiarity arises from a misunderstanding of Augustine, who speaks of Liber as the purger of male and Ceres – of female bodies (*Civ. Dei* 7.3):

confert selectus Liber eiusdem seminis emissionem uiris; confert hoc idem
Libera, quae Ceres seu Venus est, feminis; confert selecta Iuno, et hoc non sola,
sed cum Mena, filia Iouis, flores menstruos ad eius, quod conceptum est,
incrementum...

Augustine's Ceres was apparently displaced by Juno, because Juno (together with Mena) appears next on the list, as being in charge of the menses. The *Civitas Dei* is never used by the Horace scholiast, but is used repeatedly by Remigius, who explicitly names this source twice.[3]

It is clear that the Harley scholion comes from Remigius' commentary on Martianus. The fact that another scholion on the same ode (Text 4 discussed above)

was certainly drawn from Remigius, supports the idea of this note also being drawn from Martianus scholia directly.

Remigius' note, discussing two aspects and etymologies of Liber, has points of correspondence with both Harley lemmata. The god's ability to inspire *audacia* helps to explain his epithet *proeliis audax* in *Odes* 1.12 (taken with Liber rather than Pallas Athena of the previous stanza [4]); the second procreative etymology corresponds to the amatory context of *Odes* 3.21.

Footnotes

[1] The *Odes* 3.21 note does not have the *messis* error, but is more corrupt in other respects: *etiam* is lost before *servi*, *ait* added after Horatius (not in Remigius), a misunderstood abbreviation of *propagari* becomes *purgari* (*propagari* is abbreviated at *Odes* 1.10, as may be the case with its exemplar.)

[2] ACD points out that the error could arise from a source citing both Ovid and Horace.

[3] *Civ. Dei* 7.2-3 is cited at Rem. 26.13, and *Civ. Dei* 8.18 is referred to at Rem. 472.10.

[4] No Horace scholia (Σ) explain, whether *proeliis audax* in *Odes* 1.12 is to be taken with Pallas or Liber, but Φ assumes it belongs with Pallas: *allegoricos. sapientia vitiorum omnium expugnatrix*.

Martianus Scholia Text 6

In *Odes* 1.16 Horace compares (iambic) anger with Bacchic rage (5-9):

Non Dindymene, non adytis quatit
mentem sacerdotum incola Pythius,
non Liber aequae, non acuta
sic geminant Corybantes aera,
tristes ut irae...

The scholiast glosses Pythius:

Remig. 10.6 ad Mart. 1.10

PYTHIUS dictus est Apollo a Pythone serpente quem secundum fabulam mox natus interfecit; vel, quod melius est, a verbo Greco quod est pytho, id est interrogo. ipsum enim interrogabant et consulebant.

Odes 1.16.6

Apollo est Pythius dictus a Phytone serpente quem secundum fabulam <m>ox natus interfecit; vel quod melius est a verbo Greco <quo>d est phyto id est interrogo. ipsum enim interrogabant <et> consulebant.

This note offers two explanations of Apollo's epithet *Pythius*: one mythological and one lexical. The mythical explanation also appears in John's commentary on the same Martianus lemma (10.6, Jeauneau):

AUGUR PITHIUS in Peplo Theofrasti legitur quendam serpentem prophetasse in Delo insula. quem occidit Appollo† et inde cepit postea prophetare, ideoque AUGUR PITHIUS vocatus est.[1]

The substance and alleged source of John's note differs from Remigius': whereas John refers to Theophrastus, Remigius' slightly more detailed description *secundum fabulam* appears to be a redaction of Hyginus.[2] Harley clearly matches Remigius' treatment of this material.

Remigius makes no explicit reference to Martianus, but his preference for the second etymology (*vel quod melius...*) may reflect its aptness for Martianus' lemma *augur Pythius*.^[3]

Footnotes

[1] Ramelli (2006, p 568, note 30) points to Macr. *Sat.* 1.17.51-2 as the ultimate source. For Theophrastus, see Ramelli (2006, p. 811, note 44), referring to C. B. Schmitt (1971).

[2] Hyg. *Fab.* 140.5 *post diem quartum quam essent nati, Apollo matris poenas exsecutus est; nam Parnassum uenit et Pythonem sagittis interfecit (inde Pythius est dictus), ossaque eius in cortinam coniecit et in templo suo posuit, ludosque funebres ei fecit, qui ludi Pythia dicuntur.* Remigius apparently summarises Hyginus, the only source to contain all the detail for the Python episode.

[3] Sought at his various sanctuaries, Apollo is finally found at Parnassus (Mart. 1.10f.): ... *iam pridem quippe offensus contaminate monendorum dedignatur augur Pythius nuncupari. item eum in Helicon, Delon Lyciamque sectantur; sed alibi lauros primores arentesque ederas, alibi carientem tripodem crepidasque situ murcidas praesagiorumque interlitam memoriam reppererunt. Il tandem Fama nuntiante cognoscunt quod Phoebus gaudet Parnasia rupes.*

In Appendix 7.1, I present another example of a Harley note, clearly matching Remigius' redaction of Fulgentius, who – like Hyginus – was never used directly by the Horace scholiast (Text 23).

1.5 Remigius demonstrated as source: 'loose' notes matching Remigius

More than half of the Harley notes matching Remigius are 'loose', but even in the case of loose notes we may find features pointing to Remigius as the most likely source. For instance, the note explaining *aditis* at *Odes* 1.16.5, clearly formed part of a commentary rather than a lexical work: its opening phrase *id est templis* is a gloss on a lemma (Text 5 in Appendix 7.1). The following example was clearly purpose-written to gloss Martianus.

Martianus Scholia Text 21

In *Odes* 3.14 Horace celebrates Augustus' return home from abroad (1-4):

Herculis ritu modo dictus, o plebs,
morte uenalem petiisse laurum,
Caesar Hispana repetit penatis
uictor ab ora.

The scholiast glosses *penatis* with a note matching Remigius 26.4 (ad Mart. 1.41):

Penates autem sunt dicti quasi panates, idest omnia consencientes

Remigius etymologises only the first half of panates (hence *omnia*); *consencientes* has no apparent connection with panates, but paraphrases the lemma (1.41):

ac mox Iovis scriba praecipitur pro suo ordine ac ratis modis caelicolas advocare,
praecipueque senatores deorum, qui Penates ferebantur Tonantis ipsius
quorumque nomina quoniam publicari secretum caeleste non pertulit, ex eo quod

omnia pariter repromittunt, nomen eis consensione perfecit.

It is clear that the etymology used by our Horace scholiast was originally written by Remigius to gloss Martianus.[1]

Two pieces of circumstantial evidence support direct derivation: another Harley note is drawn from the very same Remigius scholion (Text 28); another scholion on the same ode certainly belongs among Martianus scholia (Text 20).

Footnotes

[1] The etymologies of Remigius' predecessors are similarly coloured by Martianus. Remigius inherited his etymology from 'Dunchad': *Penates Consentes. Penates dicuntur quasi panates, nam παν omne, hoc est omnia consensa repromittens*. John takes a slightly different slant (Préaux, 26.5): *Penates dicuntur Grece quasi πανατης, hoc est universalis, qui propterea Latine Consentes dicuntur, quoniam universaliter omnibus Iovis consiliis consentiunt*. Martianus scholia about the Penates are discussed by Préaux (1970), who refers to 'Dunchad' as 'Martin of Laon', in accordance with the hypothesis he advanced in 1953. The above text of 'Dunchad' and John is the text printed by Préaux.

Two loose notes, presented in Appendix 7.1, are ultimately drawn from Isidore's *Etymologiae* (Texts 22 and 7). In both cases, Harley shares with Remigius the same redaction of Isidore. In Text 22, it is clear that Isidore was edited by a Martianus commentator. In my next example, Harley shares with Remigius the same redaction of Fulgentius.

Martianus Scholia Text 1

A note about Athens appears in the margin on 2ro, next to *Odes* 1.1. The comment is attached to no lemma and appears to be displaced. One potential lemma for such a note would be *Odes* 1.7.5-7:

sunt quibus unum opus est intactae Palladis urbem
carmine perpetuo celebrare et
undique decerptam fronti praeponere oliuam.

Serv. Georg. 1.12

fabula talis est: cum Neptunus et Minerva de Athenarum nomine contenderent, placuit diis, ut eius nomine civitas appellaretur qui munus melius mortalibus obtulisset. tunc Neptunus percusso litore equum, animal bellis aptum, produxit; Minerva iacta<ta> hasta olivam creavit, quae res est melior conprobata et pacis insigne. **R. 4.152.1 on M. 4.328**
ATHENARUMQUE VESTITUS
...Athene autem civitas est Graeciae, mater studiorum. dicitur autem Athene quasi athanate, id est immortalis, propter immortale studium sapientiae.

Harley 2724 2ro

cum Neptunus et Minerva de Athenarum nomine contenderent placuit diis, ut eius nomine appellaretur qui munus melius mortalibus obtulisset. tunc Neptunus percusso littore animal bellis aptum procreavit. Minerva iactata hasta olyvam produxit, que res est melior comprobata.

inde prelata Neptuno nomen civitati dedit, nam Athene dicitur quasi athanathe id est immortalis, propter immortale studium sapientie.

Bede Nom. 45 *Athenae*: ciuitas in Achaia philosophiae dicata studiis quae, cum una sit, plurali numero semper appellari solet...

est enim eadem civitas in Acha qye† philosophie studiis dedita que, cum una sit, plurali numero semper appellari solet.

This compilation offers a variety of information about the city of Athens and especially its name. The foundation and naming story (from Servius) is followed by an etymology (matching a Martianus gloss [1]), which connects Athens with philosophy. Then come the city's geographical location, philosophical associations, and a note on the plural form of its name, all provided by Bede.[2]

This is the only Harley note matching Remigius' commentary beyond the first two books of Martianus. Comparison with other versions of the etymology confirms Harley's allegiance to Remigius. The ultimate source of Remigius' note is Fulgentius, who provides both the etymology and the reference to immortal wisdom (*Fab.* 2.1):

inde etiam et conditricem Athenarum eam uolunt. Minerua denique et Athene Grece dicitur quasi athanate parthene, id est immortalis uirgo, quia sapientia nec mori poterit nec corrumpi.

Harley clearly shares with Remigius the same redaction of Fulgentius.

The combination of story and etymology, which we see in Harley, appears also in a Lucan scholion (extant by the second half of the tenth century) and the Second Vatican Mythographer (875/1075).[3] Harley does not match the wording of either, but corresponds verbatim to Servius and Remigius. Harley also shares with Remigius a detail, which is absent from the other story-cum-etymology compilations, namely, the link between the etymology and immortal wisdom (*propter immortale studium sapientiae*).

Footnotes

[1] Remigius' full note (glossing the appearance *Dialectica*) reads: *ATHENARUMQUE VESTITUS Philosophi enim Grecorum palliati incedebant. Athene autem civitas est Grecia, mater studiorum. dicitur autem Athene quasi athanate, id est immortalis, propter immortale studium sapientiae. haec, ergo, subaudis femina, id est Dialectica, palliata incedebat quia haec ars apud Grecos reperta et propagata est.*

[2] Other Harley notes matching Bede were discussed in Chapter 4.

[3] The earliest known witness for the Lucan scholion is Voss. Q 51 (see Cavajoni (1979) p. x), catalogued by Munk Olsen (1985, vol. II, p. 42) as a 10th-century manuscript, whose origin is identified as possibly west German by De Meyier. In contrast to the Lucan scholiast's individual paraphrasing of the story, the Mythographer and Harley follow Servius closely, but the fact, that the two depart from Servius slightly at different points, proves lack of direct connection between them. **Sch. Luc. 3.205 (Cavajoni)** *Minerva cum contenderet cum Neptuno de nomine Athenarum, placuit omnibus ut ipsius nomine civitas nominaretur, qui melius munus mortalibus obtulisset. tunc Neptunus percusso littore frementem equum produxit. Minerva vero oleam, quae res melior visa est. hinc Athenae dicta est civitas ex nomine Minervae, quae Athene dicta est quasi athanate id est immortalis; VM 2.142 cum in acropoli Thebarum arce Neptunus et Minerua de nomine Athenarum contenderent, placuit diis, ut illius ex nomine ciuitas diceretur qui munus melius mortalibus obtulisset. tunc Neptunus percusso cum tridente littore equum animal bellis aptum produxit; Minerua iactata hasta oliuam creauit, quae res est melior comprobata et pacis insigne habita. mox ciuitas dicta est Athene quasi athanate, id est immortalis ...*

My last example offers an explanation apparently found in no source other than Remigius.

Martianus Scholia Text 25

In *Odes* 3.19 Horace expresses surprise at his companion's lack of festive spirit, chiding the sluggishness of the flute-players (18-19):

...cur Berecynthiae
cessant flamina tibiae

The scholiast glosses *tibiae* with a note identical to Remigius 49.9 ad Mart. 2.117 [1]:

tibiae dicuntur quod ex tibiis gruis maxime dextris fieri soleant

Remigius' scholion contains two distinctive items of information I have not traced in earlier sources: the bones are those of a crane and they are specified as right bones. By contrast, Hyginus and Isidore mention leg bones of a fawn.[2] The crane could represent a separate tradition, but I rather suspect that *gruis* is a corruption of Isidore's *cruribus*. Similarly, I wonder if the insistence on the right bones (*dextris*) is due to a misunderstanding of *tibia dextera*, a technical term used elsewhere in describing wind instruments, meaning a particular type of pipe.[3]

The Harley note clearly shares Remigius' distinctive and possibly erroneous definition.

Footnotes:

[1] Mart. 2.117 ...*nam nec tibiarum mela nec ex fidibus sonitus nec hydraularum harmonica deerat plenitudo...*

[2] Hyg. *Fab.* 165 *Minerua tibiae dicitur prima ex osse ceruino fecisse et ad epulum deorum cantatum uenisse*; Isid 8.21.4 *Tibiae autem appellatas putant, quod primum de cervinis tibiis cruribusque hinnulorum fierent, deinde per abusionem ita coeptas vocari etiam quae non de cruribus ossibusque essent.* (Fulg. 3.9 does not specify, which animal's bones were used by Minerva.)

[3] Festus p. 65, l. 7 *dextrarum tibiarum genus est, quae dextra tenentur*; Donat. *Exc. de Com.* 8.11 *dextrae autem tibiae sua grauitate seriam comoediae dictionem praenuntiabant, sinistrae [Serranae] acuminis leuitate iocum in comoedia ostendebant*; Serv. *Aen.* 9.615 *ut enim ait Varro tibia Phrygia dextra unum foramen habet, sinistra duo, quorum unum acutum sonum habet, alterum gravem.*

One more example of a loose note, matching Remigius' erroneous redaction of a source text, is presented in Appendix 7.1 (Text 34).

2 Harley and unpublished Martianus scholia

As noted in the introduction, our knowledge of Martianus scholia is incomplete: our text of Remigius and its relation to other Martianus scholia is subject to further investigation. The following three examples show that the Horace

scholiast's exemplar differed from Martianus scholia known from current editions. The first two passages (Texts 15 and 17) apparently offer a fuller text of Remigius. The second of these contains a single word gloss offered by John rather than Remigius. My third example matches no known source verbatim, but shares a distinctive feature with Martianus scholia, approaching closest to the wording of 'Dunchad'.

Martianus Scholia Text 15

In *Odes* 2.8 Venus, the Nymphs, and Cupid smile upon Barine (13-16):

Ridet hoc, inquam, Venus ipsa, rident
simplices Nymphae, ferus et Cupido
semper ardentis acuens sagittas
cote cruenta.

The scholiast provides a composite note about Venus and Cupid:

Remig. 3.14 ad Mart. 1.1

nam sicut sunt duae Veneres, casta et turpis, ita et duo Cupidines, cupiditas videlicet honesta et turpis. **Remig. 4.1 ad Mart. 1.1** ideo autem Bacchus pater et Venus genetrix illius fingitur esse, quia post nimiam petulantiam solet excitari libido. **Remig. 8.22 ad Mart. 1.7** IMPOTENTIAM PHARETRATI Cupidinis dicit ut malum demonstraretur esse Cupidinem Veneris filium qui depingitur puer nudus, alatus, et pharetratus. puer depingitur quia turpis amor puerilis est et sic in amantibus sermo deficit sicut in pueris. hinc Virgilius [Aen. 4.76] : “*Incipit effari, mediaque in voce resistit*”. nudus depingitur, quia turpido a nudis peragitur, vel quia nihil secretum est in turpitudine. alatus

et pharetratus depingitur
quia turpis amor et velociter pertransit et mentem stimulat conscientia perpetrati criminis.

Odes 2.8.13f.

Venerem dicit matrem cupidinum.

nam sicut sunt duae Veneres, casta et turpis, ita sunt duo Cupidines, cupiditas videlicet honesta et turpis. cuius Cupidinis
Bachus pater et Venus genetrix fingitur esse, quia post nimiam potulentiam† solet excitari libido.

depingitur puer nudus,
alatus, et pharetratus. puer depingitur quia turpis amor puerilis est et sic in amantibus sermo deficit sicut in pueris.

nudus depingitur, quia turpitude a nudis peragitur, vel quia nil secretum est in turpitudine. alatus autem ideo est, quia amantibus nec levius aliquid nec mutabilius invenitur. sagittas vero ideo gestare dicitur quia turpis amor et velociter pertransit et mentem stimulat conscientia perpetrati criminis.

Serv. Aen. 1.663(4?)

Latini deum ipsum 'Cupidinem' vocant, hoc quod facit 'amorem'. sed hic imitatus est Graecos, qui uno nomine utrumque significant; nam Amorem dixit deum: sed discrevit epitheto. sane numen hoc ratione non caret. nam quia turpitudinis est stulta cupiditas, puer pingitur, ut [G. 4.345] “*inter quas curam Clymene narrabat inanem*,” id est amorem, item quia imperfectus est in amantibus sermo, sicut in puero, ut [Aen. 4.76] “*incipit effari mediaque in voce resistit*” . alatus autem ideo est, quia amantibus nec levius aliquid nec mutabilius invenitur, ut in ipsa probatur Didone; nam de eius interitu cogitat, cuius paulo ante amore deperibat, ut non potui abreptum divellere corpus. sagittas vero ideo gestare dicitur, quia et ipsae incertae velocisque sunt. et haec ratio paene in omnibus aliis numinibus pro potestatum qualitate formatur.

This composite note is carefully compiled, assembling several pieces of information about cruel and hostile Cupid, as he is depicted by Horace. The scholiast's introductory phrase (*Venerem dicit matrem cupidinum*) not only prepares the reader for the theory of Cupid's multiple manifestations, but also brings the idea home to Horace, who evokes *Mater saeva cupidinum* in *Odes* 1.19.1 and *Odes* 4.1.4.

Remigius is clearly the source of the opening, which is coloured by Martianus' context. The idea of two types of love is propagated particularly by Martianus and features several times in Remigius' commentary.[1] No author but Remigius defines Bacchus' association with Cupid as specifically paternal – probably assumed from Martianus' epithet *Bacchus pater* (1.1), by analogy with *Venus genetrix*. [2]

Remigius 8.22 accounts for the rest of the Horace note, with the exception of Harley's full explanation of wings and arrows (*alatus... dicitur*), where Remigius briefly states *alatus et pharetratus depingitur*. The bulk of Remigius' note matches Servius on *Aen.* 1.663. Servius contains the same full description of both wings and arrows, which we see in Harley. Harley obviously follows Remigius' redaction of Servius, but the source of the 'additional' Servius phrases is not clear.

The Horace scholiast may have used a different version of the Martianus scholion – earlier Martianus commentaries in their known form contain no such note – or an unknown source, also based on Servius. The most reasonable explanation would be as follows: the published manuscripts of Martianus contain an abbreviated version of Remigius' note, whereas Harley offers the full original comment. Yet it could be possible that, faced with Remigius' abbreviated version of Servius, the Horace scholiast, with his thorough knowledge of Servius, decided to add a full explanation of wings and arrows – especially arrows, since Horace depicts Cupid as sharpening his arrows. (By contrast, Martianus' epithet is *pharetratus*.)[3]

The Harley variant *potulentiam* deserves consideration: it is a case of a *lectio facilior* making good sense.[4]

Footnotes

[1] Two loves also feature in Text 40 above and in the Remigian extract glossing Venus at *Odes* 3.21.21. The idea is embedded in Martianus (2.144): *quippe consociato sibi quodam puero renidenti, qui nec voluptariae Veneris filius erat, et tamen Amor a sapientibus ferebatur...*

[2] Mart. 1.1 *o Hymenaeae decens, Cypridis quae maxima cura es/ (hinc tibi nam flagrans ore Cupido micat),/ seu tibi quod Bacchus pater est placuisse choreas,/ cantare ad thalamos seu genetricis habes,/ comere vernificis florentia limina sertis/ seu consanguineo Gratia trina dedit:/ conubium divum componens Calliopea/ carminis auspicio te probat annuere.*

[3] Mart. 1.7 *sed eam [Psychen] Virtus, ut adhaerebat forte Cyllenio, paene lacrimans nuntiavit impotentia pharetrati volitantisque superi de sua societate correptam captivamque adamantinis nexibus a Cupidine detineri.*

[4] The noun *potulentia* is not attested in the *TLL*. The *TLL* records *petulentus* as a variant spelling of *potulentus* (Suet. *Otho* 2.1; Ven. Fort. *Vita Germ.* 12.41).

Martianus Scholia Text 17

In *Odes* 2.13 Alcaeus' song refreshes the snakes of the Eumenides (33-36):

Quid mirum, ubi illis carminibus stupens
demittit atras belua centiceps
auris et intorti capillis
Eumenidum recreantur angues?

The Harley note on the Eumenides is very close to Remigius:

Rem. 61.24 ad Mart. 2.142

EUMENIDES id est Furiae infernales, occurrant animabus easque crucient. dictae autem sunt Eumenides cata antifrassin, id est bonae deae pro malae.

Odes 2.13.36

Eumenides sunt Furie infernales, que occurrunt animabus a corpore exeuntibus easque cruciant†. dicte autem sunt Eumenides cata antyfrassin, id est bone lune pro male.

There are two discrepancies between the Horace note and Remigius. Firstly, the Horace scholion contains a phrase absent from Remigius: *a corpore exeuntibus*. The fate of this phrase would be more clear if Remigius' source were known. As things stand, we note that Remigius uses a similar phrase to describe other supposedly chthonic deities at Martianus 2.142 (Rem. 61.23):

dicunt quod exeuntibus animabus de corpore occurrat Veditus cum coniuge, unde et Veditus dicitur quasi Veditus, id est malus divus

Secondly, Harley's etymology of the Eumenides is even more peculiar than that of Remigius. The opening part of the Eumenides is frequently explained as "good, standing for bad";[1] the interpretation of the second half [2] as *luna* is found not in Remigius, but in John's note on the same lemma: *Mene luna, Eumenis mala luna*. It remains to be explored by future editors of Remigius, whether this is an original reading or a later contamination. In either case, the Horace note has an obvious affinity with Martianus scholia, if not specifically with Remigius.

Additional evidence in favour of this note being drawn directly from Remigius, is offered by other Harley notes on the same ode (Text 16 and one copy of Text 8), which certainly belong among Martianus scholia.

Footnotes

[1] cf. Serv. Aen. 6.250 (cf. 6.375; 3.63), G. 1.278; Isid. 1.37.24, 8.11.100; Phi. *ad loc.*; VM 2.14.

[2] I have traced only one other attempt to etymologise the second part of the name: the 13th-century lexicon of Conrad de Mure (A p. 74): '*mene*', *quod est defectus*.

Martianus Scholia Text 2

Olympic competitors feature in the *Odes* 1.1 catalogue (3-6):

sunt quos curriculo puluerem Olympicum
collegisse iuuat metaque feruidis
euitata rotis palmaque nobilis
terrarum dominos euehit ad deos...

The scholiast offers an etymology of Olympus:

olon totum lampos ardens, unde Olympus quasi totus ardens propter
altitudinem

An ‘ολολαμπος etymology of Olympus is found in Servius, Isidore, and Martianus scholia.[1] The Horace scholion matches none of these precisely. The height of Olympus is mentioned by Isidore and Martianus commentators. Of these two, Martianus scholia share Harley’s use of the adjective *ardens*. The Martianus gloss, closest to Harley, is attributed to ‘Dunchad’ (73.13 ad Mart. 2.121):

OLIMPUS quasi Ololampus, id est totus ardens

Remigius’ note on the same lemma contains all the necessary elements, but offers much material unshared by Harley (Rem. 52.3):

Olympus autem mons est ultra omnes nubes et pene ad ipsum confinium
aetheris pertingens, unde pro nimia celsitudine et pro caelo ponitur; dictus
Olympus quasi ololampus, id est totus lucidus vel ardens.

There is an external piece of evidence in favour of this Harley note being related to Martianus scholia. The gloss, [*me*]/*lampus ardens*, is found at the back of the manuscript (135vo) among other Greek-Latin glosses related to Martianus.[2]

The Harley scholiast may have used a Martianus note, whose wording was different from Martianus scholia published to date.

Footnotes

[1] Ramelli (2006, p. 665, note 12) observes that the etymology goes back to Aristotle’s *On the Cosmos* 6.30:400a7. **Serv. Auct. Aen. 10.1** *OLYMPI caeli, quasi ololampi, ideo quia totum lucet; Serv. Aen. 4.268* *CLARO DIMITTIT OLYMPI Olympos quasi ‘ολολαμπος dictus est: sive mons sit Macedoniae, qui dicitur esse diversorium deorum, sive caelum etc.; Isid. 14.8.9* *Olympus mons Macedoniae nimium praecelsus, ita ut sub illo nubes esse dicantur... dictus autem Olympus quasi Ololampus, id est quasi caelum.*

[2] Thoma (1951, p. 244) identifies the names of divinities listed on 130vo and the Greek-Latin glossary on 131vo, as related to Martianus.

The preceding examples show, that the Horace scholiast possessed more complete Martianus scholia than are currently known to us. Wherever Harley contains detail absent from Martianus scholia, we must consider the possibility, that the scholiast used a fuller version of Remigius. We find two such examples in Harley. The scholion glossing Hercules in *Odes* 3.14, contains several details absent from

Lutz' edition of Remigius (Text 20 in Appendix 7.1). These additions could have been made by our scholiast from readily available sources, but it is also possible that the Harley note was copied from a Martianus commentary in its entirety. The second example, which is a more complex compilation, is presented below.

Martianus Scholia Text 29

In *Odes* 3.23 we see Phidyle make modest offerings to the Lares (1-4):

Caelo supinas si tuleris manus
nascente luna, rustica Phidyle,
si ture placaris et horna
fruge Lares auidaue porca

The note about the Lares uses Remigius, Martianus, and one other source:

7.1-7.2 Remigius and Martianus

Remig. 27.10 ad Mart. 1.46

Lares dii ignis qui communiter in omnibus regionibus esse feruntur. **Remig. 28.12 ad Mart. 1.49** GENIUS deus naturalis qui omnium rerum generationibus praeest. Genios enim dicimus qui singulis nascentibus tribuuntur.

Remig. 68.5 ad M. 2.162

DELECTANTUR ISDEM CORPORIBUS morantes cum ipsis quamdiu aliquid superest e corpore, unde et quibusdam gentibus mos est ut cadavera mortuorum aromatibus condiant, quatinus multo tempore conserventur corpora et possint animae morari cum suis corporibus. neque enim verum est quod quidam putant animam deserere corpus, cum potius corpus animam deserat. hoc ostendit se scisse Simonides poeta dicens [Stat. *Theb.* 8.739] “*odi artus fragilemque hunc corporis usum/ desertorem animae*”.

Discussion

Odes 3.23.4

Lares sunt dii ignis, qui omnibus hominibus esse feruntur. ipsi etiam sunt genii, idest naturales dii.

nam cum quis hominum genitus fuerit, mox eidem copulantur ad tutelam sui. sciendum est vero quia est bonus, qui animam ad virtutes impellit, alter malus qui ad vicia stimulat. hi enim dii dicuntur cum ipsis corporibus morari quamdiu aliquid superest de [1] corpore. unde et quibusdam mos est gentibus ut cadavera mortuorum aromatibus condiant, quatinus multo tempore conserventur corpora et possint anime morari cum suis corporibus. neque enim verum est quod quidam putant animam deserere corpora, cum potius corpus animam deserat. hoc ostendit scisse se Symonides poeta dicens
“*odi artus fragilemque hunc corporis usum/ desertorem anime*”.

Remig. 66.4 ad Mart. 2.155

LARES ignes, ipsi sunt etiam et GENII POST NEXUM corporum.

Mart. 2.152 ideoque dicitur Genius, quoniam, cum quis hominum genitus fuerit, mox eidem copulatur. hic tutelator fidissimus...
Harl. 2724 Odes 3.17.14 (Serv. Aen. 6.743) ...duos genios sortimur: unus est qui hortatur ad bona, alter qui depravat ad mala...

The scholiast assembles information about the Lares from multiple source passages. He begins with a gloss, *sunt dii ignis* (Rem. 27.10, cf. 66.4),[2] almost immediately followed by the identification of the Lares with the *genii* (Rem. 66.4), and the gloss of *genii* as *naturales dii* (Rem. 28.12). The description *qui omnibus hominibus esse feruntur* matches no source verbatim, but the idea is present in Remigius' note used just above (28.12) and in the passage of Martianus quoted next.[3] The slightly adjusted quotation from Martianus (2.152) explains how the *lares-genii* are connected to men at their birth.

Information about malignant and benignant Lares does not come from Martianus and Remigius, but paraphrases a passage of Servius (*ad Aen.* 6.743), used in Harley verbatim, in non-paraphrased form, in order to gloss *Odes* 3.17.14.

The Horace scholiast completes his compilation with a longer Remigian note about the Manes, tacitly identified with the *lares* and *genii* as protectors of individual men. Harley shares Remigius' misattribution of the Statius quotation to Simonides.[4]

Surmising from his source, that Lares, Genii, and Manes had the same function of protecting the individual soul, the scholiast collects information about these deities into a single note. The opening of the note, matching numerous scraps of scholia on various Martianus passages, suggests painstaking compilation.

We have seen earlier, that our scholiast is adept at collecting multiple pieces of information, but in view of our partial knowledge of Martianus scholia, we must also consider the alternative scenario. It is possible, that some of the jig-saw pieces, including the paraphrase of Servius' benignant and malignant *genii* (*sciendum ... stimulat*), appeared as a block in a single unpublished Martianus scholion. In that case, our scholiast's verbatim use of the same passage of Servius elsewhere in Harley, is a coincidence. After all, Servius is the source, on which our scholiast relies most heavily.

Footnotes

[1] There are few examples of *superest* being followed by *e* rather than the *de* found in Harley, but the Remigius text is probably correct, since the usage is also seen in Martianus (8.826): *superest iam unus e circulis*. (cf. **Sen. Med.** 165. ...*nihilque superest opibus e tantis tibi.*; **Sen. Thyest.** 1030f. *quicquid e natis tuis/ superest habes...*; **Juv. Sat.** 3.259 ... *quid superest e corporibus?*)

[2] Remigius inherits the identification of the Lares as gods of the hearth from John (Jeauneau, 27.5-8): *LARES dii domuum, quia lar dicitur ignis. antiqui enim in vestibulo habebant semper ignem vivum*; cf. 8.4-5 ... *ingenium enim sedes ignis creditur*. The idea of direct derivation from Remigius is supported by Text 4, which almost certainly uses a nearby Remigius scholion.

[3] Mart. 2.152 *sed quoniam unicuique deorum superiorum singuli quique deserviunt, ex illorum arbitrio istorumque comitatu et generalis omnium praesul et specialis singulis mortalibus Genius admovetur, quem etiam praestitem, quod praesit gerundis omnibus, vocaverunt; nam et populi Genio, cum generalis poscitur, supplicatur, et unusquisque gubernatori proprio dependit obsequium. ideoque dicitur Genius, quoniam, cum quis hominum genitus fuerit, mox eidem copulatur. hic tutelator...*

[4] Remigius also misattributes the same quotation at 268.20 (*ad Mart.* 5.538). The quotation is correctly attributed to Papinius in Claudianus Mamertus' *de Statu Animae* 1.20 (5th-century).

7.3 Conclusion

I shall now review the entire body of Harley material matching Remigius' commentary on Martianus, including the less remarkable examples, which did not merit detailed discussion in the chapter proper.

3.1 The Harley scholiast's Remigius

Remigius' commentary on Martianus Capella, transmitted together with *de Nuptiis*, was a major source used for glossing Horatian lyric in Harley 2724. This is not surprising, since Martianus served as a textbook on the liberal arts, and Remigius' commentary on this text was the most popular.¹ Since Remigius' work is unattributed in the majority of manuscripts, it is likely that our scholiast was unaware of his authorship: Harley scholia refer by name to Martianus, not to the commentator. Our scholiast's use of this commentary predates Remigius manuscripts traced to Bavaria, as recorded in Jeudy's (1991) catalogue.²

The scholiast's text of Remigius differs slightly from modern editions: in two cases it seems to be more complete, in one case – contaminated with John's scholia. A further Harley note seems to offer an unpublished Martianus scholion (7.2).

All but two Harley notes are connected with the first two books of *de Nuptiis*. The dichotomy of 'two plus seven' books is built into Martianus' work: the two 'wedding' books are followed by seven, each devoted to one of the liberal arts. The two opening books circulated separately and more widely than the rest.³ It is not clear if the two Harley passages, pertaining to Martianus' fourth and sixth book, were extracted at a different stage. The heavy reliance on the opening two books may reflect their popularity and familiarity to the scholiast. One of Harley's Remigian notes (*Parce* at *Odes* 2.3.15f.), also appears, at a different lemma, in another eleventh-century south German manuscript from Tegernsee, Vat. Lat. 3866. Further study of Horace (and perhaps Martianus) manuscripts will show, whether the single note shared by Harley and the Vaticanus is a coincidence or a trace of combined study of Horace and Martianus.

¹ The position held by Martianus alongside the classical poets is worth reiterating, as his influence is not always recognised (cf. pre-Zorzetti analysis of the Vatican Mythographers).

² Clm. 14271-II s. xi-xii, owned by St Emmeram; Clm. 4559-II, s. xi 4/4, related to 14721; Karlsruhe, Badische Landesb., Reichenau Fr. 138 II, s. xi (f. 2-2v fragment of book 2)

³ Jeudy (1991) p. 390

Material, ultimately derived from Fulgentius' *fabula* about the nine Muses (1.15), may present a special case. Three Harley notes share Remigius' redaction of Fulgentius excerpts.⁴ The back pages of Harley 2724 contain another note related to Carolingian redactions of Fulgentius 1.15, but not directly to Martianus scholia – at least not Martianus scholia published to date (Appendix 7.2). The Harley 130vo note and related scholia may have been drawn from another source.

3.2 The scholiast's interests and techniques

Notes drawn from a commentary are predictably miscellaneous in their form and content. Remigius is one of the scholiast's sources of etymology: the prominence of etymology in Harley extracts reflects its importance in Remigius' exegesis. Commenting on a text crowded with divinities, Remigius provides our scholiast with many detailed notes and graphic descriptions of the pagan gods, including three notes about love and Venus. In addition to the three extracts from Macrobius' commentary *in Somnium Scipionis*, the four notes on cosmography and metaphysics, picked out from Remigius, confirm the scholiast's interest in that subject.⁵

⁴ This includes the note on the nine Muses at *Odes* 3.19.13, on Melpomene at *Odes* 3.30.16 (Texts 23 and 34 discussed in Appendix 7.1), and on Thalia at *Odes* 4.6.25.

⁵ Notes on Jove and Saturn's circles at *Odes* 2.17, Elysium at *Odes* 2.13.23, the moon sphere at *Odes* 4.6.38, and the phases of the moon at *Odes* 4.2.58.

CHAPTER 8: *Thebaid* scholia

This Chapter examines Harley notes matching *Thebaid* scholia. This material is distinguished by its thematic focus: all but two passages are devoted to myth. *Thebaid* scholia are never used in conjunction with Statius' poem itself, which is used without its scholia in a single Harley note.

8.0 Introduction

The *Thebaid* fared well in post-Carolingian Europe.¹ Many of the surviving manuscripts are annotated with scholia, which originated in antiquity.

Jakobi (2004) suggests that the commentary arose in Italy in the second half of the fourth century, between Donatus and Servius, at the time of renewed interest in the Flavian poet.² By comparison with Servius, the *Thebaid* commentary contains little grammatical information, but abundant mythological, rhetorical, and geographical material. Still in the fourth century, before the banning of Mithras worship in 392, a Mithras adherent, Lactantius Placidus (cf. Sch. *Theb.* 6.363-4) enriched the commentary with neo-platonic interpretations. After further changes, including additions from Servius, the commentary reaches us in a form recompiled by Carolingian scholars.

In the *Prolegomena* to his edition, Sweeney (1969) shows that scholia copies proliferate from a single Carolingian archetype. He catalogues more than ten pre-twelfth-century manuscripts, known to contain 'Lactantian' scholia in continuous or marginal form, among which several are German.³

Thebaid scholia are likely to have been available to our Horace scholiast, but the evidence for direct consultation is limited. Statius' poem itself was used in a single Harley scholion (8.1). There is no certain instance of *Thebaid* scholia being used together with Statius. *Thebaid* scholia are matched verbatim by seven Harley

¹ The *Thebaid* survives in a single (early) 9th-century manuscript written at the court (Flor. Laur. Plut. 29.32) and twenty-seven manuscripts of the 10th and 11th centuries. Among these are south German Mun. Clm 6396 s. x (glossed), German Leipz. Rep. I, 12a (53) s. x., and Mun. Clm 29212 (5 s. xi 2/4 Tegernsee (Hoffmann)).

² Jakobi (2004, pp. 4–6) draws attention to the original commentator's quantitative *clausulae* and knowledge of Greek literature and terminology. He notes that Statius is absent from Donatus' Virgil commentary, but is cited repeatedly by Servius (p. 3).

³ German manuscripts of *Thebaid* scholia starting with those written in the south: Mun. Clm. 6396 (= f) s. x²-xi, Freising?; Mun. Clm. 19482 (= M) s. x ex., west or south Germany (Tegernsee?); Mun. Clm. 17206 (= S) s. xii (Schäftlarn?); Bamb. Class. 47 s xi, west German?; the exemplar of Kassel 2o MS poet. 8 (=lat. 164) commissioned in 1010; Leipz. MS L. III (Rep. I. 12a) s. x; Par. Lat. 10317 s. x Echternach, containing German glosses.

passages of 50-121 words and four shorter items – that is only eleven against over a hundred and twenty Servian and forty Remigian notes.

Like other auxiliary texts, the *Thebaid* commentary is highly tralatician. My investigation has shown that the *Fabulae* of Hyginus – a text with a scarce medieval transmission – are the ultimate source of several *Thebaid* scholia.⁴ I intend to show that the Horace scholiast received Hyginus' stories in the form mediated by the *Thebaid* commentator. I will similarly demonstrate that the First Vatican Mythographer, who drew from the *Thebaid* commentary two myths discussed in this chapter, does not stand between *Thebaid* and Harley scholia.⁵ The Mythographer's versions of the relevant stories are reproduced in Appendix 8, together with Hyginus.

I shall try to establish that the Horace scholiast did use the commentary on the *Thebaid*. I shall, therefore, seek to prove that the passages we see in Harley were originally meant to gloss Statius. I will also show that Harley used *Thebaid* scholia rather than related texts (Text 2). I will then draw attention to a single word supplied from Statius' poem itself by an editor, who may have been the Horace scholiast (Text 9). I finish with three passages clearly extracted by the Horace scholiast from the *Thebaid* commentary.

⁴ The sources of *Thebaid* scholia were examined by Breese, whose work was not available to me (Griefswald Dissertation, 1919; extract published 1921). Hopefully, the long-awaited second volume of Sweeney's edition will contain information on this subject.

⁵ Similarly, the lack of direct relationship between *Thebaid* Scholion 3 and the Second Vatican Mythographer was discussed in Chapter 3.

1. Statius *Thebaid*

In *Epode* 5 Canidia adds venomous herbs to her potion (21-22):

herbasque quas Iolcos atque Hiberia
mittit venenorum ferax

The scholiast glosses Iolcos with a lengthy note about the Agro and the preparation of the Argonauts' expedition:

Hyg. de Astr. 2.37

Hanc navem factam ... ad Apollinis Actii templum, quod Argonautae proficiscentes statuissent existimantur in eo loco qui Pagasae vocatur, ideo quod navis Argo ibi primum compacta dicitur, quod est Graece pagasai, Homerus hunc eundem locum in Thessaliae finibus esse demonstrat.

Dares 1 (M)

Peleas rex in Peloponense Essonem fratrem habuit. Essonis filius erat Iason, virtute praestans, et qui sub regno eius erant, omnes hospites habebat, et ab eis validissime amabatur. Peleas rex, ut vidit Iasonem tam acceptum esse omni homini, veritus est ne sibi iniurias facerent. dicit Iasoni Colchis pellem inauratam arietis esse, dignam eius virtute, ut eam inde auferret, omnia se ei daturum pollicitus. Iason ubi audivit, ut erat animi fortissimus, et qui loca omnia nosse volebat, et quod clariorem se existimabat futurum, si pellem inauratam Colchis abstulisset, et dicit Peleo regi se eo velle ire. Peleas rex Argum architectum vocari iussit, et ei imperat ut navim aedificaret quam(?) pulchram, ad voluntatem Iasonis. per totam Graeciam rumor cucurrit navim aedificari, in qua Colchos erat Iason petiturus. amici et hospites ad Iasonem venerunt et pollicentur se una ituros. Iason illis gratias egit et rogavit ut parati essent, cum tempus veniret. Iason litteras ad eos misit, qui erant polliciti sese una ituros et ilico convenerunt ad navem, cuius nomen erat Argo. Peleas rex quae opus fuerant in navim imponi iussit, et hortatus est Iasonem, et qui cum eo profecti sunt, ut animo forti ad perficiendum irent, quo conati essent. ea res claritatem Graecis et ipsis factura videbatur. demonstrare eos qui cum Iasone profecti sunt, non videtur nostrum esse: sed qui volunt eos cognoscere, Argonautas legant.

(after *Thebaid* 5)

***Epode* 5**

Argo in Tesalia ad Actii Apollinis templum in loco qui Pegase vocatur fabricata est.

Peleus enim rex Thessaliae habuit fratrem nomine Efonem cui erat filius Iason virtute prestans, et qui sub regno eius erant, omnes hospites habebat, et ab eis validissime amabatur. Peleus rex ut vidit Iasonem acceptum omni homini, veritus est ne sibi iniurias facerent. dicit Iasoni Cholchis pellem inauratam arietis esse, dignam eius virtute, ut eam inde auferet, omnia se ei daturum pollic<itus>. Iason ubi audivit, ut erat animi fortissimus,

dicit Peleo se eo velle ire.

Peleus rex architectum nomine Tiphin vocari iussit, et ei imperat ut navim edificaret ad voluntatem Iasonis. mox autem per totam Greciam rumor cucurrit navim edificari Iasoni. amici et hospites ad Iasonem venerunt et pollicentur se una ituris†. Iason illis gratias egit et rogavit ut parati essent, cum tempus veniret. Iason litteras ad eos misit, qui erant polliciti sese una ituros et ilico convenerunt ad navem, cuius nomen erat Argo.

demonstrare eos qui cum Iasone profecti sunt optimum est. luit† cum eo Telamon rex Salamine Inceus filius Ligurgii regis Ifitus gigas Hercules Meleager rex Etolie Ida et Talaus Castor et Pollux filii Atheniensium Admetus rex et Orfeus musicus. hi lecti duces cum Iasone Colchos profecti pellem abstulerunt.

The scholiast starts with a brief note about the Argo. This information is (ultimately) drawn from Hyginus' *de Astronomia*, although Harley does not match Hyginus verbatim.[1] The bulk of the narrative is excerpted from Dares, with some omissions and few alterations. The scholiast designates Peleus' kingdom as Thessaly (where Iolcos is indeed situated) under the influence of the opening note about Argo. The reason for the substitution of Argo's helmsman Tiphys (*Theb.* 413 et al.) for the architect Argus is unclear to me.

Dares refers readers, eager to learn the names of the Argonauts, to an eponymous work – presumably, the epic of Apollonius. Our scholiast used a source available to him, namely *Thebaid* 5: the order, in which the heroes are listed in Harley, matches their order of appearance in Statius.[2] (Statius' catalogue is reproduced in Appendix 8.1.)

Statius names three of the Argonauts by their patronymics: *Amphitryoniades*, *Oenides*, *Tyndarides*, which the scholiast replaces with Hercules, Meleager, Castor and Pollux. In the case of Meleager, the source of the scholiast's information is at hand. Harley's Pseudo-Acronian note on *Epistle* 1.18.46 states both Meleager's parentage and origin: *Meleager, Oenei filius, ab Aetolia, uenandi studiosus fuit, ubi et aper Calidonium...* This note also enables our scholiast to call Meleager *rex Etolie*.

Such additional information is provided about several Argonauts. Since it is not always clear, whether the relevant description follows or precedes a hero's name, I omit commas and consider some details in relation to more than one hero. *Rex Salamine* may refer to Telamon, whose son is said to flee Salamis in *Odes* 1.7.21f. (*Teucer Salamina patremque/ cum fugeret*) and is glossed in Harley as *Telamonis et Hesione filius*. On the other hand, *rex Salamine Inceus† filius Ligurgii† regis*, could depend on the *Thebaid* scholion *ad locum* (5.399): *ANCAEUM Lycurgi filium a Salamina*. The epithet *gigas* probably describes Hercules: it matches Statius' description of the hero as towering over all (*supra est*).[3]

Footnotes

[1] The only Harley note matching *de Astronomia* verbatim was discussed in Chapter 4. Hyginus' information about the Argo may have circulated in marginalia, for a gloss on Lucan 2.715 (Endt) contains the same facts, with the exception of Actian Apollo: *UT PEGASEA Argo navis significatur quae in Pagasea Thessaliae urbe prima est fabricata*.

[2] Telamon appears at line 379, Ancaeus 399, Iphitus 400, Hercules 401, Meleager 405, Idas 405, Talaus 406, Castor et Pollux 407 (438), Admetus rex 435, Orpheus (344) 435. (Hyginus' extensive catalogue (*Fab.* 14) does not name Talaus.)

[3] This epithet is also regularly applied to Hercules by the Carolingian scholars Sedulius Scottus and Heiric of Auxerre.

2. *Thebaid* scholia as source of Harley notes

My first example shows that the myth used by the Horace scholiast was certainly written to gloss the *Thebaid*.

***Thebaid* Scholia Text 2**

In *Odes* 2.12 Horace claims Maecenas would not wish him to sing of savage Lapiths, drunken Hylaeus, and giants subjugated by Hercules (5-9):

nec saeuos Lapithas et nimium mero
Hylaeum domitosque Herculea manu
Telluris iuuenes, unde periculum
fulgens contremuit domus
Saturni ueteris...

The scholion linked by a siglum to *Lapithas* contains two stories: Hercules reclaiming Deianira during her wedding to centaur Eurytion and the centaurs' drunken violence at the wedding of Lapith king Pirithous.

Sch. *Theb.* 5.261-3

Herculis fabulam tangit, qui cum in hospitio ad (D)examenum regem venisset, Deianiram filiam eius corripit et fidem dedit se eam uxorem esse ducturum. post eius discessum Eurytion Ixionis filius Centaurus uxorem Deianiram petiit, quam pater vim timens Eurytioni promisit. qui constituto die cum fratribus ad nuptias venit. eo forte die quo nuptiae celebrabantur superveniens Alcides Centauros interfecit, Deianiramque insperate suo matrimonio copulavit. item aliter... // Centauri, Ixionis et nubis filii, quam pro se Iuno mutavit. qui cum in nuptiis Pirithoi ebrietate caluissent et vellent puellae nubentis irrumpere thalamum a Lapithis, quorum rex Pirithous fuit, interempti sunt.

***Odes* 2.12.5 [1]**

Herculis fabulam tangit. qui cum in hospitio ad Eneum [2] regem venisset, Deianeram filiam eius corripit et fidem dedit se uxorem ducturum esse. post eius discessum Euricion Yxionis filius Centaurus uxorem Deianeram petiit†, quam pater vim timens Euricioni promisit. qui constituto die cum fratribus venit ad nuptias. eo forte die quo nuptiae celebrabantur, superveniens Alcides Centauros interfecit, Deianeramque insperate suo matrimonio copulavit. item aliter Centauri nati erant Ixione et nube, quam pro se Iuno mutavit. qui cum in nuptos† Pirithoi ebrietate caluissent et vellent puellae nubentis irrumpere thalamum a Laphitis, quorum rex fuit Pirithous, interempti sunt.

For comparison with Harley, the *Thebaid* note is reproduced above in inverted form, as indicated by //. The *Thebaid* scholiast begins with the Lapith wedding, constituting Statius' lemma. Clearly this scholion was purpose-written to gloss Statius, as its opening phrase, *Centauri, Ixionis et nubis filii*, glosses Statius' epithet *nubigenae* (*Theb.* 5.261-4):

gelida non saeuus Ossa
luxuriant Lapitharum epulae, si quando profundo
Nubigenae caluere mero: uix primus ab ira
pallor, et impulsis surgunt ad proelia mensis.

The Harley scholion begins with Deianira. Deianira is not mentioned in this ode, but Hercules is: the scholiast's attention was presumably caught by *Herculis fabulam tangit*.^[3]

Curiously enough, the Deianira story is no more relevant to Statius than it is to Horace. Deianira appears here because the *Thebaid* scholiast drew on Hyginus, who juxtaposes Deianira's and the Lapith weddings in *Fabula* 33. (The full *Thebaid* scholion, together with Hyginus, is reproduced in Appendix 8.1.) Originally, this *Thebaid* lemma was glossed with the Lapith wedding note discussed above. To this the *Thebaid* scholiast added from Hyginus the story of Deianira and a second version of the Lapith wedding.^[4] Hyginus' Lapith wedding is absent from Harley and may have been lacking in the version of the *Thebaid* commentary used by our scholiast, for it would have offered an attractive gloss on Horace's Hylaeus.

The *Thebaid* scholiast introduced Hyginus' material with the phrase *fabulam tangit*. (*Tangit* is not strictly appropriate, since Statius does not speak of Deianira.) Hyginus' *item aliis in nuptiis* became *item aliter*, acknowledging the first Lapith story already glossing Statius. When the Horace scholiast inverted the order of the stories, *item aliter* came to signify not the alternative between two Lapith stories, but two possible origins of the race of Centaurs.

Footnotes

[1] The same scholion appears on 9vo, near *Odes* 1.16-18, containing no related lemma apparent to me. The 9vo copy is nearly identical to that glossing *Odes* 2.12.5: it shares the corruption of the king's name peculiar to Harley (*Eneum*), but omits *esse* after *ducturum* and has the erroneous abbreviation *permisit* for *promisit*.

[2] The king's name is a textual crux in the *Thebaid* scholia tradition, although the headless variant *Eneus* is found in Harley only.

[3] Nisbet and Hubbard (1978, *ad loc.*) point out that *Herculea manu* is best taken with *Telluris iuvenes* alone, although Hercules is sometimes also credited with later subjugation of both the Lapiths and the Centaurs: Hylaeus dies by Hercules' hand at *Aeneid* 8.293.

[4] It is not clear to me, why Jahnke (followed by Sweeney) brackets off the second Lapith story, but leaves Deianira.

The following pair of examples gloss the same lemma. The first, like the passage discussed above, was almost certainly written to gloss the *Thebaid*. The second contains a detail apparently drawn from Statius' poem itself.

Thebaid Scholia Texts 9 and 10

Poets, claims Horace in *Odes* 4.3, do not seek athletic or military fame (1-9):

Quem tu, Melpomene, semel
nascentem placido lumine uideris,
illum non labor Isthmius

clarabit pugilem non equus impiger
 curru ducet Achaico
 uictorem neque res bellica Deliis
 ornatum foliis ducem,
 quod regum tumidas contuderit minas,
 ostendet Capitolio;

Labor Isthmius is glossed by two notes matching scholia on the opening of *Thebaid* 6.

One note provides information about Isthmus and the Isthmian games:

Sch. *Theb.* 6.13-14

ISTHMOS terra in longum porrecta,
 quae Ionium ab Aegaeo dividit, Ovidius
 [*Fasti* 6.495-6] ‘*et spatio concreta brevi,
 freta bina repelli / unaque pulsatur terra
 duabus aquis*’. sic vocantur Isthmia,
 celebrantur apud Corinthum in
 honorem Palaemonis et Leucotheae,
 marinorum deorum.

***Odes* 4.3.3**

Hystmos terra est in longum porrecta,
 que Ionium ab Egeo dividit. Ovidius
 ‘*et spacio concreta brevi freta
 bina rebellit, / unaque pulsatur terra
 duabus aquis*.’ apud Corinthum mons est
 iuxta quem certamina celebrantur in
 honorem Palemonis et Leucatee,
 marinorum deorum.
 que certamina Stymia vocabantur,
cuius victores appio coronabantur.

Statius mentions the Isthmian games, together with two other Panhellenic contests, as a model for the funerary games at the opening of *Thebaid* 6 (10-14):

mox circum tristes seruata Palaemonis aras
 nigra superstitio, quotiens animosa resumit
Leucothea gemitus et amica ad litora festa
 tempestate uenit: planctu conclamat uterque
Isthmos, Echioniae responsant flebile Thebae...

The above scholion was probably purpose-written to gloss Statius’ oblique reference to the Isthmian games: it explains the allusion to Palaemon and Leucothea as well as Isthmus’ location between the two seas.

The Harley note differs from the *Thebaid* scholion in two ways. The statement that the games took place on a hill matches no source known to me.[1] The last clause about the celery wreath appears in the other Harley note on the same lemma:

Sch. *Theb.* 6.5-7

prima ergo certaminum genera haec
 fuerunt, quae per ordinem hoc loco poeta
 descripsit: Olympia in honorem Pelopis,
 cuius victores oleastro
 coronantur; Pythia in honorem Apollinis,
 cuius victores lauro
 coronantur; Isthmia in honorem
 Palaemonis, cuius victores pinu
 coronantur; Nemea in honorem Archemori,
 cuius victores apio coronantur.

***Odes* 4.3.3**

prima ergo certaminum hec
 fuerunt:
 Olympia in honorem Pelopis
apud Achiam, cuius victores oleastro
 coronantur; Pitthia in honorem Apollinis
apud Delphos, cuius victores lauro
 coronantur; Stymia in honorem
 Palemonis,
 cuius victore<s> appio coronantur
apud Thebas

This scholion is less obviously connected with the *Thebaid*: Statius refers to the contests in the same order as the scholiast, but mentions only the first three. In this case, the differences between the Harley and *Thebaid* notes are more numerous.

Firstly, the reference to Statius (*quae per ordinem hoc loco poeta descripsit*) would naturally be omitted by either the Horace scholiast or an intermediate source. Secondly, the Harley note contains a lacuna (*cuius victores pinu coronantur. Nemea in honorem Archemori*): as a result, celery rather than pine is named as the Isthmian prize both here and in the other Harley note on the same lemma.[2] The third difference, is that the Horace scholion names geographical locations absent from the *Thebaid* note: the Olympic games are connected with Achaea, the Pythian – with Delphi, the Isthmian are erroneously set in Thebes, instead of Corinth. Achaea is important for the Horatian lemma: the note is attached to *curru... Achaico* (5). The addition of Delphi was probably also inspired by Horace, who associates it with Apollo in *Odes* 1.7.(3f. *uel Apolline Delphos/ insignis*).[3] The placing of the Isthmian games at Thebes, on the other hand, seems to be due to a misunderstanding of Statius, who goes on to name Thebes after Isthmus (*Theb.* 6.12-14):

tempestate uenit: planctu conclamat uterque
Isthmos, Echioniae responsant flebile Thebae...

This *Thebaid* scholion was apparently edited with the help of Statius' text. The relevance of Achaea and Delphi to the poem under discussion suggests, that the editor was the Horace scholiast. The editor's identity is confirmed by another Harley note: the same *Thebaid* scholion, used to gloss Olympic contests at *Epistles* 1.1.50, shares the *quae...descripsit* omission and the lacuna, but does not yet have the Achaea, Delphi, and Thebes additions.

Finally, this scholion not only glosses the lemma, to which it is attached (*curru ... Achaico*), but also helps to explain Horace's oblique reference to laurel, *Deliis... foliis*. The Horace reader is familiar with Apollo's epithet *Delius* from *Odes* 3.4.64. The *Thebaid* scholion confirms the connection of laurel to Apollo.

Footnotes

[1] The sanctuary is situated on raised ground, but the stadium nestles in a valley.

[2] This lacuna could, in theory, represent deliberate compression in order to name celery rather than pine as the Isthmian prize. Celery had indeed been used at Isthmus in Pindar's times (*Isthmian* 2.16, 8.64) and was replaced by pine later (Plut. *Timol.* 26), but I find no Latin source transmitting this information. It is unlikely – at least until further evidence – that the scholion was altered deliberately.

[3] The only other reference to Achaea in Harley lyric scholia, the lemma-less note on 2ro, also associates it with the olive. Statius' mention of the olive (7) may also have prompted our scholiast to add Achaea. The connection between Delphi and Apollo is reiterated in Harley's Φ note on that lemma: *civitas Grecorum*...

I end with three examples almost certainly extracted from *Thebaid* scholia by the Horace scholiast himself. He was guided to the first extract by a *Thebaid* quotation in Horace scholia (Σ). The second example involves a variant apparently inspired by Horace. In the final example, our scholiast combined multiple *Thebaid* scholia purposely to gloss the Horatian lemma.

***Thebaid* Scholia Text 8**

In *Odes* 3.11 Horace addresses Mercury as the instructor of Amphion (1-2):

Mercuri, – nam te docilis magistro
mouit Amphion lapides canendo...

A note about Mercury and Amphion combines Martianus and *Thebaid* scholia:

<p>Sch. <i>Theb.</i> 1.9-10 QUO CARMINE MURIS/ IUSSERIT <u>AMPHION</u> TYRIOS ACCEDERE MONTES hic [1] <u>filius</u> Iovis fuit <vel> ut alii dicunt <u>Mer-</u> <u>curii</u>. cuius <u>lyra accepta</u> canens muros Thebanos dicitur constituisse, ut eius cantu spontanea se saxa muris imponent...</p>	<p><i>Odes</i> 3.11.1 Mercurius Iovis et Maiae filius fuit. dictus quasi medius currens, quia <...> [2] inter duos seritur; vel quasi mercatorum kiryos, id est dominus, quia sermo maxime inter mercatores viget. cuius <u>et Antyopes</u> filius Ampyon fuit, a quo lyram accepit qua canens muros Thebanos dicitur constituisse, ut eius cantu spontanea se saxa muris imponent.</p>	<p>Rem. <i>ad Mart.</i> titulus: Mercurius dictus est quasi medius currens, quia <u>sermo</u> inter duos seritur; vel quasi mercatorum kiryos, id est dominus, quia sermo maxime inter mercatores viget.</p>
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This note was compiled with a clear focus on the Horatian lemma, in order to give information about both Mercury and Amphion, and to explain the connection between them. Starting with Mercury, the scholiast notes his parentage [3] and provides an etymological rationalisation of the god. This combination of two etymologies, namely <sermo> *medius currens* and the rare *mercatorum kiryos*, matches Remigius.[4] Remigius' rationalisation of Mercury as *sermo* fits the context of this ode: Horace, seeking to persuade Lyde, evokes the god as mediator, teacher of lyric, and patron of eloquence. The *Thebaid* scholion not only furnishes our compiler with the desired story of Amphion building Thebes with the lyre, but also provides the filial link with Mercury.

I find no text, calling Amphion Mercury's son, other than the *Thebaid* scholion.[5] This unusual detail, shared by the *Thebaid* scholion and Harley, confirms

a close affinity between them. There is one further circumstance in favour of the *Thebaid* commentary being the direct source of this note: the relevant line of Statius is cited in the Pseudo-Acronian comment *ad locum*:

Vnde hic Mercurius laudatur in Amphione discipulo, cuius nota fabula est; eo quod idem Amphion citharae cantu et pecudes, quarum pastor erat, ad se arcessire consuerit et lapides, quibus muri sunt extracti Thebani, ut Statius “*Quo carmine muris / Iusserit Amphion Tyrios accedere montes.*”

This Pseudo-Acro note is absent from Harley. On the other hand, we saw in the preceding chapters (esp. 5.9), that quotations played an important role in the assembling of Harley scholia. If the scholiast were prompted to consult *Thebaid* scholia by a *Thebaid* quotation, it would be in keeping with his compilation technique seen elsewhere.

Footnotes

[1] I thank Rainer Jakobi for pointing out that Sweeney’s *his* is a typographic error.

[2] The phrase makes little sense without *sermo*, which must have been lost by accident.

[3] Mercury’s descent from Maia and Jove is stated in several sources of Harley scholia: Rem. 1.22.11 on Mart. 1.34, Serv. *Aen.* 1.297, 4.577, 8.138; Sch. *Theb.* 4.481-3.

[4] Remigius inherited the twin etymology from earlier commentators. ‘Dunchad’ (Teeuwen; accessus) *Mercurius quasi mercatorum chirios, id est dominus, vel medius currens, vel sermo discurrens, quia inter mercatores sermo discurret, quia Hermes Grece, Latine sermo dicitur* John (Jeauneau, 26.13-27.1) *Mercurius quasi medius currens, quia sermo inter deos et homines currit. aut Mercurius, mercatorum KYPPIOC, id est dominus.* The *medius currens* etymology is common, but *mercatorum kyrios* is rare. I wonder if the latter was in fact invented by an excerptor of Augustine or Isidore (*Civ. D.* 7.14 or *Contra Phil.* 3.820; *Etym.* 8.11.45). Augustine and Isidore offer the *medius currens* etymology, identify Mercury with *sermo*, but then also note his patronage of merchants. This context could have inspired a scholar interested in Greek – for instance John the Scott commenting on Martianus – to etymologise Mercury as *Mercatorum kyrios*. The only other occurrence of *mercatorum kyrios* I have managed to trace so far is Keller’s “γ” scholion on Horace *Serm* 2.43: *Mercurius ... preest mercatoribus, unde dictus est quasi mercatorum kyrios, id est dominus.*

[5] I could not trace the authority, to which the *Thebaid* scholiast refers as *alii*: this could be an earlier Statius commentator. The name of Amphion’s mother Antiope appears in numerous *Thebaid* scholia and in other sources featuring in Harley (PsA *Eps.* 1.18.42; Serv. *Ecl.* 2.24).

Thebaid Scholia Text 6

In *Odes* 2.14 the Danaids appear among the sinners of the underworld (17-20):

uisendus ater flumine languido
Cocytos errans et Danai genus
infame damnatusque longi
Sisyphus Aeolides laboris.

The scholiast adds a note about Danaus’ progeny:

Sch. *Theb.* 2.222

Danaus Beli filius ex pluribus coniugibus quinquaginta filias habuit, totidem Aegyptus, frater eius, filios, qui Danaum fratrem filias suis filiis in matrimonium postulavit. Danaus responso comperit quod generi sui manibus interiret. Argos profectus est et primum dicitur navem

Odes 2.14.18

Danaus Beli filius ex pluribus coniugibus quinquaginta fili<as> habuit, totidem Egistus,[1] frater eius, filios, qui Danaum fratrem filias suis filiis in matrimonium postulavit. Danaus responso comperit quod generis sui manibus interiret, Argos profectus est et primum dicitur navem

fecisse a cuius nomine Argo dicta est navis. Aegyptus misit filios suos ad persequendum fratrem hisque praecepit ut aut Danaum interficerent aut ad se non redirent, ut Agenor filio imperaverat. qui postquam venerunt Argos, coeperunt patrum oppugnare. Danaus postquam vidit se resistere non posse, filias suas fratris sui filiis sponndit uxores. quae patris iussu viros universae suos interfecerunt. sola Hypermestra Lynceo pepercit.

fecisse a cuius nomine Argo dicta est navis. Egistus [1] misit filios suos ad persequendum fratrem, hisque precepit, ut aut Danaum interficerent aut ad se non redirent, ut Agenor filio imperav<it>. qui postquam Argos venerunt, patrum oppugnare ceperunt. Danaus postquam vidit se resistere non posse, filias suas fratris sui filiis sponndit uxores. que universe patris iussu suos viros interfecerunt. sola Ipermestra Linceo pepercit.

This note probably originated with Hyginus (as shown in Appendix 8.1), but has since acquired two new details. Firstly, the ship featuring in Hyginus as built by Minerva to aid Danaus' escape to Argos, is here assimilated to another famous first ship, the Argo, whose name suggests a false connection with Argos.[2] Secondly, whereas Hyginus' Aegyptus desires to kill his brother and nieces, aiming to eliminate competitors for power, according to the *Thebaid* scholion, Danaus is warned against a future son-in-law by an oracle. This alteration may have been inspired by the depiction of Danaus as responsible for the fratricidal hostilities in *Thebaid* 6 (290-293):

iungunt discordes inimica in foedera dextras
Belidae fratres, sed uultu mitior astat
Aegyptus; Danai manifestum agnoscere ficto
ore notas pacisque malae noctisque futurae.

Whatever the source of these two new details, it is clear that Harley shares the *Thebaid* commentator's peculiar version of the story.[3]

Harley shares the reading *generis* for *generi* with three medieval manuscripts of *Thebaid* scholia, the late tenth-century Clm 19482 and Par. lat. 10317, placed at Tegernsee and Echternach respectively, and the eleventh-century Italian Vat. Pal. 1694. In Harley, another version of the Danaus and Aegyptus story, matching a different *Thebaid* scholion (1.324), glosses the Danaids at *Odes* 3.11.26f. There Harley alone reads *generis*, while manuscripts of *Thebaid* scholia have *generi* (Text 7, Appendix 8.1).

The recurrence of *generis* at *Odes* 3.11 could have been influenced by the Horatian context: both *Odes* speak not of Danaus' son-in-law, but of his daughters (*Danai genus* in *Odes* 2.14 above). On the other hand, one cannot exclude the possibility that the reading *generis* was imported into manuscripts of *Thebaid* scholia, which were located in Bavaria and written at roughly the same date as Harley, by an annotator of Horace.

Footnotes:

[1] The corruption of *Aegyptus* to *Aegysthus* belongs to the *Thebaid* scholia archetype.

[2] The Argo featured in *Thebaid* 5 and was described as the first ship in its scholia (5.475).

[3] As can be seen in Appendix 8.1, the First Vatican Mythographer's version of the same narrative is more distant from the *Thebaid* scholion than is Harley.

***Thebaid* Scholia Text 11**

Niobe and her children head the list of Apollo's conquests in *Odes* 4.6 (1-2):

Diue, quem proles Niobea magnae
uindicem linguae

The scholiast provides the story of Niobe's pride and fall:

Sch. *Theb.*

4.576 ...Niobe Tantali filia et Penelopes, quae partus sui fecunditate praelata cum filiis <bis> [1] septem a Diana et Apolline probatur exstincta. **3.191-3** Niobe Latonam coli vetabat in se cupens transferre honorem numinis, quod illam in utroque sexu liberorum se iactabat fetibus anteire... **7.351** qua re commota filios suos Apollinem et Dianam in ultionem suae instigavit iniuriae. cuius Niobae filios quottuordecim uterque deus sagittis exstinxit, Apollo pueros, puellas Diana. **3.191-3** filii Niobae hi: Archemorus, Antagoras, Tantalus, Phaedimus, Sipylos, Xenarchus, Epinicos, item filiae: Astycratia, Pelopia, Ch[e]loris, Cleodoxe, Ogime, Pthia, Neaera.

***Odes* 4.6.1**

Niobe Tantali filia et Penelopes fuit, que, septeni partus utriusque sexus fecunditate praelata[m]

Latonam coli
vetabat in se cupiens transferre honorem
numinis, quod se iactabat in utroque sexu
liberarum† illam fetibus anteire.
quo matris contemptu Apollo et Diana
furore arrepto
Nyobes filios sagittis extinxerunt.
Apollo filios, Diana filias cum matre [3]
peremit. hec sunt nomina filiorum:
Achemorus, Antogorus [2], Tantulus, Phadimos [2], Sypilos, Xenarchus, Epynicos;
hec nomina filiarum: Astycracia, Pelopia,
Cheloris, Cheodoxe, Oigyne, Phatia, Neera.

This story consists of details meticulously collected from three *Thebaid* notes. The choice of material and the structure of the Harley scholion suggest, that it was compiled to gloss this particular ode. The note begins with Niobe's fame through numerous offspring (Horace's *proles Niobe*a); Niobe's children not only feature in the narrative, but are catalogued at the end of the note. Apollo's avenging role (Horace's *vindicem*) receives due prominence: Latona's complaint is paraphrased as her children's anger (*quo matris contemptu Apollo et Diana furore arrepto*), so that Apollo and Diana become subjects of the sentence, exacting vengeance. Horace's oblique reference to Niobe's boasting (*linguae*) is duly explained.

Harley shares with the *Thebaid* scholia several distinctive proper names. Niobe's mother is uniquely named Penelope (perhaps a corruption of *Pelopis soror*?). [4] The catalogue of the Niobids shared by Harley with the note on *Theb.* 3.191-3 differs from Hyginus (*Fab.* 11, 69.7), *Narrationes Ovidianae* (6.2), and Ovid *Metamorphoses* 6 (224ff.).

Footnotes

[1] I thank Rainer Jakobi for pointing out the lack of *bis* in Sweeney's edition.

[2] *Antogorus* and *Phadimos* are common readings in the *Thebaid* scholia tradition.

[3] The scholiast believes that Niobe shared her children's fate, on the basis of the note on *Theb.* 4.576 (*cum filiis septem*).

[4] Hyginus *Fab.* 9 calls Niobe the daughter of Dione (cf. *Fab.* 83 about her brother Pelops). The same corruption progresses through *Sterope/Stiroke* in the First Vatican Mythographer (VM1.201, copied by VM3.1.24), to *Merope* in Conrad's lexicon ('A' 115).

8.3 Conclusion

With the exception of two notes on the Panhellenic games, all passages discussed in this chapter deal with myth. The narrow thematic focus could possibly depend on an intermediate source – yet no such intermediate source is known to date.

On current evidence, let us assume that our scholiast did use *Thebaid* scholia, the text of which was widely available. The scholiast seems to have used a commentary transmitted together with Statius: a quotation of Statius in Horace scholia (Σ) apparently prompted him to consult Text 8; in Text 9 he made an addition inspired by Statius. It is clear that Niobe's story was compiled from multiple *Thebaid* scholia not merely by a collector of myth, but by a commentator on Horace. The small alteration to the two Danaid notes (Texts 7 and 8) and the additions in Text 9 reflect Horatian lemmata.

The scholiast's treatment of the material is in line with the techniques we have seen so far. Once again we observe a tendency towards collecting material: two different notes gloss Danaus and Aegyptus in *Odes* 2.14 and 3.11; two notes about athletic contest accompany *Odes* 4.5; Sisyphus and Circe stories are recycled; Sisyphus and Niobe notes are compiled from multiple *Thebaid* scholia; several notes combine myth with Servius, Remigius, Dictys and Dares, Solinus, and other material. Active collecting, even in the area of myth, where tralatitious digests abound, is indicative of the scholiast's interests and his library.

The focus on myth reflects the scholiast's choice rather than the nature of Statius' commentary. Examining a hundred line sample from the opening of *Thebaid* 4 (the book matched by most Harley passages), I found seventeen substantial notes (over 20 words long), of which only five offered mythical narrative and two more explained a mythical reference. For our scholiast, the *Thebaid* commentary was a major source of myth, second in importance only to Servius.

CHAPTER 9: Notes of unknown or suspect origin

Harley notes of unknown origin, purpose-written to gloss Horace and, in some cases, documented in other Horace manuscripts, were discussed in Chapter 1. Unknown material unrelated to Horace, which was combined with identified sources, appeared in Chapters 2–8, dedicated to those sources. In this final chapter, I catalogue all Harley material of unknown and suspect origin and discuss unidentified passages, which have not featured so far. The chapter is conceived as a presentation rather than an argument. Passages appear in the order of Horace lines. Any important implications of this miscellaneous body of material will be drawn out in the general conclusion.

9.0 Introduction

0.1 Comparing Harley material of unknown origin with other texts

Texts juxtaposed with Harley material in this chapter, should be regarded not as our scholiast's sources, but as verbatim or non-verbatim parallels for comparison. Their direct relation to Harley is, at best, a possibility.

Gregory's commentary on *Job* and Priscian's grammar, match a single linguistic Harley note each. While scholia on Virgil, Remigius, and Statius supplied many Harley annotations, one or two coincidences with scholia on Lucan, Persius, and Boethius are not enough to suggest that our scholiast himself consulted commented manuscripts of those authors. Indeed, in two cases evidence of another Horace manuscript, the twelfth-century German Mun. Clm 375, suggests the opposite. Clm 375 contains two of the passages discussed in this chapter at the same lemmata as in Harley. (We shall see these to be a Boethius scholion and a note resembling Persius scholia, as indicated by an † in the Chapter contents below). Apart from these, Clm 375 contains no other non-Horatian scholia resembling Harley. Therefore, it seems that these two notes do not belong in the body of material assembled by our scholiast, but had an independent career in the Horace scholia tradition (Σ).

A handful of Harley notes (whose origin is not related to Horace) resemble no known source. The amount of reference material, available to (post-) Carolingian

scholars, should not be exaggerated, but allowance must be made for texts, which are lost or as yet undocumented.¹

0.2 Texts compared with Harley uncertain material

Terence Scholia

Of the rich late antique commentary tradition, we have the scholia Bembina, (edited by Mountford, 1934), the commentaries of Donatus (s. iv; see Jakobi 1996) and of Eugraphius (s. v-vi?; edited by Wessner, 1908).

There exist at least six medieval traditions. *Commentum Brunsianum* is named after its first editor, Bruns (1811). Jakobi (2007) shows that this commentary was written in ninth-century France, perhaps in Lotharingia.² *Commentum Monacense* (edited by Schorsch, 2011³) survives in full in Mun. Clm 14420-VII (s. x/xi, north Italian), but its preface appears in many (often glossed) manuscripts, including the ninth- / tenth-century north Italian Par. Lat. 7900 A-I. Four more commentaries are transmitted in twelfth-century manuscripts. The oldest of these, *Commentum Recentior*, already existed in the tenth century.⁴

I thank Rainer Jakobi for drawing my attention to the verbatim correspondence between two Harley notes and two medieval Terence scholia featuring in Schlee's eclectic edition (1893). None of the manuscripts used by Schlee are geographically close to Harley.⁵

Lucan Scholia

In 1869 Usener published from a single manuscript, Bern 370 (s. ix/x, ca Soissons), one tradition of Lucan scholia, named *Commenta Bernensia*. In 1909 Endt published from Bern 370 and four other manuscripts, another commentary, which

¹ For a balanced view of this problem, see, for example, Zorzetti's discussion of sources used by the First Vatican Mythographer (1995, pp. xx-xxxv, esp. p. xxiv). The Mythographer itself is one example of a mythical compilation, which would be lost but for a single manuscript.

² *Commentum Brunsianum* is cited by Sedulius Scottus and Remigius in their commentaries on Donatus' *Ars maior* (Munk Olsen 2009, p. 108 and 12, referring to Löfsted, Sedulius Scottus (1977, pp. 116-117). For discussion of manuscripts see Riou (1973).

³ The Schorsch (2010) edition was not available to me.

⁴ *Commentum Recentior* is used in the α recension of Eugraphius' commentary, the earliest surviving manuscripts of which belong to the 10th century.

⁵ Schlee (1893) used the following manuscripts: Flor. Laur. Plut. 38.24 (s. x/xi, Germany or Lotharingia); Vat. Lat. 1640 (s. x, Germany), containing *Brunsonianum* glosses; Flor. Ricc. 528 (s. xi, add. s. xii², Germany), containing Donatan glosses; Vat. Lat. 3868 (s. ix 2/3, add. s. ix ex., Lotharingia), containing Donatan and *Brunsonianum* glosses; and the eponymous manuscript of the *Commentum Monacense*, Mun. Clm 14420 (x/xi north Italy).

received its title *Adnotationes* from the *tituli* and from the subscriptions of these manuscripts. Re-examining the tradition, Werner (1998) concluded that the *Adnotationes* and *Commenta Bernensia* are compilations of marginalia, and that the substance of the late antique commentary, from which they putatively derive, is lost. The content of the scholia on books 1 and 9 was analysed in a doctoral dissertation by Bachmann (1974). Endt identified a further six manuscripts containing a distinct tradition, subsequently published as *Supplementa* to his edition by Cavajoni (1979, 1984, 1990). A recent overview of Lucan scholia is provided by Munk Olsen (2009, vol. IV.1, pp. 83-87).

Several of the annotated manuscripts are south German.⁶

One Harley note, matching a scholion found in a twelfth-century Lucan manuscript, is discussed below. We have seen that several phrases in Historian Text 22 match both a Lucan scholion of the *Supplementum* tradition and a passage from Isidore's *Etymologiae*.

Persius Scholia

The tradition of Persius scholia is rich and complex.⁷ Carolingian scholia are based on multiple ancient traditions, with an admixture of Isidore, Servius, and other material.⁸ Persius becomes a school text in the middle of the ninth century; the ninth-century marginalia are the earliest surviving scholia (Scholz/Wiener 2009, p. xvii–xviii). At least four separate early medieval commentary traditions have been identified. Two of these are used ca 900 by Remigius, whose work is the earliest surviving continuous commentary (p. xxiii–xxiv). There is an abundance of glossed Persius and separate commentary manuscripts from the tenth century, including three

⁶ Annotated Lucan manuscripts of south German origin: *Adnotationes* Bodm. 182 (s. xi, Tegernsee?) and Mun. Clm 4610-I (s. xi²); *Supplementum* Berl. fol. 35 (s. xi 2/4 Tegernsee), Cavajoni's D.

⁷ The manuscript catalogue provided in Brugnoli et al. (1972-1975) was not available to me. For a discussion of the tradition, see Munk Olsen vol. 3.1 (2009, pp. 95–99); Scholz and Wiener (2009, pp. 9–108), and Zetzel (2005). There are two recent editions: Clausen and Zetzel (2004) attempt to reconstruct a ninth-century text from later manuscripts; Scholz and Wiener (2009) use the full range of manuscripts to produce a more inclusive text.

⁸ Scholz / Wiener (2009) p. xxiv; Clausen / Zetzel (2004) p. v

placed in south Germany.⁹ I know of no manuscript evidence for the joined study of Horace lyric and Persius.¹⁰

One Harley note resembles and two more match Persius scholia verbatim.

Boethius Scholia

A single Harley note matches a Boethius scholion.

Only a limited amount of Boethius scholia by Remigius and his predecessors is available in print,¹¹ but no other Harley notes have obvious connections with Boethius. It is clear from Jeudy's catalogue of Remigius' works (1991, pp. 457-500), that Boethius scholia did circulate in south Germany in the tenth-eleventh centuries.¹² Furthermore, the same Boethius scholion is used at the same Horatian lemma in Mun. Clm 375.

Gregory's *Moralia in Job*

Gregory's commentary on Job survives in numerous early medieval manuscripts, including several of south German origin.¹³ Since its composition, this text attracted numerous excerptors, some of whose works have yet to be published.¹⁴ It is not certain, if the single Harley passage matching the *Moralia* was drawn directly from Gregory.

Priscian's Grammar

⁹ South-German manuscripts of Persius scholia: Mun. Clm 23577-II s. x, south-German (A commentary); Bern 265 s. x/xi, Würzburg (B Commentary); Mun. Clm 19489 s. xi, Tegernsee (glossed Persius text). Scholz / Wiener (2009, p. xxii) note that abbot Froumund (d. 1008) obtained Persius manuscripts for the Tegernsee library from Regensburg.

¹⁰ One 11th/12th-century Persius manuscript of German or Italian origin, namely the Flor. Laur. Plut. 38.27-II (Munk Olsen, 1982-9; Persius C25 = Horace C 55), transmits Persius together with Horatian hexameters and lyric, but only the Horace part of that manuscript has some interlinear glosses.

¹¹ The more extensive collections of Boethius scholia by Stewart (1916) and Silk (1935) were published before Courcelle undertook the monumental study of this multi-layered material (esp. 1939, 1948, 1967). Silvestre (1952) and Huygens (1954) published commentaries on 3 m 9, a particularly popular *metrum*, which was commented on independently from the rest of the work. See also Jeuneau (1959). Bolton (1977 *bis*), whose main interest is Boethius in 10th-11th-century England, provides an Appendix of mythological extracts. d'Onofrio's theological study of Boethius scholia is prefaced by a most useful overview of 1906–1969 scholarship on the subject (1981, pp. 591-610).

¹² Among the manuscripts listed are Krakow B. Jagiel. Berl. Lat. 4^o 939, x-xi (ff. 60-112 contemp. glosses by Froumund of Tegernsee); Mun. Clm. 14836, s. x 4/4, s. xi glosses on 3. m. 9, German, owned by St Emmeram; Mun. Clm. 15825, s. x, south German, ff. 67v-75v contemp. marginalia; Mun. Clm. 19452 xi ¼, ff. 2v-76v contemp. glosses, south German, owned by Tegernsee.

¹³ The most recent edition is in the *Corpus Christianorum* series, by M. Adriaen, who provides a list of the manuscripts in his preface (1979, pp. xiv-xxix).

¹⁴ See Wasselynck (1962) for a discussion of compilers and epitomists, especially pp. 5-19 for those of pre-Harley date. Wasselynck (1965) also reviewed Gregory's influence on medieval biblical exegesis.

Priscian's grammar survives in over a thousand manuscripts, over fifty from the eighth and ninth centuries alone.¹⁵ The work had many Carolingian imitators, most of which remain unstudied.¹⁶ It is far from clear, where the scholiast obtained the single note matching Priscian.

We saw in Chapter 1 that elsewhere in the Harley scholia, in the note on Ulixes at *Odes* 1.6.6, Priscian is referred to by name. It became clear that the Ulixes note belongs in Σ, for a similar scholion not naming but quoting Priscian verbatim glosses the same lemma in the eleventh-century French Vat. Reg. 1672. Pseudo-Acro and λφψ scholia (absent from Harley) also refer to Priscian at different points of their exegesis.¹⁷ The Priscian expert(s), who composed these Σ could also be responsible for Harley's Priscian parallel discussed below. It remains to be noted that Priscian, who quotes Horatian lyric sixty-six times, was an obvious source of Horace glosses.¹⁸ If the Harley scholiast had used Priscian directly, one would expect many more instances of overlap.

¹⁵ The tradition was recently reviewed by Holtz (2009). Ballaira's (1982) catalogue of Priscian manuscripts was complemented in three articles by Jeudy (1982, 1984, 1984-5). While numerous Priscian manuscripts await study and classification, the edition by Martin Herz, published within Keil's *Grammatici Latini*, vols II-III, remains standard.

¹⁶ As noted by Holtz (2009, pp. 8-9, note 9), Keil's volume 8 represents only a small sample of Carolingian grammatical treatises.

¹⁷ Priscian is cited in Pseudo-Acro at *Epist.* 2.1.229, and in λφψ scholia at *Odes* 2.7.19 and 2.11.14.

¹⁸ Keil's edition lists Horace quotations in the index (vol. III, 1859, pp. 535-6).

Iuppiter et Neptunus et Plutus

The following note appears on 4vo (by *Odes* 1.4-6), attached to no lemma.[1]

Iuppiter et Neptunus et Plutus fratres fuerunt. qui inter se elementa mundi partiti sunt. Iuppiter celum elegit; Neptuno potentia maris sorte evenit; Pluto [Pluto] postremus regna inferorum possedit.

The story of the three brothers, dividing the universe, is told in many sources, none of which match Harley's phrasing.[2] The Harley note has two distinctive features.

Firstly, it specifies the way in which each brother obtains his portion: Jupiter chooses, Neptune receives his by lot, Pluto gets what is left. Secondly, although the elements are commonly connected with the deities, *elementa* are not mentioned in the context of this story,[3] except in the Second Vatican Mythographer (3):

poete habitum elementorum numinibus dantes Saturno quasi temporum deo iiiior filios, id est quatuor elementa, ascribunt, Ioui cum socia sibi coniuge Iunone deputantes superiora, Neptuno et Plutoni inferiora, unde et iii fratres orbis imperium dicuntur inter se diuisisse et Iuppiter celum, Neptunus mare, Pluto terram sorte accepisse. hinc etiam Neptunus secunde sortis regnator perhibetur, quia aqua uicinior est celo quam terra.

The unnamed authority, to which the Mythographer refers for Neptune's lot being second (*perhibetur*), may be Virgil (*Aen.* 1.138f.): *non illi imperium pelagi saevumque tridentem, / sed mihi sorte datum*. The same source could be at the bottom of Harley's opposition between Jupiter's choice and Neptune's lot. Our scholion and the Mythographer's story may both ultimately go back to scholia on Virgil.

Footnotes

[1] The general nature of this note makes the identification of a lemma difficult. Unless the note is misplaced, it could serve to gloss the following appearances of the gods described in nearby poems: *Odes* 1.4.16-17 *Iam te premet nox fabulaeque Manes / et domus exilis Plutonia*; *Odes* 1.5.13-16 *...Me tabula sacer / uotiu paries indicat uuida / suspendisse potenti / uestimenta maris deo*.

[2] **Serv. Auct. ad Aen. 1.139** *...sed mihi sorte datum 'sorte' ideo ait, quia Iuppiter et Neptunus et Dis pater, Saturni et Opis filii, cum de mundi possessione certamen inissent, placuit ut imperium sorte dividerent: ita effectum est, ut caelum Iuppiter, maria Neptunus, Dis pater inferos sortirentur*. **Sch. Boeth. 3 m 12.29 (Silk)** *TERGEMINUS dicit quia tres dicuntur fuisse fratres qui inter se omnem mundum dividerunt: Iuppiter caelum Neptunus mare Pluto infernum. et ut singuli in regno fratrem potentem habere videantur aliquid tripliciter gerunt: Iuppiter trifidum fulmen, Neptunus tridentem, Pluto Cerberum qui tria capita habere dicitur. inde et triplex dicitur*. **Sch. Boeth. 3 m 12.40 (Bolton)** *tres dicuntur fratres fuisse qui sibi omnem mundum dividerunt, Iuppiter, Neptunus et Pluto. Iuppiter caelum, Neptunus mare, Pluto tenet infernum. Iuppiter trifidum fulmen, Neptunus tridentem, Pluto tricerberum*. (BN K TR) **VM 1.101 (=2.1)** *... hi fratres et per sortem postea mundum totum sibi diuiserunt: Iuppiter celum, Neptunus mare, Pluto infernum occupauit*... Zorzetti (1995, p. 136, note 297) suggests that the Mythographer drew on Remigius' scholion on Boethius *Cons.* 4.m.1.19. I have not been able to find the Boethius scholion in question among those edited by Silk (1935), Courcelle (1939 and 1967), or Bolton (1977). Perhaps Zorzetti refers to an unnamed manuscript. Similarly, the scholion on Lucan 4.410, which, according to Zorzetti, was Remigius' source, does not appear in the editions of Usener (1869), Endt (1909), or Cavajoni (1979).

[3] Fulgentius (1.2-5) systematically links the four elements to the four deities, the three brothers and Juno. The three brothers and their elements also appear without Juno, for example, in Servius (*ad Aen.* 1.133): *aut certe illud est, quod tria haec numina, licet divisa imperia teneant, videntur tamen invicem regni totius habere potestatem, sicut et ipsa elementa quae retinent physica inter se quadam ratione*

iunguntur. quod et ipsorum numinum sceptrā significant. Iuppiter enim trifido utitur fulmine, Neptunus tridente, Pluto tricerbero. multi enim quaerunt, cur modo Neptunus de alienis conqueratur elementis.

Odes 1.11.4-6 Tyrrhenum mare (= Boethius scholion)

In *Odes* 1.11 Leuconoe is told not to count her winters (1-4):

Seu pluris hiemes seu tribuit Iuppiter ultimam,
quae nunc oppositis debilitat pumicibus mare
Tyrrhenum.

The scholiast glosses the Tyrrhenian sea:

Tyrrhenum mare dictum est a Tirrenis pastoribus qui videntes Liberi
patris tigrides metu precipitaverunt se in mare

The Bacchic etymology of the Tyrrhenian sea fits this ode, where Leuconoe is told to strain the wine (*sapias, vina liques...*), but the note was originally written to gloss Boethius (3 m. 8.8).[1] The strange description of Dionysus' captors as shepherds rather than sailors probably arises from Boethius, who mentions the Tyrrhenian shallows as an unlikely habitat for goats in his catalogue of pointless quests in inappropriate locations (3 m. 8.3-8):[2]

non aurum in uiridi quaeritis arbore
nec uite gemmas carpitis,
non altis laqueos montibus abditis
ut pisce ditetis dapes
nec uobis capreas si libeat sequi
Tyrrhena captatis uada...

This is the only note among lyric Harley annotations to match a Boethius scholion. The same scholion appears at the same lemma in Clm 375. It is, therefore, not part of our scholiast's compilation.

Footnotes

[1] Silk (1935, cf. Stewart 1916) places this note in the body of scholia he attributes to Remigius of Auxerre. The story of Dionysus' abduction appears in various texts. Servius (*ad Aen.* 1.67, cf. Isidore 13.16), who gives the episode etymological significance, is probably the ultimate source of the Boethius scholion.

[2] A longer Boethius scholion on the same lemma, based on the same passage of Servius, contributes two original details: vines and, interestingly, cattle on board the ship (*armenta navis*).

Odes 1.12.59 Pollutis secundum (= Persius scholion)

Odes 1.12 ends with an address to Jove, who strikes polluted groves (59-60):

tu parum castis inimica mittes
fulmina lucis.

The Harley note on the unchaste groves combines Pseudo-Acro with material matching Persius scholia [1]:

PsA *ad loc.*
idest pollutis, secundum
 pontificum et aruspicum
 documenta, qui dicunt
 numquam fieri fulmina
 nisi in lucis pollutione
 aliqua alienis.

Sch. Pers. 2.26.(5)
bidental autem ideo dicitur
fulmen, aut quod duos dentes
 habeat, aut certe quod in eo
 loco ubi ceciderit bidentes
 mactentur. cetera autem
 fulgura qualibet hostia
 procurantur. sed omnia
 calcare nefas dicitur; ideo
 evitandum dixit esse.

Odes 1.12.59
 pollutis secundum
 pontificum et a[u]ruspicum
 documenta, qui dicunt
 nunquam† fieri fulmina
 nisi in lucis pollutione
 aliqua alienis.

locus quo cadunt fulmina
bidental dicitur,
 vel quia duos dentes fulmen
 habet, vel quia bidente ab
 a[u]ruspibus consecratur;
 quem calcari nefas est;

nec potest expiari
 nisi immolata hostia.

Sch. Pers. 2.26(9)
bidental dicitur locus
secundo percussus
fulmine, qui bidente ab
 aruspibus consecratur,
 quem calcari nefas est.
 ergo bis eadem de caelo
 tacta, quae expiari non
 possunt, nisi immolata
qualibet hostia cetera
 fulgura teneantur.

The note opens with the Pseudo-Acro explanation of why Horace calls the targeted groves *parum casta*. The following material corresponds to Persius scholia. As his basis, the scholiast takes ‘note 9’, which, appropriately for Horace, glosses *bidental* as a place. He supplements it with a phrase from ‘note 5’, which glosses *bidental* as the lightning itself (*duos dentes fulmen habet*). The explanation that the place can only be expiated by sacrifice is added from ‘note 9’.

Footnotes

[1] The word *bidental* occurs only four times in antique literature: in Horace’s *Ars Poetica* (471), in Persius (2.26), in Apuleius (*de Socr.* 7.16), and in Martianus Capella (3.241). All authors but Apuleius were accompanied by commentaries. The extent, to which annotators cross-referenced between these authors, remains subject to investigation.

Odes 1.15 Hecuba Dimantis

As Paris sets out on the return journey from Greece in *Odes* 1.15, Nereus prophesies doom for Troy (1-8):

Pastor cum traheret per freta nauibus
 Idaeis Helenen perfidus hospitam,
 ingrato celeris obruit otio
 uentos ut caneret fera

Nereus fata: 'Mala ducis aui domum
 quam multo repetet Graecia milite,
 coniurata tuas rumpere nuptias
 et regnum Priami uetus. etc.

The following note combines two stories: an account of Paris’ exposure at birth, drawn from an unknown source, and the scene of Paris’ reunion with his family narrated by Servius. A similar compilation of material, using the same passage of Servius, also appears in the Second Vatican Mythographer. In the first story, the Horace scholiast and the Vatican Mythographer parallel each other closely without matching verbatim. (I underline distinctive elements of each.)

9.1 Uncertain source

cf. Dictys 3.26

Namque Hecubam foetu eo gravidam,
facem per quietem edidisse uisam, cuius
ignibus conflagrauisse Idam, ac mox
continuante flamma deorum delubra
concremari; omnemque demum ad cineres
collapsam ciuitatem, intactis inuiolatisque
Antenoris et Anchisae domibus. quae
denunciata cum ad perniciem publicam
spectare aruspices praecinerent,
internecandum editum partum placuisse.
sed Hecubam more femineae miserationis,
clam alendum pastoribus in Idam
tradidisse : eum iam adultum...

Serv. Aen. 5.370

sane hic Paris secundum Troica Neronis
fortissimus fuit, adeo ut in Troiae
agonali certamine superaret omnes, ipsum
etiam Hectorem. qui cum iratus in eum
stringeret gladium, dixit
se esse germanum: quod
adlatis crepundiis probavit, qui habitu
rustici adhuc latebat. hos autem ludos
transfert Vergilius ad Hectoris tumulum:
qui sunt facti, cum habuisset Hector occidi.

Discussion

Odes 1.15

Hecuba Dimantis filia uxor Priami
pregnans in somnis vidit se genuisse facem
qu[i]a tota urbs incenderetur; quod

Priamus auditus cum seniorioribus
referret responderunt sapientes quos in
consilio habebat puerum quem pareret
exicium genti et causam esse incendii.
propterea natum Paridem pater occidi
iubebat, mater eum ideo pastori clam
alendum tradebat. Nutritus et adultus cum

agonali certamine superaret omnes, ipsum
etiam Hectorem
stricto gladio petitus ad† Hectore dixit
se esse germanum: quod
allatis crepundiis probavit, qui habitu
rustici ad hoc tempus latebat. Propterea
eum pastorem nominat, perfidum propter
violata iura hospicii.

cf. VM 2.225

Hecuba Cisei filia Priami regis uxor
cum Paridis grauida esset, facem, qua urbs
incenderetur, se parere uidit, quod

cum Priamo narraret,

intellexit puerum, qui nasceretur,
causam futurum incendende urbis.
quem genitum pater cum interire
iussisset, mater pastori furtim
transmisit alendum, a quo nutritus

adeo fortis factus est ut in Troie
agonali certamine superaret omnes, ipsum
etiam Hectorem. qui cum iratus in Paridem
stringeret gladium, dixit ille se eius esse
germanum, quod cum mirum uideretur,
allatis crepundiis eius frater est probatus et
a patre in fratrum consortia receptus.

Both Harley and Mythographer narratives contain the following main events. The story begins with Hecuba's dream preceding Paris' birth, Priam acts on this warning, Hecuba disobeys, and the child is brought up secretly by a shepherd. The narrative ends with Paris' return to his family, drawn from Servius.

To conclude, the Horace scholiast links the narrative to his lemma: *propterea eum pastorem nominat, perfidum propter violata iura hospicii*. In Harley, Paris' breach of hospitality is explained by another lengthy compilation (Trojan Historian Text 2). The purpose of the above scholion is to explain why Horace calls Paris a shepherd: the note describes how Paris came to be among shepherds and how he returned to his princely state.

The relation between Harley and the Second Vatican Mythographer is not clear. In the second story, where the source is known, the Vatican Mythographer has a fuller extract of Servius than Harley. The precise ancestry of the first story, that is Paris' exposure, is however unknown. I reproduce Dictys' narrative, which is both the closest parallel available and the only potential source known to have been used by the Horace scholiast.[1] Harley differs from all the potential sources in the detail of Priam's consultation with the elders: elsewhere the dream is interpreted by soothsayers (*coniectores* in Hyginus and *haruspices* in Dictys). This one element of the story is elided altogether in the Mythographer. The two identities of Hecuba's father given by the Horace scholiast and the Mythographer, appear separately and together as alternatives in various sources.[2]

While it is clear that the Harley scholion and the story found in the Second Vatican Mythographer are related, the terms of their relationship remain uncertain – at least until their source for the story of Paris' exposure is discovered. The scholion aptly explains Horace's setting and may have been compiled from Servius and other material especially to gloss this poem. It is equally possible, however, that the scholiast drew the entire story from an intermediate source, which was presumably also used by the Mythographer.

Footnotes

[1] Three sources mention the dream, interpreted by an authority, and the decision to kill the boy: Hyginus 91, Dictys 3.26, and *Excidium Troiae* 3. Hyginus does not specify Priam or Hecuba's role in dealing with the child. In Dictys, the story narrated by Priam mentions only Hecuba's actions. *Excidium Troiae*, like Dictys, omits the role played by Priam. The *Excidium* version of the narrative is more expansive and offers no closer parallel to Harley than does Dictys. (The Second Vatican Mythographer may be influenced by Virgil 10.705 or Serv. ad *Aen.* 5.535.)

[2] Most scholia and mythographers give two variants of the name of Hecuba's father, Dymans and Cisseus (Hyg. 91, 111, 243; Serv. ad *Aen.* 10.705, *Aen.* 7.320; Sch. *Achil.* 1.22). Dictys mentions only

Dymans as Hecuba's father, albeit indirectly (2.35): *Asius, Dymante genitus, Hecubae frater, ex Phrygia* (cf. 4.12).

***Odes 1.25.14 per virilia celi* (= Lucan Scholion)**

In *Odes 1.25* Horace foresees Lydia turning into an old hag, still labouring with lust and complaining of neglect by youth (13-16):

cum tibi flagrans amor et libido,
quae solet matres furiare equorum,
saeuiet circa iecur ulcerosum
non sine questu...

A marginal note, connected to no particular lemma, seems to gloss the physiological description of lust in this stanza. It matches a scholion found in a twelfth-century Lucan manuscript, Cologne 199 (19vo) [1]:

Sch. Luc. 8.458

per virilia celi. ideo in mare precipitata dicuntur, quia fruges in ventrem traiciuntur et venerem generant id est libidinem excitant. cum enim venter intemperate reficitur, tunc virilia ad contumeliam concitantur.

Odes 1.25.14?

per virilia celi. in mare ergo precipitasse dicuntur, quando fruges in ventrem mittuntur et venerem generant ac libidinem excitant. cum enim venter intemperate reficitur, virilia ad contumeliam excitantur.

It is not clear to me, what the Horace scholiast made of the opening phrase *per virilia celi*, which was surely written to explain Lucan (8.456-9):

tum Cilicum liquere solum Cyproque citatas
inmisere rates, nullas cui praetulit aras
undae diua memor Paphiae, si numina nasci
credimus aut quemquam fas est coepisse deorum.

The phrase *per virilia celi* expounds *si numina nasci/credimus*, the rest explains Lucan's oblique reference to Venus' birth off the Cyprian shore, near Paphos, from Uranus' severed genitals. Venus' birth is rationalised as the generation of lust by food entering the stomach: *venerem generant id est libidinem excitant*. The Harley version is clearly derivative: the birth of Venus has all but disappeared, as *venerem generant* becomes a prosaic synonym for *libidinem excitant*. [2]

One other Harley note, glossing the Phocaeans at *Epode 16.17* (Historian Text 21), ends with a passage from Isidore (*Etym.* 15.1.63), which was also extracted verbatim by a Lucan scholiast (*ad. Bell. Civ.* 3.339). It is not clear, whether our Horace scholiast obtained either note from the margins of a Lucan manuscript.

Footnotes

[1] The manuscript is either French or German. Its scholia are published by J. Reimer for the *Codices Electronici Ecclesiae Coloniensis*.

[2] There is no mention of food or *virilia* in Horace, who speaks of female lust. In Horatian context, the *contumelia* takes on a milder meaning of complaint (*questu*).

Odes 1.28.10 anima Pythagore

Addressing the shade of Archytas in *Odes* 1.28, Horace reminds him that the son of Panthous, reborn as Pythagoras, had to die once more (9-13):

...habentque
Tartara Panthoiden iterum Orco
 demissum, quamuis clipeo Troiana refixo
 tempora testatus nihil ultra
 neruos atque cutem morti concesserat atrae...

A note about Pythagoras is attached by a siglum to *Tartara*:

anima Phitagore prius in pavonem translata est, dein ad Euphorbium Panthoi
 filium, inde ad Homerum, postremo ad Ennium.

The phrase *Panthoi filium* glosses Horace's reference to Euphorbus by his patronymic *Panthoiden*. The Pseudo-Acro note *ad locum*, which is also present in Harley, offers the same gloss, but does not mention the peacock, Homer, or Ennius. Harley contains another Pseudo-Acronian note on this subject at *Epode* 15.21, which lists Euphorbus, Homer, Pythagoras, and the peacock in that order.[1]

The order of characters in the above scholion – namely peacock, Euphorbus, Homer, Ennius – matches not Pseudo-Acro, but a note on Persius (6.10):

sic Ennius ait in annalium suorum principio (2-11 Sk.), ubi se dicit vidisse in
 somnis Homerum dicentem fuisse quondam pavonem, et ex eo translata in se
 animam esse secundum Pythagorae philosophi definitionem, quod dicit animas
 humanas per palingenesiam, id est per iteratam generationem, exeuntes de
 corporibus in alia posse corpora introire. ideo quintus dixit, propter eam
 opinionem, quae dicit animam Pythagorae in pavonem translata, de pavone vero
ad Euphorbium, de Euphorbio ad Homerum, de Homero autem ad Ennium.

The Persius scholiast refers to the opening of the *Annals* (1.15 *memini me fieri pavum*), but the order of characters may well be inspired by Persius himself. Persius names all but Euphorbus in the above order (Persius 6.10-11):

cor iubet hoc Enni, postquam destertuit esse
Maeonides Quintus pauone ex Pythagoreo.

Harley and the Persius scholion share not only the order of the four characters,[2] but also the name-form 'Euphorbius' rather than 'Euphorbus'. The Harley note is clearly related to the Persius scholion, although the terms of their relationship are unknown.

Finally, the same scholion occurs at the same lemma in the twelfth-century German Horace manuscript Clm 375 and, therefore, does not appear to be the work of our scholiast.

Footnotes

[1] **PsA *ad loc.***: *PANTENDEN nunc Phitagoram significat, qui predicavit se apud Troiam Euforbium, Panthois filium, fuisse, qui interfectus a Menelao iterum revixit factus Phitagoras; idque eum cognovisse agnito clippeo quem in templo Martis Euforbium fixerat. et ideo dicit ‘nil ultra morti nisi nervos atque cutem concesserat’. cf. Epode 15.21 renati autem, idest denuo nati, quia dicitur anima Pythagorae primum Euforbi Troyam fuisse, post Homeri, et post ad ipsum Pythagoram transisse, deinde ad pauonem.)*

[2] **PsA Ep. 15.21 Euphorbus, Homer, Pythagoras, pavo**

Odes 1.28.10 **pavo, Euphorbius, Homer, Ennius**

Sch. Pers. **pavo, Euphorbius, Homer, Ennius**

Information about Pythagoras’ previous lives also appears in a *Thebaid* scholion (3.485-6). This contains an Horace quotation (*Epode* 15.21), potentially notable for an Horace scholiast, but uses the form ‘Euphorbus’ and lists the characters in a different order:

Sch. *Theb.* **Euphorbus, Pythagoras, pavo, Homer, Ennius**

***Odes* 2.11.18 Liber pater Euhius (= Persius scholion)**

In *Odes* 2.11 Horace calls Bacchus the best helper against devouring cares

(17-18): *dissipat Euhius curas edacis*. The scholiast glosses the god’s epithet:

Sch. Pers. 1.102

Liber autem pater Euhius dictus est ex eo quod in bello giganteo non apparuisset et credidit eum pater discerptum a gigantibus et dixit eu, quae vox gementis est, deinde adiciebat hion, id est ‘filiū miserū’,[1] vel ‘ubi es?’

***Odes* 2.11.18**

Liber pater Euhius est dictus ex eo quod in bello gyganteo cum non apparuisset, credidit eum Iuppiter discerptum a gygantibus et dixit euhion idest ‘fili miser’,[1] vel ‘ubi es?’

I have not managed to trace either of these curious etymologies of Euhius anywhere but in this note on Persius. A different etymology connected with the gigantomachy is offered by Pseudo-Acro (*ad loc.*):

Euhius Liber pater dictus eo quod, cum dii bellum cum Gigantibus gererent, primus in leonem conuersus occidit Gigantem; ex quo facto eum Iuppiter ita laudauit: “εὐ υἱέ” hoc est ‘bene, fili’;[1] Graece enim <υ>λός filius dicitur.

Both Pseudo-Acro and the Persius scholiast’s etymologies are based on Jupiter’s address to his son, interpreting the second half of his title as υἱός. The first half of the name (*Eu-*) is explained as Greek εὖ by Pseudo-Acro, but is explained as Latin *heu* (rendered by *miser*) in the Persius scholion. Each etymology is set accordingly in a triumphant or would-be-tragic version of the gigantomachy.

The words *ubi es*, concluding the Persius, note require explanation. This phrase appears as a gloss on *heus* (rather than *heu*) in Martianus scholia (Rem. 58.21 ad Mart. 2.134): *Heus vocantis adverbium. Iohannes Scotus heus ‘ubi es’ resolvebat*. [2] Whatever the source of John’s information, *ubi es* is not part of the Euhius etymology. It is added as a gloss on *heu* ‘alas’, assimilated to *heus* ‘hello there!’.

The Persius note does not correspond to its lemma precisely (Pers. 1.99-102):

torua Mimalloneis inplerunt cornua bombis,
et raptum uitulo caput ablatura superbo
Bassaris et lyncem Maenas flexura corymbis
euhion ingeminat, reparabilis adsonat echo.

The fact that the note glosses the name of the god rather than the Bacchic cry suggests, that it was not originally written for this Persius lemma. The Harley and Persius notes may well be related through a common source.

Footnotes

[1] Whereas Persius' lemma *Euhion* is glossed with the accusative *filium miserum*, Harley and Pseudo-Acro have a vocative, *fili miser*, which fits the context of the story.

[2] Martianus uses the word *heus* at the beginning of Athanasia's address to Philologia (2.134 *et 'heus' inquit 'virgo, praecepit deorum pater...*). In scholia attributed to John, the lemma is glossed (58.21) *HEUS adverbium loci*. This statement is unparalleled and indeed does not quite match Remigius' report of John's teaching (Rem. 58.21): *Heus vocantis adverbium. Iohannes Scotus heus 'ubi es' resolvebat*. If Remigius' report is accurate, the comment *adverbium loci*, attributed to John, must in fact be due to a misunderstanding by a later scholar, who replaced John's gloss with his own.

Odes 2.11.21 scortum

In *Odes* 2.11 Horace asks his companions to invite the prostitute Lyde (21-22): *quis devium scortum eliciet domo / Lyden?*. The opening of the Harley note on *scortum* matches a Terence scholion; I find no close parallel for the rest.

Sch. Ter. Eun. 424 (Schlee p. 102)

SCORTUM dicitur quasi scortum, id est solea. sicut solea omnibus subigitur, ita et illa pellicula, et sicut illa omnes in se terendo recipit sordes, ita et illa omnium libidinum inmunditias.

Odes 2.11.21

scortum dicitur quasi sortum, sortum est enim solea; nam sicut solea maceratur inter manus sutoris, sic pellicula meretricis maceratur ab adulteriis.

Scortum, meaning a prostitute, is explained by connection with leather in several sources from antiquity onwards.[1] Varro tells us that 'leather' was the initial meaning of *scortum*, before the word came to mean a *meretrix* (7.5.84): *dicta a pelle, id enim ... antiqui dicebant scortum*. In Harley and the Terence scholion, 'leather' is treated as a word separate from 'prostitute' and serves to gloss it.[2]

Harley distinguishes the two words further, spelling 'leather' *sortum*. Carolinne White observes that the shift of spelling is phonetic. The date and place of this shift remain unknown to me. One other instance of 'leather' (with the variant spelling *sordum*) etymologising 'prostitute', which I have managed to trace, occurs in an eleventh-century gloss on *Fecunda ratis* (1.31) by a pupil of Eghbert of Liege [3]:

SCORTUM dicitur quasi sordum id est solea.

Only one other Harley note matches a Terence scholion verbatim.

Footnotes

[1] Varro 7.5.84 *scortari est s<a>epius meretriculam ducere, quae dicta a pelle : id enim non solum antiqui dicebant scortum, sed etiam nunc dicimus scortea ea quae e corio ac pellibus sunt facta; in*

aliquot sacris ac sacellis scriptum habemus : 'ne quod scortum adhibeatur', ideo ne morticinum quid adsit. Festus pp. 330-1 Muell. scorta appellantur meretrices quia ut pellicula subiguntur. omnia namque ex pellibus facta scortea appellantur. (Schlee observes that the Terence scholion reproduced above is related to Festus.) **Donat. ad Eun. 424** *abdomen in corpore feminarum patiens iniuriae coitus scortum dicitur, ideo quia scorta sunt dura coria.* **PsA ad loc.** (identical to **Porph.** in all but word order): *scortum autem dictum putatur a calciamentorum solo subiecto omnibus, etiam uulgaribus* [2] I owe this clarification to the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* and, in particular, to Caroline White.

[3] This obscure poem survives in its entirety in a single manuscript, Cologne Cath. membr. 4, s. xi. It was edited by E. Voigt (1889, *Egberts von Lütlich Fecunda Ratis*). *Fecunda Ratis* 1.30f. *Quam cuperet meretrix incestas vivere cunctas!// Castigat natam 'quod sum, ne desere' scortum.*

Danae Odes 3.16 (= Terence scholion + Servius)

In *Odes* 3.16 Danae's exemplum illustrates the efficacy of gold (1-11):

Inclusam Danaen turris aenea
robustaeque fores et uigilum canum
tristes excubiae munierant satis
nocturnis ab adulteris,
si non Acrisium, uirginis abditae
custodem pauidum, Iuppiter et Venus
risissent: fore enim tutum iter et patens
conuerso in pretium deo.
Aurum per medios ire satellites
et perrumpere amat saxa potentius
ictu fulmineo...

The story of Jupiter's visitation closely matches a Terence scholion; the aftermath of Danae's rape is narrated by Servius.[1]

Sch. Ter. Eun. 585 (Schlee p.105)

Danae filia fuit Acrisii regis,
qui cum timeret filiae, ne vitaretur a Iove,
summo deo, ita ut omnes puellae aliae,
fecit turrim aeneam et adhibuit custodes.
tunc Iuppiter
per imbrem aureum
descendens introiuit
per tegulas et sic vitiavit illam.

Serv. Aen. 7.372

Danae, Acrisii regis Argivorum filia,
postquam est a Iove vitiata, pater eam intra
arcam inclusam praecipitavit in mare.
quae delata ad Italiam, inventa est a piscatore
cum Perseo, quem illic enixa fuerat, et oblata
regi, qui eam sibi fecit uxorem, cum qua
etiam Ardeam condidit: a quibus Turnum
vult originem ducere.

Odes 3.16.1

Dane filia fuit Acrissii regis Argivorum.
qui cum timeret filie, ne viciaretur a Iove
sicut alie puellae,
fecit turrim eneam et adhibuit custodes.
tunc Iuppiter secundum fabulam in aureum
imbrem conversus, secundum veritatem
corruptis auro custodibus descendit intro
per tegulas et sic viciavit eam.

postquam est a Iove viciata, pater eam intra
arcam inclusam praecipitavit in mare. quae
delata ad Italia<m> inventa est a piscatore
cum Perseo, quem illic enixa erat, et oblata
regi, qui eam sibi fecit uxorem.

The story of Danae's rape matches a Terence scholion. *Tegulae* are a distinctive feature of Terence's rendition of the myth.[2] It is, therefore, clear that this scholion was originally written to gloss Terence.

The Harley version differs in several small details. The name of Acrisius' subjects has been supplied from Servius (*regis Argivorum*). Jupiter's title *summus deus*, which echoes Terence's description of the god (*at quem deum! qui templa caeli summa sonitu concutit*), is lacking in Harley. Its removal could be due to Christian sensitivities. In Chapter 2, we similarly noted that the scholiast removed Caesar's and Augustus' divinity from his historian sources. Later in the story, Harley wording is more expansive than that of the Terence scholiast (*in aureum ... descendit intro*). Horace supplied the bribed guards (*corruptis auro custodibus*) and inspired the contrast between *fabula* and *veritas*, that is Horatian 'reality'.

Footnotes

[1] The scholiast omits Servius' last sentence, connecting it to the Virgilian lemma (*Aen.* 7.372f.) *et Turno, si prima domus repetatur origo/ Inachus Acrisiusque patres mediaeque Mycenae...*

[2] **Eun. 588-590** *deum sese in hominem convertisse ac per alienas tegulas/ venisse clanculum per impluvium fucum factum mulieri./ at quem deum! qui templa caeli summa sonitu concutit.*

Odes 3.27.11 aves aut oscines

The crow is one of the bad omens that will accompany Galatea in *Odes* 3.27 (14-15):

oscinem corvum prece suscitabo
solis ab ortu

The Harley note on *oscinem corvum* is very similar to Servius:

cf. Serv. Aen. 3.361

aves aut oscines sunt, aut praepetes:
oscines ore futura
praedicunt, praepetes volatu
significant. sed praepetes aut superiora
tenent, et praepetes vocantur: aut inferiora,
et dicuntur inferae; praepetes autem ideo,
quia omnes aves priora petunt volantes.

Odes 3.27.11

aves aut oscines sunt aut praepites;
oscines, quasi ore canentes, futura vocibus
predicunt; praepetes volatu auguria
premonstrant. sed praepetes aut superiora
tenent et praepetes vocantur, aut inferiora
et dicuntur infere; praepetes aut ideo
quia omnes aves priora volantes petant.

For the most part, the Harley note matches Servius verbatim, but contains additional details in both definitions of *oscines* and *praepetes*. In Harley, the etymological sense of *oscines* is spelled out as *ore ... canentes* and then explained with *futura vocibus praedicunt*. The *ore canentes* etymology also occurs in Festus (p. 214. l. 14)[1]:

Oscines aves Ap. Claudius esse ait, quae ore canentes faciant auspicium, ut corvus, cornix...

The question is, whether the Horace scholiast filled out Servius with a definition, such as we see in Festus – there is no evidence for Festus itself being used elsewhere

in Harley scholia – or whether Harley offers a fuller version of a definition abbreviated in Servius. On this one occasion the latter seems to be the case. The *ore canentes* etymology, shared by Festus and Harley, matches *oscines* more precisely than Servius' *ore praedicunt*. Servius' phrase seems to be the result of combining the full etymology and the explanation we see in Harley: *quasi ore canentes* and *futura vocibus praedicunt* are contracted to *ore praedicunt*.

Harley also offers a slightly fuller definition of *praepetes* using a different verb: where Servius says *volatu significant*, Harley has *volatu auguria premonstrant*. The word *augurium* features in the Servius Auctus version of the same note. *Augurium* is not the same as Harley's plural *auguria*, nor do Harley scholia share Servius Auctus additions elsewhere. Harley, Servius Auctus, and Servius all seem to go back to the same source.

This source, dealing systematically with the subject of augury, need not be a commentary on Virgil. Of the three terms, explained by the scholion (*oscines*, *praepetes* and *inferae*), only the first two feature in Aeneas' address to Helenus in *Aeneid* 3 (360-361):

...qui tripoda ac Clarii laurus, qui sidera sentis
et volucrum linguas et praepetis omina pinnae...

Footnotes

[1] This etymology also appears in Isidore, but with slightly different wording (*Et.* 12.7.76): *oscines aues uocant, quae ore cantuque auspicium faciunt; ut coruus, cornix...*

Historian Text 10

At the close of *Odes* 3.27 Juno admonishes Europa (73-76):

Vxor inuicti Iouis esse nescis.
Mitte singultus, bene ferre magnam
disce fortunam; tua sectus orbis
nomina ducet'.

A mythical and a geographical definition of Europe is attached to *nomina*:

cf. Isid. Etym. 14.4.1 Europa quippe Agenoris regis Libyae filia fuit, quam Iouis ab Africa raptam Cretam aduexit, et partem tertiam orbis ex eius nomine appellauit... Europa autem in tertiam partem orbis diuisa incipit a flumine Tanai... **Oros. 1.2.4-7** Europa incipit ut dixi sub plaga septentrionis, a flumine Tanai, qua Riphæi montes Sarmatico auersi oceano Tanaim fluuium fundunt, qui praeteriens aras ac terminos Alexandri Magni in

Odes 3.27.76

tertia pars mundi Europa dicitur, ab Europa Aggenoris filia quam Iuppiter mutatus in taurum raptam secum supra mare Oretam† avexit.

hec Europa incipit [1] sub plaga septentrionis, a flumine Tanai, in qua Riphei montes Sarmatico auersi oceano Tanaim fluvium fundunt, qui preteriens aras ac terminos Alexandri Magni in

Rhobascorum finibus sitos Maeotidas auget paludes, quarum inmensa exundatio iuxta Theodosiam urbem Euxinum Pontum late ingreditur. inde iuxta Constantinopolim longae emittuntur angustiae, donec eas mare hoc quod dicimus Nostrum accipiat. Europae in Hispania occidentalis Oceanus termino est, maxime ubi apud Gades insulas Herculis columnae uisuntur et Tyrrheni maris faucibus Oceani aestus inmittitur.

Robascorum finibus sitas [1] Meotidas auget paludes, quarum inmensa exundatio iuxta Theodisiam urbem Euxinum Pontum late ingreditur. inde iuxta Constantinopolim longe emittuntur angustie, donec eas mare hoc quod dicimus Nostrum accipiat. Europe in Hispania occidentalis Oceanus termino est, maxime ubi apud Gades insulas Herculis columnae visuntur et Terreni maris faucibus Oceani estus inmittitur.

Orosius supplies a geographical description. The source of the myth is unknown. It summarises the story narrated in this ode, but also contains three items of information absent from Horace: Agenor's name, Crete being the bull's destination, and Europe constituting a third part of the world. The last detail is particularly important in relation to this poem, because it explains Horace's phrase *sectus orbis* (74). It is also unusual.[2] Isidore's *Etymologiae* (above) are the only other text offering a tripartite division, which I could trace. Yet the parallel is weak: an intermediate or common source may have existed.

Very appropriately, a scholion about Horace's mythical Europa opens with a mythical definition, but the scholiast is not satisfied with the story alone and seeks out geographical information about Europa in Orosius.

Footnotes

[1] *Ut dixi*, omitted by one Orosius manuscript, would also be a logical omission for our scholiast; in the absence of punctuation, *sitos* is attracted into the Accusative case, to agree with *paludes*.

[2] Contrast the bipartite division in Pseudo-Acro (*ad loc.*): *una pars orbis Europae nomen accepit, altera Asia dicta est*. The term *tertia pars mundi* is variously used through antiquity: as the Underworld (Ovid *Met.* 5.372), the sea (Serv. *ad Aen.* 1.138), the Orient (Isid. *de Nat. Rerum* 9.3), Africa (Donat. *Int. Virg.* 1.85; Serv. *Dan. ad Aen.* 1.385), Asia (cited as the commoner version by Aug. *Civ. Dei* 16.17), India (Mart. *Cap.* 6.694).

Servius Text 108

In *Odes* 4.4 Drusus is compared to the eagle rewarded by Jove for capturing Ganymede (1-4):

Qualem ministrum fulminis alitem,
cui rex deorum regnum in auis uagas
permisit expertus fidelem
Iuppiter in Ganymede flavo...

The scholiast provides the story of Ganymede's rape and the part played in it by Jove's eagle. The general outline of the story is similar to the λφψ scholion on the same lemma.

9.1 Uncertain source

Serv. Aen. 1.28 RAPTI...
GANYMEDIS HONORES
Troï, regis Troianorum, filii.
'honores' autem dixit vel

propter ministerium
poculorum, quod exhibuit diis
remota Hebe, Iunonis filia, vel
quod inter sidera conlocatus
aquarii nomen accepit

V. Aen. 5.252-5: intextusque
puer frondosa regius Ida /
velocis iaculo cervos cursuque
fatigat, / acer, anhelanti
similis quem praepes ab Ida /
sublimem pedibus rapuit Iovis
armiger uncis
Th. Ecl. 77-80
Idaeos lepores puer exagitat
Ganymedes, / Quem Iovis
arreptum devexit in aethera
sursum / Armiger; ablato
divum concesserat ordo /
Nomen pincernae, quod
possedit prius Hebe.

Discussion

Odes 4.4.4
Ganymedes
regis Trojanorum filius fuit,
quem in Yda monte
venationibus intentum
Iuppiter rapuit per aquilam
armigerum suum
et Hebe filia Iunonis de
ministerium poculorum remota
ipsum constituit esse
pincernam deorum. Virgilius
ait [Aen. 1.28] “*rapti*
Ganymedis honores”

λφψ Odes 3.20.16*
Ganymedem significant
puerum speciosissimum gente
Troiana natum, qui dum
venaturus isset, de Ida silva ab
Aquila raptus est in caelum et

a Iove constitutus est
pin<cer>na deorum.

Servius is the one source, which was certainly used in the composition of this note: the gloss *regis Troianorum filius* and Hebe's removal from the ministration of cups are drawn verbatim from the note on *Aen.* 1.28. Servius' lemma is appended as a Virgil citation: *Virgilius ait 'rapti Ganymedis honores'*.

The scholion contains two interesting epithets: *armiger* is applied to Jove's eagle in *Aeneid* 5 and in Theodulus' *Eclogue*; Ganymede's epithet *pincerna* – a rare word [1] – also features in Theodulus and λφψ scholia (above).[2] Remarkably, both epithets occur in the same passage of Theodulus. While I found no other Theodulus links in Harley, it is tempting to see a connection between Theodulus and earlier Σ. The question of date remains open. The *terminus ante quem* of λφψ scholia is identified by Noske as the 840s-50s scholia of π (1969, pp. 189-91). The *Eclogue* is placed by some in the tenth century, together with its oldest surviving manuscript (Eton L. 6. 5), by others – in the ninth.[3] The direction of the influence cannot, for the present, be established. It is reasonable to suppose that Theodulus studied Horace; it is, perhaps, less likely that an Horace scholiast drew on the *Eclogue*. *Pace* Curtius,[4] the *Eclogue* was not necessarily written for the school-room – indeed, the first known commentary was produced by Bernard of Utrecht only at the end of the eleventh century.

One item unaccounted for by sources mentioned above is *Ida monte* rather than *Ida silva*. It is not clear, whether this detail has particular significance: *Ida* is frequently called a mountain and the alteration is not required by the Horatian lemma.[5]

Footnotes

[1] Noske (1969, p. 253) observes that this rare Greek word appears in late Latin. He draws attention to *pincerna* as one of three Greek words found in 'Archetype §' commentary – the only Greek word, which is not corrupted. See also Borzsák (1977, p. 428).

[2] The λφψ note on *aquila* at *Odes* 4.4.1 also uses the epithet *pincerna*, but offers no further information about Ganymede: *Aquilam significat, quae ob hoc quod iussu Iovis Ganymedem puerum Troianum ab Ida silva rapuit caeloque portavit, ubi constitutus est pincerna deorum, regnum super omnes aves accepit.*

[3] For the debate over 9th- or 10th-century date, see Mosetti Casaretto (1997, *Ecloga: il canto della verità e della menzogna*, Firenze, p. XIV, note 2.) In his introduction, to *An English Translation of the Auctores Octo*, Pepin (1999, p. 25) notes that attempts to identify Theodulus with the 9th-century Saxon scholar Gottscalk of Orbais are not convincing.

[4] Pepin (1999, p. 25) observes that Curtius' definition of the 'pedagogical' purpose 'to detoxicate mythology' is contrary to the mild tone of the *Eclogue*, in contrast to other *Streitgedichte*.

[5] *Ida* is called a mountain repeatedly in Servius' commentary (*Aen.* 2.166, 2.804, 3.105ff, 9.70ff., 9.175, 9.671; *Georg.* 1.102, 3.450) as well as in other texts used by the Harley scholiast (*Dictys* 2.27, 3.12; *Martianus* 6.659). The entire phrase, *in Ide monte venationibus intentum*, also features in the Harley note on *Odes* 3.20.16, where it is inserted into an extract of Orosius (*Historian* Text 9).

Odes 4.5.2 *terre principes* (= Gregory *Moralia*)

In *Odes* 4.5 Horace greets Augustus as the nation's protector (1-2):

Divis orte bonis, optime Romulae
custos gentis, abes iam nimium diu;

The gloss on *custos gentis* matches verbatim a passage in Gregory's *Moralia in Iob*:

Greg. Mor. 9.16

unde et terrae princeps non incongrue
 Graeco eloquio basileus dicitur. laos enim
 populus interpretatur; basileus igitur
 basis laou uocatur, quod Latina uidelicet
 lingua basis populi dicitur,
 quia uidelicet ipse super se populum sustinet,
 qui motus illius potestatis pondere fixus regit.
 quo enim subiectorum suorum onera tolerat,
 eo quasi superpositam basis columnam portat.

Odes 4.5.2

terre pri<n>ceps
 Greco eloquio basileus dicitur. leos enim
 populus interpretatur, basileus igitur quasi
 basislau vocatur, quod Latina uidelicet lingua
 basis populi, idest sustentatio populi, dicitur;
 quia uidelicet ipse super se populum sustinet,
 qui motus illius potestatis pondere fixus regit.
 quo enim subiectorum suorum onera tolerat,
 eo quasi superpositus basis columnam portat.

The scholiast adds a gloss on *basis laou* (*idest sustentatio populi*) probably based on Gregory's own verb *sustinet*. The absence of further Harley lyric scholia, matching the *Moralia*, suggests that the scholiast did not use this source directly.

***Epode 5.13 pubes pubis iuventus* (cf. Priscian)**

The boy's complaint at the opening of *Epode 5* is followed by the narrator's description of the scene (11-13):

ut haec trementi questus ore constitit
 insignibus raptis puer,
impube corpus

These Horatian lines are quoted by Priscian in his discussion of the adjective *pubis* and its various forms. Harley contains a scholion, which matches the bulk of Priscian's explanation, lacking only references to grammatical authorities. Harley also shares with Priscian the incomplete Horace quotation, omitting *insignibus raptis* in line 12:

Prisc. 6.249.18-23

praeterea Caesar declinat 'pubis puberis';
quidam, ut Probus, 'pubes puberis', quidam
 'puer puberis'.
 ex hoc tamen compositum invenitur
 similem habens nominativum genetivo,
 'hic impubis huius impubis'. Virgilius in
 V [546] '*impubis Iuli*'. ab eo neutrum
 'impube' Horatius protulit in Epodo [5.11-
 13] '*ut haec trementi questus ore constitit/*
... puer/ impube corpus'.

Epode 5.13

pubes pubis iuventus;
 pubis puberis,
 pubes puberis,
 puer puberis, puer pubescens dicitur.
 ex hoc tamen compositum invenitur
 similem habens nominativum genetivo,
 hic impubis huius impubis. Virgilius in
 V-o [546] '*impubis Iuli*'. ab eo neutrum
 'impube' Horatius protulit in Epodo
 '*ut hec trementi questus ore constitit/*
...puer/ impube corpus'.

Whereas Priscian discusses only the adjective *pubis*, the Harley note opens with the noun *pubes* and differentiates between the noun and the adjective (*iuventus* and *puer pubescens*, respectively). The noun *pubes* is glossed as *iuventus*, without stating the genitive, in the Pseudo-Acro note on *Odes* 1.25. The *puer pubescens* gloss on the adjective matches no identifiable source, but could have been inspired by *Epode* 5 itself.

10. CONCLUSIONS

10.1 Latin annotations on Horatian lyric in Harley 2724

I have examined the marginal and interlinear scholia in the lyric portion of a late tenth- or early eleventh-century Bavarian Horace manuscript, British Library Harley 2724. Harley contains two types of scholia: the first is Horace scholia (Σ); the second is copious material extracted from classical authors and commentaries on them (listed in section 0.3).

The first type of Harley annotations is similar to what we find in other annotated Horace manuscripts. In order to determine the place of Harley in the Σ tradition, I have studied the Σ published to date and inspected other Horace manuscripts in Vatican, Munich, and London libraries. Important textual variants offered by Harley were noted in Chapter 1; coincidences of unpublished Σ were recorded in the Transcript. Further research in the field of annotated Horace manuscripts may clarify the place of Harley in the complex tradition of Σ . I have also noted all instances, where the scholiast appears to benefit from Σ , which are lacking in Harley.¹

The second type of marginalia distinguishes Harley from other annotated Horace manuscripts – indeed, this method of glossing has not, to my knowledge, been previously attested for any classical author.² This distinctive material is the main subject of my investigation, the results of which are presented in the second part of my conclusions.

10.2 Featured annotations: glossing material other than Σ

Non- Σ Harley annotations were grouped into chapters according to the different sources used by the scholiast. I shall now review the entire body of material in the attempt to determine, whether it can be regarded as a unified collection and – if so – to establish the date and place of its compilation, the interests and attitudes revealed by its content, and finally its role in relation to Horace.

2.1 Coverage

¹ The most compelling example was discussed in Chapter 6 (Servius Text 9, glossing Albunea at *Odes* 1.7.12).

² Rainer Jakobi draws my attention to the following: scholia on Terence (Schlee, 1893; Riou, 1976), including the *Commentum Monacense* (Schorsch, 2012) and *Commentum Brunsianum* (cf. Jakobi, 2007), scholia on Statius' *Thebaid* (Pa and Pb in Jahnke, 1898), Commentary on Statius' *Achilleid* (Sweeney, 1997). As far as I can judge from my brief acquaintance with these texts, they do not quite match the extent of verbatim excerption we find in Harley.

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Coverage provided by Σ was specified above (1.2). Whereas Σ cease, for the most part, at *Odes* 2.1, non- Σ notes continue up to *Odes* 4.8, where marginal annotations disappear altogether (from 42ro).³ Both types of notes are present in the *Epodes*, with the exception of *Epodes* 9-13, where annotations are lacking. The *Carmen Saeculare* is glossed with a few non- Σ extracts as well as copious Σ .

2.2 Harley annotations as a copy

As noted in the Introduction (0.2.3.3), certain features of the layout (misplaced notes and incomplete series of alphabetic sigla) suggest that Harley annotations were copied into the manuscript and not compiled in it. Harley's Σ were naturally copied from an earlier Horace manuscript. Let us now consider, whether non- Σ passages were compiled in Harley.

At least two Servius extracts originally glossed Horace lemmata other than the lemmata, to which they are applied in Harley (6.11). Five Harley notes lack a lemma. Assuming that these passages once had Horace lemmata, their separation from those lemmata must be the result of at least one instance of copying.⁴ Harley extracts contain errors made by a copyist rather than the scholiast;⁵ sometimes different copies of the same extract within Harley have independent errors.⁶

An additional piece of evidence confirms that *Thebaid* scholia used in Harley had been previously employed to gloss Horace. In the Introduction (0.2.3.2), I drew attention to a small piece of parchment, predating Harley, bound in as fol. 68-9. Its scholia are copied (with a lacuna) on the adjacent folios of the manuscript proper (67vo-70ro). This insert contains not only Σ , but also a note on *Thebaid* 6.5-6: in Harley this note glosses both *Odes* 4.5.3 and, on 70ro, *Epistles* 1.1.50.

It has emerged that Harley's non- Σ material was not compiled in this manuscript. It is not clear whether it was copied from the same archetype as Σ . Admittedly, the most extensive and the most numerous non- Σ notes gloss parts of lyric, which lack Σ , that is *Odes* 2 and parts of *Odes* 3-4 (cf. 1.2 or 10.1). On the other hand, non- Σ material is present in *Odes* 1, the *Epodes*, and the *Carmen Saeculare*, which are also annotated with Σ .

³ Harley lacks the quire containing *Odes* 2.19--3.9 (0.1).

⁴ Notes lacking a lemma: 2ro *cum Neptunus...*; 9vo *ΦANTASCMA vero...*; 9vo *Herculis fabulam...*; 27vo *cervi plurimi...*; 34vo *Andromedam Cepheo...* The last note actually begins with a redundant siglum.

⁵ The most spectacular copyist error is *Agamennone* for Dictys' *Memnone* still glossed as *Aurore filio* at *Odes* 2.9.14.

⁶ A conspicuous example is offered by the three copies of Servius' Tantalus story at *Odes* 1.28.7; 2.13.37; *Ep.* 17.66: each version is marked by distinctive variants (6.2).

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In the Introduction (0.2.3.4), I note that Harley annotations are written in multiple hands. Examining the sources of these notes, I found no I found no correspondence between scribal hands and the type of material copied by each.

2.3 The scholiast's text of the sources

In several places, the text of the sources excerpted by the scholiast differs from modern editions of these authors, as noted in the conclusions to the relevant chapters. The few notable instances can be summarised as follows: one interesting Orosius variant (2.3), a Dares reading confirming the conjecture of Dares editor Meister (2.3), one correct Greek word and one emendation in Isidore (5.3), an alternative lacuna-filler in Servius (6.13), more complete, contaminated, and altogether unpublished Martianus scholia (7.2).

Harley scholia must also be considered as a witness for lost texts. In two cases, small discrepancies between Harley and its apparent source suggest that the scholiast used not the source known to us, but a related text, which has since been lost. The note on Libya at *Odes* 2.2.10, combining Solinus and Pliny, may arise from a lost source or even from the unpublished second revision of Solinus' work (3.3). A lost source, standing between Solinus and Isidore, may account for the note on lynxes at *Odes* 2.13.40 (5.3). In one case Harley offers a note, clearly pre-dating Servius' commentary (on *oscines* at *Odes* 3.27.11), presented together with other notes of unknown origin in Chapter 9.

2.4 Non-Σ Harley scholia as a unified body of material

The most conspicuous piece of evidence in favour of Harley material presenting a unity is the fact that many of the sources are used in conjunction with each other.⁷ The choice and editing of the material also fit into recognisable patterns. By and large, sources are extracted verbatim, several of them at length.⁸ The source material may be abbreviated,

⁷ Orosius is combined with the *Historia Romana* five times, once with the addition of Servius; Dares is twice combined with Servius; Dictys is used in conjunction with Dares at least once, *Thebaid* scholia being employed in the same passage; *Thebaid* Scholia are used twice with Remigius' commentary on Martianus (once together with *Solinus-cum-Plinio*); a line from Martianus himself prefaces an extract of Solinus; Servius is also combined once with Cicero, once with Isidore, once with Remigius and Bede; the single passage of Sallust is combined with Solinus; Hyginus' *de Astronomia* is used once on its own and once with Dares and the *Thebaid*.

⁸ The most extensive extracts come from Orosius, Paul the Deacon, Solinus, Dares Phrygius, Dictys Cretensis, Solinus, Isidore's *Etymologiae*, and Cicero's *de Senectute*.

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reordered, and linked to the Horatian lemma. The combination of multiple sources may be accompanied by some paraphrasing.⁹

The Ovidian compilation about Danae differs most from other Harley scholia. As we saw in Chapter 4, this retelling of the myth in colourful prose incorporates several Ovidian quotations, not only from Ovid's Danae story, but also from other parts of the *Metamorphoses* and the *Fasti*. On the other hand, we can compare this passage with the scholiast's use of other authors: the catalogue of heroes drawn from the *Thebaid* at *Epode* 5 (8.1), the Virgilian and Horatian vocabulary supplementing Servius at *Odes* 1.18.13f. (6.12), the simultaneous use of Remigius and Martianus (7.1.2). Our scholiast was probably capable of composing this kind of story: his familiarity with poetry is clear from his reading of Virgil and Statius as well as Horace; his command of narrative style is clear from his sympathetic recompilation of the historians, Cicero, and other authors.

Mary Garrison points out that a unified body of material, such as the scholia of Harley 2724, could have been compiled by multiple contributors (cf. 0.2.3.4). As a copy, Harley 2724 offers no clear evidence either in support of or against this notion. Further studies in the field of medieval scholarship on classical authors may shed more light on the human agents behind this material, its compilers and scribes.

I have drawn attention to two non-Σ Harley notes, which are shared by other Horace manuscripts.¹⁰ Since neither of the manuscripts in question definitely predates Harley, the implications of these matches for Harley scholia remain unclear.

2.5 Choice of material and its extraction

The most distinctive feature of the Harley material is extensive verbatim extraction, particularly of historical and ethnographic information, to gloss proper names used by Horace. In addition to proper names, extensive excerpts gloss animals (Solinus), wines, triumphs, and trophies (all from Isidore's *Etymologiae*). A piece of philosophical rhetoric drawn from Cicero's *de Senectute* (over 500 words) is second in length only to the story of Telephus from Dictys Cretensis (circa 1000 words).

The other characteristic of Harley material is the conspicuous presence of commentaries on other authors: some *Thebaid* scholia (mostly myth), much Remigius on

⁹ Two examples of the most drastic editing are the note about Germany at *Odes* 4.5.26, paraphrasing Solinus to describe the scholiast's homeland (3.2), and the note on *Baiae* at *Odes* 2.18.20, stitching together snippets of information from a long passage of Servius (6.7).

¹⁰ The Remigian note glossing the Fates at *Odes* 2.3.15 is also used, at a different lemma, in the 11th-century south German manuscript from Tegernsee, Vat. Lat. 3866, as well as the 12th-century German Clm 375.(7.3). Clm 375 also shares the Harley note on *anima Pythagore* at *Odes* 1.28.10 (9.1).

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Martianus Capella (for pagan gods, cosmography, and complementing Macrobius *In Somnium* on metaphysics), and an enormous volume of Servius (the scholiast's *Enquire within upon Everything*). The scholiast's attachment to Servius' commentaries stands out all the more against his relative neglect of the other 'encyclopaedia', standard for the period: Isidore's *Etymologiae* match five times fewer Harley notes than does Servius (5.3).

This is particularly surprising, as the *Etymologiae*, unlike Servius, were designed for easy reference. One important feature, which helped the scholiast to identify relevant material within Servius' commentaries, are numerous Horace quotations (6.2). Virgil and Statius quotations in Σ and other sources also prompted the scholiast to consult scholia on the quoted lines (6.9). The ease with which the scholiast navigates the commentaries, shows a thorough familiarity with the commented authors. It is also clear from his method of excerption, that the scholiast used the commentaries together with author texts.¹¹

The scholiast names seven of his sources: Dares, Solinus, Cicero, Lucan, St John, Martianus, and Servius. 'Martianus' in fact refers to Remigius' commentary incorporating Martianus lemmata: the commentator's identity was probably unknown to our scholiast (7.3). Servius, on the other hand, clearly had authority on a par with the literary authors: some Σ were altered to harmonise with information provided by Servius (6.10). Similarly, Orosius' account of the Phocenses takes precedence over the Isidorian note about the Phocaeans: the latter probably reached the scholiast as an anonymous marginal gloss (2.3.1). The scholiast may have attached less weight to anonymous tralatician material, but he did not dismiss it altogether.¹²

2.6 The scholiast's interests and attitudes

The same main principles govern the treatment of different sources. Relevance to Horace puts no limits on the selection of material or the extent of excerption.¹³ The scholiast's passion for collecting information is obvious from his use of multiple scholia on the same lemma¹⁴ as well as different versions of the same story at different points in the

¹¹ Direct evidence for the simultaneous use of author and commentary is available for Martianus (7.1.1-2) and, in very limited quantity – for Servius (6.12).

¹² Among Harley notes, we find several matching scholia on Terence, Lucan, Persius, and Boethius (9.1).

¹³ Classic examples of notes irrelevant to Horace are the story of Io, compiled from two Servian passages to gloss not Io but Inachus in *Odes* 3.19, and the Deianira myth at *Odes* 2.12, inherited together with the Lapith story from *Thebaid* scholia.

¹⁴ Examples of multiple scholia on the same lemma: on the causes of the Trojan war at *Odes* 1.15; on Mercury at *Odes* 1.21.12; on the Danaids in *Odes* 2.14; on trophies and triumphs at *Odes* 4.2.49; on athletic contests at *Odes* 4.3; on gates of horn and ivory at *Odes* 3.27.41; on epithets of Bacchus at *Odes* 3.25.19.

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manuscript.¹⁵ Comparing Harley to Servius, as the paradigmatic commentary, I observed that Harley allots a relatively small place to language (6.13). Narrative is preferred to the analytical or literary-rhetorical commentary mode.¹⁶

Particularly unusual for the exegetic genre is the extensive interest in History. In a study of eleventh-century historical miscellanea, Chiesa (2001) observes that at this date the interest in the discipline is connected not with monastic learning and schooling, but with the court and education of rulers.¹⁷ There is no compelling evidence for Harley annotations originating at a court. A number of Harley notes and compilations focus on statesmen and commanders named by Horace, but the prominence given to the protagonists of history and myth is dictated essentially by the Horatian lemmata. The scholiast does not exploit these exemplars to admonish the reader. Furthermore, I have proposed that for our scholiast, the historical (and mythical) individuals served as chronological beacons in his navigation of Roman and Trojan history (2.4). The one aspect of rulers, to which the scholiast expresses a definite attitude, is the divinity of Caesar and Augustus: he denies it emphatically (2.3.2).

This expression of Christian sensitivities is unique among Harley scholia. The only other trace of Christianity in Harley lyric annotations is an *Apocalypse* quotation used as a literary authority at *Carmen Saeculare* 33.

Rationalisation of myth was inherited by the scholiast from his sources,¹⁸ yet the choice and compilation of material show that the scholiast himself had an interest in this method of interpretation.¹⁹ Rationalising apart, the scholiast makes no criticism or apology about the pagan or immoral content of myth.

¹⁵ Examples of different versions of the same narrative: Spartacus' rebellion from Orosius at *Odes* 3.14 and from Eutropius at *Epode* 16; Danae's myth at 3.16.1 as well as the extensive Ovidian narrative on 34vo.

¹⁶ Literary exegesis is exemplified among known Σ by the French pre-1175 *Materia Commentary* on the *Ars Poetica* published by Friis-Jensen (1990).

¹⁷ For medieval compilers of Roman histories, see also McKitterick (1994, pp. 106-111).

¹⁸ The scholiast owes the rationalisation of Danae to Horace (*Odes* 2.16; Ch. 9), Bellerophon to Fulgentius via *Phi* scholia (*Odes* 1.27.24), Sisyphus to *Thebaid* scholia (Text 5), Mercury to Martianus (Text 20), and several to Servius (Circe in Text 1, Chimera in Text 72, Titans and the Giants in Text 62, Atreus and Thyestes conflict in Text 119). Since the source of the Danae note at *Odes* 3.16.1 is unknown, it is not clear, whether the scholiast himself is responsible for the emphatic contrast *secundum fabulam... secundum veritatem*.

¹⁹ The note on the Titans at *Odes* 2.12.7 was compiled with a focus on the rational (6.8); the story of Sisyphus, used on its own at *Epode* 17.68, is at *Odes* 2.14.20 complemented by a rationalisation; not satisfied with the rational interpretation of Circe at *Odes* 1.17.17, the scholiast augmented his note with further arguments on the same subject at *Epode* 17.17 (6.9). The scholiast twice combines myth with geographical material: at *Odes* 3.27.76 the rape of Europa prefaces Orosius' ethnographic description; at *Odes* 2.2.10 the genealogy of princess Libya supplies an alternative explanation of that land's name.

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This review of the scholiast's interests and attitudes would be incomplete without a reference to the theme of education, which the scholiast brings into prominence in the Ciceronian extract glossing *Odes* 1.31 (Chapter 4). In Harley, the description of old age begins with attention bestowed on it by youth (*stipata studiis iuventutis*), as experienced by teachers (*nec ulli bonarum artium magistri non beati putandi*). The reason for the emphasis is unclear. This example is unique among lyric Harley scholia. Harley annotations, offering little explanation and analysis of Horace's text, clearly were not compiled for the schoolroom. The extensive use of the sources, unrestrained by relevance to the expounded author, rather suggests a mature reader or readers.

2.7 Criteria for identifying the Harley scholiast's further exegetic output

Our scholiast, or indeed group of scholars, is familiar with multiple works of pagan literature and probably glossed authors other than Horace. The best-documented characteristics, which can help to identify further works by our scholiast(s), can be summarised as follows:

1. extensive verbatim excerption
2. collecting information regardless of relevance for the lemma
3. use of historians (including the less commonly available Eutropius)
4. use of commentaries on pagan authors
(often triggered by quotation of that author in scholia *et al.*)
5. preference for narrative style
6. combining sources, sometimes with a focus on the lemma
7. interest in rationalising myth

2.8 The date and place of compilation

Let us consider where and when the non- Σ scholia may have been compiled. The *terminus post quem* of this body of material is its latest source, Remigius' commentary on Martianus Capella, composed in the fourth quarter of the ninth century; the *terminus ante quem* is the Harley 2724 copy, written in the late tenth or early eleventh century.

The scholiast names Germany as his location in the note on *Odes* 4.5.26 (*Germania in qua nos sumus*) and describes this country favourably in other scholia on this poem (3.2). The origin of the Harley 2724 copy has been specified as south Germany on the basis of vernacular glosses (0.2.2). We do not know, if Harley 2724 inherited the vernacular glosses from the same archetype as non- Σ annotations. On the other hand, two

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non-Σ sources used in Harley, Cicero's *de Senectute* and Macrobius' *In Somnium Scipionis*, were imported together into south Germany from France precisely at the end of the tenth century (4.1). Further studies of the manuscript traditions of the sources used in Harley – particularly Eutropius, Dictys, the *Saturnalia*, and Ovid, which are less well attested in the tenth century – may help to confirm the date and origin of these scholia.

2.9 Summary: reading Horace's lyric at the close of the tenth century

In the Introduction, we observed the need for further evidence demonstrating the date and the context, in which Horatian lyric was studied (0.1.3). This discussion complements Friis-Jensen's investigation of twelfth-century school-room commentaries.

Harley 2724 is a witness to the intensive reading of Horatian lyric on a par with Horatian hexameters,²⁰ which apparently took place in south Germany at the end of the tenth century. Our Horace reader had also studied commented manuscripts of other pagan authors, particularly Virgil, Statius, and Martianus Capella. His reading of the commented authors was supplemented by extensive reference to Orosius, Eutropius, Paul the Deacon, Dares, Dictys, Solinus, Cicero, Isidore, and other sources. Horace served the annotator as a springboard for the accumulation of encyclopaedic information, among which language occupied a relatively modest place. The Harley collection of material illustrates and documents the study of Horace outside the school-room by an adult reader accustomed to using a library. Uninhibited by any apologetic scruple, the scholiast employs Horace as a guide to the pagan world.²¹

Discussing the earliest tradition of glossing on Martianus Capella, Mariken Teeuwen (2008, p. 50) concludes that “annotated manuscripts of the classical texts themselves also functioned as works of reference, as collections of scholarly work, albeit that they were not as easy to use as an alphabetized encyclopedia”.²²

²⁰ As far as a brief study permits me to judge, the annotations found in the hexameter part of Harley 2724 are similar in quantity, character, and content to the lyric annotations.

²¹ Apology for the study of pagan authors is a firmly rooted element in the commentaries produced during and since the Carolingian revival. Two methods made pagan classics acceptable and useful to the Christian reader: allegory, as applied to Ovid in the 12th century; moralising, which secured for many classics, including Horace, a place within the medieval framework of learning, assigning them to the category of ‘*ethica*’. Of the medieval Horace commentaries examined to date, the most conspicuous example of moralising is the series of *accessus* published as the ‘*Oxford commentary*’ by Friis-Jensen (1988) from an early or mid 12th-century English manuscript (M). For a study of *accessus* as documents of ‘ethical’ interpretation of the classics, see the series of articles by Delhaye (1948, 1949, 1958).

²² see also Teeuwen, O’Sullivan (2011)

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My analysis has uncovered evidence not only for the reading of Horace, but also for the joint study of classical authors. It has become clear that cross-reference between scholia on different classical authors deserves further investigation.

I end with a ‘thank you’ to Carlotta Dionisotti, without whose initiative and encouragement I would never have dared even to approach the infinitely educational and rewarding world of manuscripts and scholia. I am also most grateful to my examiners, Mary Garrison and Rainer Jakobi, for their very helpful suggestions.

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* following a date indicates that I have seen a copy of this edition

† = *sic*, marking printing errors. I standardise capitalisation, but retain spelling.

Names of printers (and sponsors, in the case of *incunabula*) are indicated in brackets.

Dedicatees are indicated for incunabula editions only.

1474* (Horace +) Acro (including *vita*, *expositio metrica*)

4o A. Zarothus, Milan

Tituli

1. Acronis commentatoris egregii in Quinti Horatii Flacci Venusini opera expositio incipit
2. [expl.] Acronis viri quam doctissimi commentaria diligenter emendata in Q. Horatii Flacci opera per Antonium Zarothum Parmensem Mediolani impressa mcccclxxiv Idibus Sextilibus

Note The separate volume of Acro followed a Horace volume printed earlier that year.

1474/5* Horace lyric and *Ars Poetica* + Acro, Porphyrio

**2o F. A. Marchisius & A. Sabinus (sponsored by I. L. Tuscanus),
Rome (Wendelinus de Wila / B. Guldinbeck)**

Tituli

1. Vita Horatii secundum Acronem
2. Vita Horatii secundum Pophyrionem
3. Quinti Horatii Flacci Odarum ad Moecenatem liber primus
4. [expl.] Explanatio Porphirionis in arte poetica feliciter explicat

Dedications

1. Ioannes Aloisius Tuscanus aduocatus consistorialis Francisco Helio Parthenopeio salutem
2. Franciscus Marchisius Aelius Perthenopeus† domino Ioanni Aloisio Tuscano amico lepidissimo poete dulcissimo Oratorique periter† et iurisconsulto clarissimo s.d.

1481?* Porphyrio; Horace + Acro (incl. *vita*, *exp. metr.*)

2o R. Regius (Porphyrio) & L. de Strazzarolis (H. + Acro) (sponsored by Marco Roma); Venice or Treviso (Mich. Manzolus)

Tituli

1. Porphyrionis in Qu. Horatii Flacci operibus comentum† incipit
2. Acronis commentatoris egregii in Quinti Horatii Flacci Venusini operae expositio incipit
3. Τελοϛ Quinti Horat[i]i Flacci omnium operum cum Acronis Disertissimi commentatoris expositione

Dedications

1. Raphael Regius Aloisio Mauroceno patricio Veneto salutem plurimam dicit
2. ad reverendissimum in Christo patrem et d. dominum Angelum Phaseolum Dei et apostolicae saedis gratia episcopum Feltrensem Ludovicus de Strazarolis Tarvisanus

1485* Porphyrio; Horace + Acro (incl. *vita*, *exp. metrica*)

2o A. M. Conagus, Milan (A. Zarothus), 1486* A. Minutianus (A. Zarothus);

Tituli

1. Porphyrionis in Qu. Horatii Flacci operibus comentum† incipit
2. Acronis commentatoris egregii in Quinti Horatii Flacci Venusini operae expositio incipit
3. [expl.] Porphyrionis in Quinti Horatii Flacci opera commentaria, eiusdemque Horatii opera cum Acronis commentatoris expositione in hoc cotinentur volumine, Mediolani impressa per Antonium Zarotum parmensem anno domini Mccccclxxxv impensis Mariae Conagi

Preface 1485 (after Porphyrio) Augustinus Maria Conagus ad lectorem

Dedication 1486 Alexander Minutianus Appulus† magnifico viro Bartholomaeo Chalco Ducalium secretorum magistro Mecoenati suo s.

1490/1* Horace + Acro, Porphyrio, Landinus**2o Philomusus, Venice (G. Arrivabene)**

Tituli 1. Liber Primus. Mecenas atavis...

2. [expl.] Horatii Flacci lyri oper a Georgio Arrivabene Mantuano diligenter Venetiis impressa hic clauduntur. anno salutis Mccccxc pridie nonas Febrarii. laus Deo.

Dedication Io. Franciscus Philomusus Pisarenis inclyto principi Ioanni Sfortiae s.d.

1492/3* Horace + Mancinellus (lyric), Acro, Porphyrio, Landinus

2o A. Mancinellus, Venice (P. Pincio) 1494* (Boneto Locatello), 1495/6 (P. Pincio, B. Fontana), 1498* (J. Aluysius), 1498? (P. Pincio), 1505, 1509, 1514 (A. de Zannis de Portesio); Milan 1508* (Pachel), 1512* (L. de Bebulco)

Tituli

1. Horatius cum commentariis Ant. Mancinelli, Acronis, Porphyronis, Christophori Landini

2. [expl.] Horatii Flacci poetae opera a Philippo Pincio Mantuano diligenter Venetiis impressa Anno salutis MCCCCXCII Pridie Kalendas Martii. Berardino† Refina littearrum† doctorumque amantissimo pecuniam impendente

Dedication Antonius Mancinellus Veliternus Pomponio Laeto Romani eloquii principi summaeque prudentiae viro

1499/1500* Satires, Epistles + Acro + Badius

4o ed. J. Badius, Lyon (N. Wolff); Paris 1500 (F. Regnault); (Acro on Epistles only)
Paris 1505/1506* (J. Philippus, expensis J. Granion)

Tituli 1. Sermonum Horatij familiare commentum cum Acronis subtilissima interpretatione

2. Epistolarum Horatij familiare commentum cum Acronis subtilissima explanatione

Dedications

1. (*Satires*) Iodocus Badius Ascensius Laurentio Burello regio confessori prudentissimo Carmoelitarum candidissimo theologorum divinissimo et praesidiorum suorum longe dulcissimo cum omni veneratione S. D.

2. (*Epistles*) Iodocus Badius Ascensius Religiosis admodum fratribus domus sancti Hieronymi Gandavi ad scaldem divique Batistae aedes: cultis sane cum litteris tum virtutibus viris: sibi que longe observandis S. D.

1516 Horace + Porph., Acro from 1527, Manc. (lyric), Badius (lyric), Britan. (hex.)

2o ed. J. Britannicus, Venice (A. Pagano); 1520 (de Fontaneto), 1527 (de Monteferrato), 1536* (Tacuini), 1540 (Roffinellus)

Titulus Odarum libri quattuor; Epodon, Carmen Saeculare Porphyrione, Antonio Mancinello, Ascensio interpretibus. eiusdem Ars Poetica, Sermonum libri duo, Epistolarum totidem Joanne Britannico Brixiano interpretibus. Accedit ad novum interpretem index copiosissimus dictionum fabularum et historiarum omnium quae hisce commentariis insunt.

Titulus 1527 Qvinti Horatii Flacci poemata omnia: commentatibus Antonio Mancinello: Acrone: Porphyrione: Joanne Britanico: nec non et Jodoco Badio Ascensio; viris eruditissimis. Centimetrum Marii Seruii. Annotationes Aldi Manutii romani. Ratio mensuum: quibus Odae tenentur: eodem Aldo auctore. Nicolai Peroti Libellus de metris odarum. Annotationes Matthaei Bonfinis Asculani: suis locis insertate: et ad finem ex integro restitutae.

1519* Horace + Acro, Porph., Mancin. (lyric), Badius (hexam.) + et. al.

2o J. Badius, Paris (Petit); 1528, 1529 (Badius), 1543* (Petit), 1579

Titulus Opera Q. Horatii Flacci poetæ amœnissimi cum quatuor commentariis Acronis, Porphyriionis, Anto. Mancinelli, Jodoci Badii Ascensii accurate repositis, cumque adnotationibus Matthæi Bonfinis et Aldi Manutii Romani a philologo recognitis: suisque locis insertis et ad finem ex integro restitutis. Praemisso amplissimo in vniuersum opus indice.

Note: for the enlarged 1543 *titulus* see below¹

1527* Horace; Acro

8o M. Bentinus, Basel (Valentinus Curio)

Titulus Q. Horatii Flacci Venusini poetæ amoenissimi, exactissimique atque inter lyricos Latinos principis opera cum commentarijs Acronis grammatici haud quaquam uulgaris, nuper quam accuratissime castigati aeditique ac amplissimo indice illustrati

1533* Horace + Acro + Mancinellus + Bonfinis

8vo Lyon (M. et G. Trechsel fratr.)

Titulus Q. Horatii Flacci poetæ lyrici amoenissimi posterior æditio, cæteris ut emendatior ita locupletior, argumentis, scholijs, et metrica carminum ratione. Nicolai Perotti libellus de metris Horatianarum Odarum. Aldi Manutii Romani in eundem adnotationes non infrugiferae. Interlineares etiam notulas ex Acrone, Mancinello, et Matthæo Bonfinis plurimas iamprimum adiecimus, et sicubi occurrerit varia lectio, diligenter annotauimus.

1533* Horace *Ars Poetica* + Parrhasius, Acro, Porphyrio, Glareanus

4o B. Martirani, Paris (R. Stephanus); Lyon 1536* (F. Iustus), 1621* (B. Vincentius)

Titulus Q. Horatii Flacci *Ars Poetica*, cum trium doctissimorum commentariis A. Jani Parrhasii, Acronis, Porphyriionis. adjectæ sunt ad calcem doctissimæ Glareani annotationes.

1544* Horace + Acro, Porphyrio, et al.

2o Venice (Scottus), 1545*, 1546* (Roffinellus), 1549 (haer. Ravani), 1549 (Scotus), 1553 (Nicolinus; Scotus), 1559 (Bonelli), 1562, 1567, 1576, 1584 (Gryphius), 1590

Titulus Q. Horatii Flacci Poetæ Venusini Omnia poemata, cum ratione carminum, et argumentis ubique insertis, interpretibus Acrone, Porphirione, Iano Parrhasito† Antonio Mancinello, necnon Iodoco Badio Ascensio viris eruditissimis, scoliisque D. Erasmi Roterodami, Angeli Politiani, M. Antonii Sabellici, Lvdovici Caelii Rodigini, Baptistæ Pii, Petri Criniti, Aldi Manutii, Matthæi Bonfinis, et Iacobi Bononiensis nuper adiunctis. His nos praeterea annotationes doctissimorum Antonii Thylesii Consentini, Francisci Robortelli Utinensis, atque Henrici Glareani apprime utiles addidimus. Nicolai Peroti Sipontini Libellus de metris Odarum, auctoris vita ex Petro Crinito Florentino, quae omnia longe politius, ac diligentius, quam hactenus, excusa in luce prodeunt.

1545* Horace + Porphyrio, Acro, et al.

2o Basel (H. Petri)

Titulus Q. Horatii Flacci Venusini opera, quibus inter poetæ et Latinos et Graecos vix quicque praestantius, cum ad linguam excolendam, tum ad actiones affectusque moderandos, inuenitur. Vt igitur omnes studiosi legere, iunioribusque interpretari sine remora possint, omnium commentaria

¹ 1543, Paris Q. Horatii Flacci opera cum quatuor commentariis, Acronis, Porphyriionis, Antonii Mancinelli, Iodoci Badii, anno M.D.XLIII. repositis. Cumque adnotationibus Matthæi Bonfinis et Aldi Manutii a philologo recognitis, suisque locis insertis, et ad fidem ex integro restitutis. Praemissoque et aucto indice. Adiectæ in calce libri eundem in authorem Henrici Glareani Heluetii, Poetæ Laureati, viri de omni genere scientiarum benemeriti, annotationes, quibusquidem rite perspectis, multa in commentariis mutila ac corrupta reponere poterit diligens lector.

quae uisa sunt digna ut legantur, per aliquot eruditos grammaticos auxilio ueterum exemplarium, iam denuo castigata addidimus, nempe Acronis & Porphyrii optimorum, sine controuersia, autorum. Item annotationes iudicio et eruditione magnorum, æternaque memoria dignorum virorum: Henrici Glareani Helvetii poetae laureati, Erasmi Roterodami, Matthaei Bonfinis, Aldi Manutij a Philologo recognitas, Ludovici Cœlij, Angeli Politiani, M. Antonij Coccij Sabellici, Ioannis Baptistae Pij Bononiensis, Iacobi à Cruce Bononiensis, Seruij Grammatici, Petri Criniti.

1555* Horace + Porphyrio, Acro, et al.

2o G. Fabricius, Basel (H. Petri)

Tituli [vol. I] Opera Q. Horatii Flacci Venusini, Grammaticorum antiquis Helenii Acronis et Porphyrii commentariis illustrata, admixtis interdum C. Æmilii. J. Modesti et Terentii Scauri annotatiunculis: edita auctius et emendatius quam umquam antea per Georgium Fabricium Chemnicensem. Ex Diomedis etiam observationibus indicata in Odis Carminum genera sunt et menda in iisdem sublata. ... Huc quoque accedunt Ioan. Hartungi in omnia Horatii opera breues observationes, quibus docet potissimum ubi hic noster Graecos imitavit. Interpretes reliqui poetae huius in altero huius voluminis tomo tibi exhibentur. Cum gratia et privilegio imperiali Basileae. [vol 2] Horatiani huius voluminis tomus alter, quo qui poetae huius opera sive iustis commentariis sive succinctis annotationibus illustrarunt, praecipui omnes compræhenduntur quorum nomina sunt, Christophorus Landinus in omnia Horatii opera, Franciscus Lusius Utinensis in Artem poeticam, Iacobus Grifolius Lucinianensis in Artem poeticam, Iason de Nores Cyprius in Artem poeticam; Eras. Roterd., Aldi Manutij, Ludovici Coelii, Angeli Politiani, M. Anton. Coccij Sabellici, Ioan. Baptistae Pij Bonon., Iacobi à Cruce Bononiensis, Petri Criniti, Henrici Loriti Glareani annotationes in Horatii opera.

1556* Horace + Acro, Porph. et al.

8o Cologne (Gualt. Fabricius), 1562 (G. Fabricius), 1564* (P. Horst); Leipzig 1563, 1568 (E. Vøgelinus)

Titulus Opera Q. Horatii Flacci cum metrica carminum ratione et argumentis ubique illustrata, tum etiam doctissimorum virorum Acronis, Porphyrii, D. Erasmi Roterodami, Angeli Politiani, M. Antonij Sabellici, Ludovici Coelii Rhod., Baptistae Pij., Petri Criniti, Aldi Manutij, Matthaei Bonfinis, Iacobi Bononiensis, Henrici Glareani, Peteri Victorij et Francisci Luisini annotationibus in illius opemata adjectis.

1565* Odes 4 + 'Commentator' (scholia), Cruquius

8o J. Cruquius, Brugge (H. Golzius)

Titulus Q. Horatii Flacci carminum liber quartus, ex antiquissimis manuscriptis codicibus cum commentariis falso adhuc Porphyrii et Acroni adscriptis, opera Iacobi Cruquii Messinii apud Brugenses litterarum Professoris publici editus. eiusdem in eundem Adnotationes; Brugis Fland. Ex officina Huberti Goltzj MDLXV

1567* Epodes + 'Commentator' (scholia), Cruquius

8o J. Cruquius, Antwerp (Plantin)

Titulus Q. Horatii Flacci Epodon liber ex antiquissimis septem codicibus manuscriptis, cum commentariis antiquis emendatus & editus opera Iacobi Cruquii Messinij, apud Brugensis politioris litteraturæ professoris publici. Eiusdem in eundem adnotationes.

1573* Satires + 'Commentator' (scholia), Cruquius

8o J. Cruquius, Antwerp (Plantin)

Titulus Q. Horatii Flacci Satyrarum, seu potius Eclogarum, libri II. [E]x antiquissimis vndecim codicibus manuscriptis, cum antiquis commentarijs, post omnes qui hactenus editi sunt, infinitis locis purgati, & clarius explicati opera Iacobi Cruquii Messinii, apud Brugenseis politioris litteraturae professoris publici. Eiusdem in eosdem commentarij.

1578*/9* Horace + 'Commentator' (scholia), Cruquius (1597 + Dousa)

4o J. Cruquius, Antwerp (Plantin); 1597*, 1611

Titulus Q. Horatius Flaccus, ex antiquissimis undecim lib. M.S. et schedis aliquot emendatus et plurimis in locis cum commentariis antiquis expurgatus et editus opera J. Cruquii Messenii apud Bruganos politioris litteraturae professoris publici. Eiusdem in eundem enarrationes, observationes, et variae lectiones, cum aliis quibusdam et indice locupletissimo.

1580* Horace + Acro, Porphyrio et al.

2o N. Hoeniger, Basel (H. Petri)

Titulus Q. Horatii Flacci Venusini, poetae lyrici elegantis opera grammaticorum XL tam antiquis quam neotericorum partim justis commentariis, partim succinctis annotationibus singulari studio et amplissimis sumptibus in unum corpus collectis illustrate: variisque ac vetustissimis exemplaribus collate et menda in iisdem sublata: quorum auth. nomina et ordinem sequens pagina demonstrabit. iam pridem in studiosae iuventutis gratiam et utilitatem post herculeos labores edita: cum gemino indice rerum, verborum ac sententiarum locupletissimo.

1588* Horace; notes on emendation of Horace and Porphyrio

8o H. Stephanus, Paris & Geneva (H. Stephanus), 1600* Paris

(2nd and 3rd editions of 1575 Parisian edition, which contained no Porphyrio)

Titulus Quinti Horatii Flacci poemata novis scholiis et argumentis ab Henrico Stephano illustrata; eiusdem Henr. Stephani diatribae de hac sua editione Horatij, & variis in eum observationibus. Editio secunda, quae, praeter scholiorum locupletationem, aliquot insuper diatribas, & quasdam in veri Porphyrii commentarios emendationes, necnon quasdam ad eos accessiones habet.

Additional Titulus 1600: Editio tertia, quae, praeter scholiorum locupletationem, aliquot insuper diatribas, et quasdam in Veri Porphyrii commentarios emendationes, nec non quasdam ad eos accessiones habet.

1632* Horace lyric + Cerutus, Acro, Porphyrio, Chabotius, Lambinus, Torrentius

2o P. Bebius, Cologne (Birckmann)

Titulus Q. Horatii Flacci lyrica, prout in scholis Societatis Iesu doceri solent, ab omni obscenitate purgata. Atque in eadem sex tam veterum, quam recentiorum commentarij Acronis, Porphyrii, Gualteri Chabotii, Dionisii Lambini, Laevini Torrentii, Frederici Ceruti Paraphrasis, a quodam patre eiusdem Societatis correcti ac superiorum iussu et permissu editi...anno MDCXXXII

1653* Horace + J. Bond + Acro, Porphyrio et al.

8o Leiden (F. Hackius), 1658*, 1663, Leiden and Rotherdam 1670

Titulus Q. Horatius Flaccus cum commentariis selectissimis variorum: et scholiis integris J. Bond. Accedunt indices Accurante C. Schrevelio

1701* Horace + 'Schol. Vet.', et al.

8o W. Baxter, London (Awnsham & John Churchill), 1725* (Guilielmus Bowyer), 1735 (J. Batley & J. Wood)

Titulus Q. Horatii Flacci eclogae, una cum scholiis perpetuis, tam veteribus quam novis; praecipue vero antiquorum grammaticorum, Helenij Acronis, Pomponij Porphyrii, quorum quae exstant

reliquiae; foedis interpolationibus purgatae nunc primum fere integrae reponuntur. Adjecit etiam, ubi visum est, et sua, textumque ipsum plurimis locis, vel corruptum, vel turbatum restituit
Willielmus Baxter.

1752* Horace; + 'Schol. Vet.', at al.

8o W. Baxter, J. M. Gesner; Leipzig (C. Fritsch), 1772*,

1788* W. Baxter, J. M. Gesner, J. C. Zeune; Leipzig (C. Fritsch), 1802; London, Glasgow 1796*, Edinburgh 1806*, London 1809, 1822, 1826

Titulus (begins as Baxter 1701) ...ad cuius secundam editionem recudi curavit et varietate lectionis suisque obsevationibus auxit Io. Matthias Gesnerus.

Titulus 1788, 1796 Q. Horatii Flacci Eclogae : cum scholiis veteribus / castigavit et notis illustravit Guilelmus Baxterus. Varias lectiones et observationes addidit Io. Matthias Gesnerus, quibus et suas adpersit Io. Carolus Zeunius, prof. gr. litt. Viteberg.

1792-93* Horace + notes, including 'Schol. Vet'

2o Ch. Combe, London (T. Payne et J. Edwards)

Titulus Horatii Flacci opera cum variis lectionibus notis variorum et indice locupletissimo

1824* Ars Poetica + Porphyrio

8o Hohler, Vienna

Tituli 1. Q. Horatii Flacci de Arte Poetica liber, vulgo, Epistola ad Pisones. Mit ausführlicher Wort- und Sacherklärung, nebst angehängtem Commentar des Porphyrio, herausgegeben von E. T.

Hohler, Hochfuerstlich Schawarzenbergischem Hauslehrer, Rath und Bibliothecar

2. Porphyriionis Commentarius ex vetere codice Parisiensi impressus

1824* Ars Poetica + Porphyrio

8o Hocheder, Passau

Titulus Des Q. Horatius Flaccus Buch über die Dichtkunst, oder Brief an die Pisonen. Erklärt von Dr F. v. Paula Hocheder. (P. Porphyriionis commentum in Horatium de Arte Poetica.)

1831-8* Horace + Porphyrio, Acro, Braunhard et al.

8o W. Braunhard, Leipzig

Titulus Q. Horatii Flacci Opera omnia. Textum denuo recensuit, varietate lectionis integra instruxit, optimorum interpretum commentarios subiecit, suas adnotationes cum criticas tum exegeticas adpersit, scholiastarvm veterum Acronis et Porphyriionis scholia typis excvdena cvravit, etc. Guilielmvs Bravnhardvs

1858-9 ed. F. Pauly, Scholia Horatiana quae feruntur Acronis et Porphyriionis post G. Fabricium nunc primum emendatiora edidit F. Pauly., Prague

1864-6 ed. F. Hauthal, Acronis et Porphyriionis commentarii in Q. Horatium

Flaccum, Berlin, 2 vols (ed. princeps **1859***, Leipzig); repr. 1966, Amsterdam

1874 ed. G. Meyer P. Porphyriionis commentarii in Q. Horatium Flaccum. Leipzig

1894 ed. A. Holder Pomponi Porphyriionis commentum in Horatium Flaccum, Insbruck

1902-4 ed. O. Keller Pseudoacronis scholia in Horatium vetustiora, Leipzig;
reprinted Stuttgart 1967

#1 Toscani to Marchese (1974, Rome)

<e>runt qui inventum hoc nostrum lenocinii reum dicant, Heli, quod Odis et Epodis ac poesi Acronem et Porphirionem commisceri curaverit, quasi et in figuratis nominibus adulterio locus relinquitur. nec deerunt qui arguant hanc rerum mixturam operi relligionem ac maiestatem detrahare, doctrinam salem ac candorem Flacci inducta circum scriptione deturpare, legendi avidum tironem si quasi delibaverit litteras ne non sine interprete Oratii mentem percipere posse videatur a legendo avertere, atque telam artificis omnem disrumpere. separatim hec imprimi utilius et commodius fuisse, magisque ad dignitatem singulos collaturos quam coniunctos, iustius quoque quod suum est unicuique volenti reddi debuisse quam in communionem redigi incitos: nihil aliud hoc esse quam humano capiti cervicem iungere equinam...

#2 Marchese to Toscani (1474, Rome)

...sed hoc mihi molestum fuit, quod in his Horatii libris qui te maxime hortante impressi sunt, non eam quam vehementer optassem emendationis exhibere diligentiam potui, at certe quantum in me fuit et curam omnem et studium adhibui, sed Acronis exemplaria ut scis defuere: unum habuimus nec id quidem satis emendatum...

#3 Regio to Morosini about Porphyrio (1481, Venice/Treviso)

huius tam egregii litteratoris quem ego vel priscis omnibus grammaticis anteferebam dum censuerim lucubrationes in Horatium sive librariorum negligentia sive temporis iniquitate pene amiseramus. tot enim in his extabant inversa, transposita, manca, errata ut non modo non intellegi sed ne legi quidem multis in locis possent.... In Pophyrionis vero enarrationibus castigandis id quod potuimus †per quam† sollicita usi sumus diligentia quae quidem si impressorum non violabitur negligentia haudquaquam dubito quin nostrae emendationis munus tibi discretissimisque fratribus Andreae atque Marco maxime cordi futurum sit.

#4 Minuziano to Calco (1486, Milan)

...cum vererem, ne si id penitus detrectassem, plurimum de maiestate Oratiana nobis tolleretur, ob temerarium et veluti sacrilegum cuiusdam conatum, qui recentissimas in Flaccum interpretationes edidit. de quibus verissime dici potest id quod de Rupilio rege noster inquit Oratius 'pus atque venenum' tam sensuum quam verborum huius eminentissimi vatis – id quod nisi Porphyrius antidotis repressum fuisset, brevi totus contabuisset Oratius.

#5 Fabricius (1555, Basel)

...accesserunt ad Odarum commentationes non pauca, ad Artem poeticam multa, ad Sermones plurima ... sed hoc minime vanum aut superbum est, me huius libri integritatem, copiamque secutum, multo quasi habitioem, et nitidiorem in palaestram literariam producere Acronem Helenium.

#6 Fabricius (1555, Basel)

in Porphirione ex paucis membranis antiquis, emendavi tantum aliqua, addidi pauca, dissipata, ut spero, colligi omnia. In Epistolis nihil a codice antiquo auxilij fuit, id quod expetebam maxime, propter disputationes et διαλογισμῶς, verbis subobscuris...

#7 Nicolaus Hoeniger to Huldreich Coccio (?) (1580, Basel)

... Henricus Petri ... iamdudum complectens aliquot virorum doctorum in hunc poetam lucubrationes expressit, applausu commodoque studiosiorum haud vulgari: diverso tamen quorundam iudicio, nam Acronis et Porphyriionis commentarios, ut nonnulli caeteris omnibus anteferebant, sic quoque ad mentem poetae nostri et ad sententias explicandas sufficere omnino contendebant.

#8 Fabricius (1555, Basel) recalls Bentinus' dissatisfaction:

Priscos autem in hunc poetam commentarios eiusmodi iniuria et calamitas si non attigisset, ut ad Heresbachium aliquando scripsit Bentinus, facile pateremur recentiores quosdam interpretes obsolescere.

#9 Bentinus to Heresbach (1527, Basel)

Proinde curavimus, ut et nitidior, et emendatior tuo nomini conductus in lucem prodiret. Autoris vitam ex antiquo codice, cuius copiam nobis fecit Io. Sichardus amicus noster cum primis humanus et eruditus, quod et brevis et tamen hoc praeter caeteros haberet, quod eius interpretes ordine recenseret, huc apponendam putavimus.

#10 Fabricius (1555, Basel)

...Iulium Modestum, artis scriptorem fuisse disertissimum dicit Charisius. Scauri autem decimum in Artem Poeticam librum, idem adducit. Helenium Acronem bis citat Porphyrio, Porphyriionem Priscianus etc.

#11 Fabricius (1555, Basel)

Interpretes Horatiani ex vetustissimis fuerunt quinque, C. Aemilius, Iulius Modestus, Terentius Scaurus, Helenius Acron, Porphyrio. De Aemelio et Modesto accepimus e fragmento codicis vetusti, vitam Horatij continente, quod editioni suae praeposuerunt Basilenses.

#12 Fabricius (1555, Basel)

Aemilii, Modesti, Scauri scripta penitus interierunt: nisi aliquae (ut ego suspicor) annotatiunculae sint commentariis Helenianis admixtae. Nam in unum locum saepissime binae, interdum tres pluresve expositiones leguntur, neque semper unius generis: similiter de una eademque historia diversae proferuntur sententiae...

#13 Cruquius (1565, Antwerp)

...nam hinc evenit, ut nullo suo merito, primi illi commentatores, viri doctissimi, et male audierint saepe, et vapularint saepius illorum gratia, qui et illitterati simul et improbi cum praeclaras elucubrationes, tum labores certe maximos maximorum virorum tam perditae conspurcarint, et usibus eripuerint nostris.

cf. the 1578 preface to the *Vita* (Antwerp)

in editis olim per Henricum Petri operibus Horatii, inter innumeros fere explanatores legere quidem est virorum doctissimorum Acronis et Porphyriionis numeros et nomina, sed in plerisque eis adscriptis miror atque detestor non oscitantiam typographi, ut quem

fortasse mucosum fecit lucri crassus odor, sed ineptos cuculos, qui tantos viros non reveriti suae stupiditatis labe non puduit aspergere.

#14 Cruquius (1565, Antwerp)

quare – ut in commune omnibus commentatoribus consulerem, quos tres invenio in vita Horatij manuscripta, Porphyriionem, Helenium[,] Acronem, et Iulium Modestum – hoc Commentatoris vocabulum his annotationibus proprium feci, propterea quod annotationes essent asscriptae margini in quatuor codicibus Blandiniis sine alicuius auctoris nomine, qua gratia non parva suspitione moveor, ut iudicem has ex varijs commentatorum dictis et sententiis esse sertas, quae nisi habito meliori exemplari distinguere non poterunt aut secerni.

#15 Baxter (1703, London)

Pomponius Porphyrio, homo doctus atque diligens, incertum quo aevo, stante certe deorum cultu, Helenii Acronis, vetusti Grammatici, forsitan etiam aliorum fusiora commentaria in breve compendium redegerat. magistri librarii sequentis aevi hunc itidem compilare; quorum in numero cum Pseudo-Acrone et Pseudo-Porphyrione, Cruquianus interpres nominandus venit, etsi hic quidem sit caeteris multis in rebus et plenior et purgator.

#16 Gesner (1752, Leipzig)

denique cum plurimi, quin plerique sint Horatiane elegantiae studiosi, qui vel per aetatem, vel per quascunque alias vitae suae rationes, non possunt satis intelligere poetam, novatorem in verbis non nunquam, multa e Graeco fonte licentius derivantem, saepe ad fabulas, historias, geographiam, genealogias, personas sua aetate nobiles, post paullo ignorantiae quadam nocte sepultas, alludentem; quibus neque vacet neque alias integrum sit ad alios libros transire, magnos commentarios volvere, qui praesertim destituant saepe, ubi minime opus erat, studiosos: hac ergo conditione cum et maior et nobilior pars sit lectorum Horatii: optabile sane erat talium exemplarium exstare copiam, quae breves, ne onerent et velut obruant ipsum poetam, sed quantum praestari potest, bonas interpretationes eorum locorum habeant.

#17 Gesner (1752, Leipzig)

horum si hodie sinceri exstarent commentarii... mire inde adiuveretur jucundissimi poetae intelligentia. sed dolendum est, ita a posterioribus priorum labores esse corruptos, truncatos, interpolatos, uti nunc opus sit homine subacti multo usu et longa consuetudine iudicii, qui veteris purpurae lacinias, interdum vix filamenta, eruere ex istis centonibus et inde lucem suam dare Horatio possit.

#18 Zeune (1788, Leipzig)

quoniam argumentorum enarratio ad rei intelligentiam non parum facere existimatur; omnia, qua potui, diligentia, inprimis Semonibus Epistolisque illa praeposui... omnino autem hic, inprimis in personarum ratione, quantum fieri potuit, Iani doctissimi, qui Horatii Carmina elegantissime edidit, et Wielandii viri ingenui et doctrina clarissimi, qui Sermones et Epistolas, additis observationibus lectu dignissimis, Germanice reddidit, opera me usum esse gratus profiteor. si quid in hac editione a me praestitum fuerit, quod

iuventuti scholasticae ad facilius et rectius Horatium intelligendum prosit, vehementer laetabor.

Zeune presumably refers to the 1778-1782 commented edition of the Odes by Christian David Jani and the German translation of the hexameters by Christoph Martin Wieland.

#19 Gesner (1752, Leipzig)

spectabant hoc prudentes viri qui Delphino tum suo, et per hunc studiosis reliquis parari iubebant eorum, qui classici vocantur, latinorum scriptorum editiones: sed quantum h.e. quam parum quidam, quam nihil plerique profecerint, saepe iam homines eruditi conquesti sunt.

#20 Combe (1792-3, London) Proemium

Editiones Flacci cum notis et animadversionibus, quae in hoc seculo plurimae in publicum prodierunt, quamvis et eruditione et ornamentis summis nonnullae abundant, omnes tamen variorum observationibus carent. In hac nova editione, si cura adhibeatur ut eae notae selignantur, ex variis autoribus, quae apud doctos iudices utilissimae habentur, sperandum est, me non modo studiosorum commodis haud male consuluisse, sed etiam in elegantiorum hominum bibliothecas aliquid ornamenti contulisse.

#21 Combe (1783-4, London)

Quoniam Baxteri Flaccus, cum notis Gesneri editus, tum apud exteros tum nostrates, propter egregiam accurationem et notas, non mediocrem laudem consecutus est, huiusce editionis contextum, nisi in locis quibusdam, ab incuria typographorum, manifeste pravis, nihil prorsus mutare ausus, pro exemplari adhibui.

#22 Hocheder (1824, Passau; Vorrede p. vii)

... Aus gleicher Ursache ist der obenbenannte Comm. Pophyr. in einem Anhang mit allen seinen Tugenden und Mängeln beigelegt worden, damit die Schüler nicht allein vom Alterhume hören, sondern dasselbe gewisser Maßen auch sehen, und somit in die Acten der Gelehrten blicken und ihr eigenes Vermögen, Muthmassungen zu bilden, üben.

4vo contains *Odes* 1.5 and lines 1-9 of *Odes* 1.6.

Odes 1.5 metrum tribus... H. Sch. (PsA)

Inner margin

Odes 1.5.16 Iuppiter et Neptunus... ?

Odes 1.5.14 metaphora a naufragis... H. Sch. (PsA)

Odes 1.6.13 (for next fol.) adamans lapis... H. Sch. (Porph.) + Remig.

<i>Odes</i> 1.5.6	iuxta opiniones...	H. Sch. (PsA)
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Inner margin, fitted in between text and scholia

<i>Odes</i> 1.5.1	rosa a specie...	Isidore
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Odes 1.6.6 Pelide idest Achillis... Serv. + Hor. Sch.?

Odes 1.6.4 dux dictus... Isidore

Odes 1.6.4 unde et Virgilius “ducis... H. Sch. (PsA)

Odes 1.6.4 Priscianus dicit... H. Sch.?

<i>Odes</i> 1.6.4	miles dictus	Isidore
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Odes 1.5.6 unde Virgilius “et tocimens...” H. Sch. (PsA)

5 ro contains *Odes* 1.6.10 ff.

Outer margin, fitted in between text and scholia

<i>Odes</i> 1.6.15	Meriones frater	?
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Two further comments are written in the outer margin next to *Odes* 1.6, but pertain to *Odes* 1.7. The entire inner margin is filled with notes on *Odes* 1.7.

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Table of 'genre' names found at the front of Harley 2724 (1vo)

'Genre' names used in Horatian *tituli*, also known as *modi locutionis*, are collected into glossaries in several Horace manuscripts.¹ In Harley 2724, eighteen *modi locutionis* are tabulated, with definitions, on 2ro. This table is similar to the medieval 'glossary' published by Massaro (1993, pp. 224-5) from Reginenses 1703 (R, German, ca 830) and 1692 (R₂, French?, s. xi).² I underline Harley phrases, which appear in neither of the Reginenses. The six items in bold will be presently compared with other published material. My transcript represents the three columns but not the precise layout of the Harley table.

1 erotice	interro<gati>ve; ³ <u>vel amator<i>e</u> :	erosis interrogatio, inde erotice <...>
2 praeumatice	causative:	pragma causa, inde causative pragmatice
3	quod est dicendum, oratio ad Aug<ustum> vel alium aliquem ⁴	
proseutice	<u>humiliative:</u>	pros Greca prepositio cui apponitur eutes, idest oratio; inde proseutice <u>deprecativ</u>
4 prosponetice	<u>exclamatorie</u>	
5 paranetice	<u>interpositive</u>	
6 hypotetice	suppositive <u>vel conditionaliter</u> ,	hypo sub theca positio; <u>inde</u>
	<u>vel personaliter:</u>	<u>hypothetice subpositive, vel personaliter</u>
7 palinodia	iteratio, ⁵ <u>contraria oda</u>	
8 terce†	invectio	
9 trenos	luctuose; <u>vel lamentative</u>	
10 eutice	<...> <u>fortuna</u> ; ⁶ vel orative	
11 eucharistice	bene <u>gratiose</u> ;	eucharistia glorificatio, inde eucharistice gloriose
<u>12 dicane</u>	<u>cantus odarum</u>	
13 symboleutice	consiliative:	symbolum consilium, inde symboleutice consiliative dicitur
14 antipotetice	<u>contrapositive:</u>	<u>anti contra</u> ⁷ podos responsio, inde antipothetice contraria responsio, vel clausula
15 eutesiace†:	contra substantiam,	<...> eutesiace idest contra substantiam, quia contra substantiam est ut Apollo vel aliquis deorum substantialiter videatur ab om<i>nibus mortalibus

¹ Munk Olsen (1982, p. 430) catalogues four *incipits*: the first found in Montp.425 (s. xi, France), Ambr. O 126 sup. (s. xii, Italy), and Périgueux B. M. 1 (s. xi, mid France), both the second and the third – in Vat. Reg. 1701 (s. xi, German), the fourth – in Harley 2724. The Montpellier *modi locutionis* were published by Villeneuve in his Budé edition of the *Odes* and *Epodes* (1927, pp. lxxv-lxxvi), to which I refer below. Munk Olsen makes no record of the Reginenses lists subsequently published by Massaro (1993) – which suggests that further material may await discovery.

² Massaro notes that while Reg. 1672 'genres' are not copied directly from Reg. 1703, both arise from the same archetype. The post-classical date of the glossaries is apparent from their variable understanding of Greek, discussed by Massaro (1993, pp. 245-247).

³ Massaro (1993, p. 246) observes that the misunderstanding of the Greek terms as adverbs is an intrinsic feature of the glossary.

⁴ This line of text appears directly after the definition of the second item, *pragmatice*.

⁵ The gloss on *palinodia*, namely *iteratio*, is written above it.

⁶ The term was apparently etymologised as a compound of τυχη.

⁷ The phrase *anti contra* is inserted between the columns.

Appendix 0.2.2a Table of ‘genre’ names found at the front of Harley 2724 (1vo)

Treatise on ‘genre’ names found at the back of Harley 2724 (134ro-vo)

16 diastolice	distincte, vel separati<ve>:	diastole distinctio, inde diastolice distincte vel separati<ve>
17 syllogistice breviter conclusa ratiocinatio:		sylogismos conclusio brevis; inde syllogistice breviter conclusa ratiocinatio
18 dycane	dupliciter canens:	‘dy’ per ‘y’ due, per ‘i’ de, inde dicane dupliciter canens
19 apotolestice	<u>prepositive</u> :	apostu ab lestes finis, inde ‘ab’ accipienda est pro <...> prepositive et dicendum apotolestice in fine libri

The Harley table differs from the Reginenses in three main ways: it is less complete (items 7, 8, 9 contain large lacunae, two others are lacking altogether),⁸ it presents the genres in a different order, and contains two additional definitions (7 and 12, *dicane* appearing twice as a result) as well as further glosses.

One gloss shared by the Reginenses (*causative*) and five glosses unshared by them (all in **bold** above) feature not only in Harley, but constitute a brief glossary found in at least four other Horace manuscripts.⁹ This glossary contains seven genre definitions, of which the last (*paeon laudative*) is lacking in Harley. It is tempting to imagine that the Harley 1vo table was filled out using such a glossary: *exclamatorie* and *interpositive* apparently replace corrupt text, *amatore* and *personaliter* are appended as alternatives to the extant explanations, *deprecatie* is connected syntactically but not logically to the previous argument.

Treatise on ‘genre’ names found at the back of Harley 2724 (134ro-vo)

The back pages of Harley 2724 (134ro-vo) contain another list of *modi locutionis*, here called ‘*colores*’.

Horatius [in] iiiiior in libris carminum diversis varietatum coloribus invenitur uti per omnes odas. nam edidit eas

Proseutice: ut iam satis terris vivis† atque dire, O fons Bandusie, O diva gratis que regis, Nunc est bibendum, Nolis longa fere bella, Descende caelo, Delicta maiorum, Faune nimpharum, Celo supinas, Divis orte bonis, Thebe† silvarumque;

⁸ One definition, which is already corrupt in Reg. 1703 (*mentice mentaliter*) is omitted in both Reg. 1672 and Harley; *prosagoreutice* is lacking in Harley alone.

⁹ The glossary is printed from Bodmer 88 (P, s. xi inc., France?, glossed by a German hand) by Borzsák (1977, p. 418), from Montp. 425 (s. xi, France) by Villeneuve (1927, pp. lxx-lxxvi), from Clm 375 (m, s. xii, Germany, Augsburg (Bischoff)) by Von Christ (1893, pp. 79-80), from Wolfenb. 81.31 Aug. 2o (s. xv) by Noske (1969, p.xvii, 3). Borzsák also mentions the same glossary as present after *Odes* 3.30 in Par. Lat. 7900 (A, ca 900, Italy) and Leipzig Rep. 1.38 (L, s. xi, Germany). I reproduce the Clm 375 glossary as offering the fullest text: *in Horatio sciendum est esse oden ut eclogam in Virgilio bucolicorum, modos autem locutionis esse diversos, scilicet [Asclepiadeum] erotice amatorie, pragmatice causative, hypothetice personaliter, paranetice interpositive, prosphonetice exclamatorie, proseutice deprecatorie, paeon [proseuctice] laudative.*

Proponetice: Sic te diva potens, Ne sit ancille tibi, Septimi Gades, Integer vite, Quid[em] Cantaber bellicosus,† Mercuri na[m]te, Quis multa gracilis, Quem virum aut heroa, Rectius vives, Poscimus siquid vacui, Persicos odi puer, Tirrena regum;

Paranetice: Solvitur acris hiemps grata, Laudabunt alii, Vides ut alta stet nive, O navis referent, Velox amenum, Albi ne doleas, Non ebur neque aureum,¹⁰ Non usitata, Equam memento, Miserarum est, Herculis ritu <...> dictus, Non semper imbres, Aeli vetusto nobilis, Diffugere nives, O nata mecum, Audivere Lyce, Iam veris comites;

Palinodinate† ut O matre pulchra, Lidia dic per omnes;

Erotice ut Cum tu Lydia, Mater seva cupidinum, Quo me Bache rapis tui, Marcus† celebs quid agam, Non dum subacta;

Lecretice† ut Vitat hinuleo, Icci beati, Eheu fugaces Postume, Iam pauca aratro, Ille et nefasto, Intactis opulentior;

Terenetice ut Pastor cum traheret per freta, Quis desiderio sit, Partius iunctas, Te maris et terre, Vixi puellis nuper idoneus, Intermissa Venus diu, O crudelis adhuc;

Eutice ut Albus ut obscuro, O Venus regina, Angustam amice, Extremum Tanain, Natis in usum, Motum ex Metello, Descende cello;

Eucharistice ut Mercuri facunde, Musis amicus, Iustum et tenacem, Montium custos, Quem tu Melpomene, Dive quem proles, Ne forte credas, Phoebus volentem, Dianam tenere, Et thure et fidibus, Celo tonantem, Pindarum quisquis, Qualem ministrum, Donarem pateras, Que cura patrum;

Simboleutice ut Equam memento, Non vides quanto, Quid fles Asterie

Pracmatice ut Tu ne quesieris, Motum ex Metello, Nullam Vare, Vile potabis, O sepe mecum, Odi profanum vulgus, Est michi;

Prosagoreutice ut Ulla si tibi iuris;†

Enteusiace† ut Bachum in remotis;

Antipotentice† ut Donec gratus eram;

Mentice ut Uxor pauperis Ibici;

Hipothetice ut Scriberis Vario, Ocium dives, Inclusam Danaen;

Diastolice ut Mecenas atavis, Parcus deorum, Quantum distat;†

Sillogistice ut Festo quid potius die;

Dicane ut Nullus argento color;

Apotolestice ut Persicos odi puer (que est Proponetica), Non usitata (que est et Paranetica), Exegi monumentum (que est et Eucharistica), Phoebus volentem (que est similiter Eucharistica).

This second list contains all twenty ‘genres’ defined in the Reginenses glossary in Reginenses order – except that in Harley, each item is followed not by definitions, but by a catalogue of relevant poems. A list of *modi locutionis* containing both definitions and catalogues of poems was published from an eleventh-century French manuscript, Montpellier 425, in Villeneuve’s edition of Horatian lyric (1927, pp. lxxv-lxxvi). Further investigation of texts auxiliary to the study of Horatian lyric will show whether the Montpellier list represents an original treatise or a compilation of such lists as we see in Harley 2724 and the Reginenses manuscripts.

¹⁰ e deleta est, ut fiat *aureum*

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For manuscript sigla see Appendix 1 further in this volume.

Editorial conventions, discussed fully in Section 0.4.1, can be summarised as follows:

?	the lemma is unclear
T	titulus
M	metrical note
G	no lemma indicated, relevant to the poem in general
#	a siglum connects the comment to its lemma.
IL	interlinear
†	sic
+...+	corrupt
<...>	missing or illegible
<xxx>	supplied
[xxx]	deleted
cf.	imprecise poetic quotation in Horace, Virgil, and Statius scholia
*	Horace scholion for which I find no parallel in examined manuscripts and modern scholia editions
=	Highly tralatitiant source, matching Harley verbatim, but unlikely to have been used by the scholiast directly
{X	passage discussed in Chapter X

? cum Neptunus et Minerva de Athenarum nomine contenderent placuit diis, ut eius nomine appellaretur qui munus melius mortalibus obtulisset. tunc Neptunus percusso littore animal bellis aptum procreavit. Minerva iactata hasta olyvam produxit, que res est melior comprobata. inde prelata Neptuno nomen civitati dedit, nam Athene dicitur quasi athanathe id est immortalis propter immortale studium sapientie. est enim eadem civitas in Acha<ia> [qye] philosophie studiis dedita que, cum una sit, plurali numero semper appellari solet.¹

Odes 1.1 Maecenas atavis (f. 2ro-vo)

T ad Mecenatem

M metrum asclepiadeum constans spondeo et duobus coriambis birrichio sive iambo

1 hac ode alloquitur Mecenatem indicans alium alio studio teneri, que appetantur vel lucri cupiditate vel gloriae; se autem putare inter deos relatum iri si numero lyricorum poetarum ascriptus fuerit.

2IL si me lyricis; [?] et c<um?>

3IL [OLIMPICUM] olon totum, lampos ardens, unde Olympus, quasi totus ardens propter altitudinem.²

3 Olimpias dicebatur tempus quattuor annorum; siquidem expletis tribus annis quarto anno veniente celebrabatur festivitas in honorem Olimpici Iovis, id est celestis, qui dictus Olympicus ab Olimpo monte ubi colebatur, quem poete sepius pro celo ponere solent. est enim immense altitudinis. in illa festivitate omnia genera ludorum iocorum certaminumque exercebantur; multisque modis ibi currebatur, equis curribusque, quos omnes cursus uno verbo denotavit dicens 'curriculo'. pertinet autem istud proprie ad illos qui equis vel curribus currebant. velocissimi iuvenum inter currendum terre se declinantes pulverem colligebant; atque terminus ponebatur ad quem currebant, ita ut retro se in aliam partem flecterent cursu.³

3IL [CURRICULO] in currendo^{δRXyZ}

4IL [COLLEGISSE] <colli>gere^{RUXyZ}

7IL [HUNC] iuvat*

9IL [ILLUM] iuvat*

8 [TER GEMINIS] <...> geminos honores dicit multiplices

12f. sensus est: quicumque consueverit agrum colere, numquam sollicitetur ad navigandum, etiam si regias opes promittas, ut hoc faciat.

12IL Attalus fuit rex Pergam<en>orum qui nullum fuit† h<abe>re heredem regni sui vel divitiarum nisi qui ditior in toto mundo repperiretur. tandem Romanos ditiores ci† fecit heredes.*⁴

15IL idest alius laudat*

19IL [EST QUI] et est alius^{δy}; [MASSICI] vinum a monte

22IL [LENE] leniter fluentis^{ξRUXYy}

¹ Serv. Georg. 1.12; Remig. 4.152.1 ad Mart. 4.328(?); Bede de Nom. 45 {7

² cf. 'Dunchad' 73.13 and Remig. 52.3 ad Mart. 2.121 {7

³ Y declinantes, λφψξ adclinales, m acclinales; Y atque terminus ponebatur illic quo currebant, λφψmX et quia terminus; λφψmX seu in aliam partem flecterent cursum, (m omits seu), Y se ... flecteret† cursu

⁴ A similar note features in Vat. Lat. 3260 (s. xii, Italy) at the same lemma (1ro): Attalus rex ditissimus fuit qui dedignatus est habere heredes nisi illo† qui habundasset in divitiis, et quia Romani inventi sunt divitiores omnibus, facti sunt eius heredes. {1.4

- 23IL [LITUO] cornu^{δRXy}; [LITUO...TUBA] minus maius*⁵
 25IL [SUB IOVE] sub aere^{δmNRUXYy6}
 26IL [TENERE CONIUGIS] aut delicate aut nuper in matrimonium copulatae
 27IL [FIDELIBUS] sagacibus
 28IL [MARSUS APER] species pro genere; [PLAGAS] retia
 31IL [LEVES] faciles
 32IL [SI NEQUE] id est si possum lirica mea cantare favore musarum; [33 EUTERPE]
 Euterpe enim invenit tibias in quibus vox est et sonus
 33IL [EUTERPE] bene delectans; [POLIMNIA] interpretatur multe laudis multe
 memorie
 34 [LESBOUM] propter Alceum et Safo quos apud Lespum natos esse constat; aut
 a Alceo Lespio qui primus fuit lyricus scriptor; aut a Perandro† rege Lespii cui
 primum Mercurius liram ostendit.⁷
 35IL [QUODSI] pro sed*
 35IL [LYRICIS VATIBUS] Grecis utique intelligendum nam nondum Romani
 35 bene 'inseres': quicquid enim melius fuerit, hoc inseritur; sterili enim arbori
 sterilis† ramus inseritur.^{8*}
 36IL [FERIAM] pulsabo^{RY}; scilicet usque ad deos perveniam^{δmXy9}
 36 SUBLIMI F. S. V. bene in metafora perstrinxerat, dixit enim superius 'inseres
 me lyricis vatibus' modo dicit 'sublimi feriam sidera vertice'. sic et Virgilius [Georg.
 2.80-1] 'ingens/ exilit ad celum ramis felicibus arbos'.^{*10}

Odes 1.2 Iam satis terris (f. 2vo-3vo)

- T ad divum Augustum
 M metrum sapphicum
 G Cesar bellis civilibus toto orbe compositis dum statum rei <publicae> Rome
 instaurat, coniuratum est in eum a lx vel amplius senatoribus equitibusque Romanis.
 precipui erant coniuratorum duo Bruti ex eo genere Bruti qui Rome primus consul fuerat
 et reges expulerat, et Cassius Servilius. ergo Cesar cum in senatum cum ceteris venisset
 ad curiam, iiii et xx vulneribus confossus interiit.¹¹
 4IL [URBEM] ab eo quod continet indicat quod continetur*
 5IL [GRAVE] timentes^{δEmRU}; [NE] ut^{eX}
 8IL [VISERE] et video rides† et vis[i]o visis dicimus*¹²
 11IL [SUPERIECTO] idest effuso super terras^{ERUYy13}
 12 [DAMME] Virgilius mascul<ine> protulit [Ecl. 8.28]: 'cum canibus timidi
 venient ad pocula damme'.

⁵ cf. Charis. *Ars Gram.* p. 28 l. 13 ...ex lituo, quod est genus tubae minoris...

⁶ **NX** aere (only)

⁷ {1.3

⁸ scilicet fertilis ramus inseritur

⁹ **m** perveniam ad deos (only)

¹⁰ The Virgilian line is quoted in Pseudo-Acro at *Epode* 2.14 and by Servius at *Aen.* 4.228. It is also quoted twice by Nonius Marcellus, a source never used in Harley (4, p. 302M., l. 4 and 339M l. 19).

¹¹ Eutr. 6.25; Oros. 6.17.1-2 {2.3.2

¹² cf. Prisc. 8 p. 431 l. 10 sunt praeterea aliae species derivativorum variae tam terminationis quam significationis, ut a 'video' 'viso visis', id est 'cupio videre'.

¹³ cf. **m** super infuso diluvio

- 15IL [IRE DEIECTUM] ad deiciendum^{δENRUXyZ}
 16# TEMPLAQUE V. Numa Pompili<ius> ipse enim templum Veste fecit et domum ubi virgines Vestales habitabant.*¹⁴
 19# LABITUR R. I. N. [S. B.] quare dicit ‘Iove non probante’ cum superius dixerit ‘et rubente dextera sacras iaculatus arces terruit urbem’? sic debemus intellegere quod Iuppiter +et~ra+ voluerit <...> evertere.*¹⁵
 20IL [UXORIUS] uxori deditus
 26IL [REBUS] ad res^{EmRXy}
 26# IMPERII R. P. Q. F. instant et inpenso† rogent, Virgilius [cf. Stat. *Theb.* 2.244] ‘divosque in vota fatigant’
 27# VIRGINES S. M. A. ymnos et preces non audientem pro suplicantium impietate
 29IL [SCELUS] pro sceleris*
 30 IUPPITER mite numen eius, nec aliquando per se ledens, ut Lucanus [1.660-1] ‘nam mitis in alto / Iuppiter’
 33IL [ERYCINA] id est Venus
 33 [ERYCINA] Eryx Veneris et Butae filius qui occisus ab Hercule monti ex sepultura sua vocabulum imposuit in quo matri fecit templum unde Venus Erycina vocata est.¹⁶
 33# SIVE TU MAVIS E. R. non +adonus+ pronuntiare ‘ridens Ericina’, crudelis enim est si ridet luctu suorum, sed ‘ridens quam Iocus’ scire <...>*.¹⁷
 35IL# [NEPOTES] Romanos dixit propter Romulum
 38IL [IUVAT] vel delectat
 42# ALES IN TERRIS: [an] ne alme filius <...> Cupido putaretur, ideo <di>xit filium <...> ut Mercurium ostenderet, ideo ait [cf. *Aen.* 1.297] ‘Maia genitum <...>mittit ab alto’.
 44IL [ULTOR] Octaviane^{δmNRXyZ}
 46 [QUIRINI] Romulus autem ideo Quirinus dictus est vel quod hasta utebatur que Sabinorum lingua curis dicitur – hasta enim, id est curis, telum longum est, unde est securis quasi semicuris – vel a chirana† qui Grece rex dicitur.¹⁸
 47# NEVE T. N. V. I. quia adhuc Parti habebant signa Romana*; a quibus Parthis et Grassus occisus est, quo pereunte ortum est bellum civile; Lucanus <de> eodem [cf. 1.11] ‘umbraque erraret Crassus inultus†’.

Odes 1.3 Sic te diva potens (f. 3vo-4ro)

T navem prosequitur qua Virgilius Athenis† vehebatur
 G tribus humana vita continetur: natura, cui ultra centum et xx annos concessum non est; fato, cui nonaginta anni hoc est tres Saturni cursus exicium creant, nisi forte aliarum stellarum benignitas <...>; fortuna, id est a casu, qui ad omnia pertinet que extrinsecus sunt, ut ad ruinam, incendia, navifragia, venena.¹⁹

¹⁴ {1.4

¹⁵ cf. Porph. *ad loc.*: quod terreri Iuppiter populum iusserit, non perire. {1.4

¹⁶ Serv. *ad Aen.* 1.570 (= VM1.53); the ending unde Venus Erycina vocata est is added by the scholiast.

¹⁷ {1.4

¹⁸ Serv. *Aen.* 1.292; a κοίρανος

¹⁹ Serv. *Aen.* 4.653; Thilo and Hagen report the addition of venena to the list of perils governed by fortune in the 11th-century German manuscript of Servius that was in Freising, Monacensis 6394. It is not clear if the reading can be traced in other Servius manuscripts of earlier date and of non-German origin. If this variant is

- 1IL [DIVA POTENS CYPRI] Venus^{δemRYyZ}
 2IL [FRATRES HELENE] Castor et Pollux
 4IL [OBSTRACTIS] sedatis^{mRXYy}
 4# OBSTRACTIS ALIIS P. IA. ventus utilis de Apulia flans Athenas petentibus, qui Grece Argister dicitur. Iapiga est Apulia, Iapia et Venecia, unde et Virgilius [*Georg.* 3.475] ‘et Iapidis unda timavi’. appellatus est autem ventus Iapis quia de Apigia† flat, hoc est de Apulia. hic autem ventus bene ad oriente<m> ducit.²⁰
 6IL [DEBES] advehere*
 12IL [PRECIPITEM] idest precipitantem*
 13IL [AQUILONIBUS] contra Aquilones^{δmRXyZ21}
 14 [HYADAS] signum est in fronte tauri quod ortu suo efficit pluvias, unde stelle ipse yades vocantur ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΥΕ[Ε]ΤΟ<U>, quas Latini suculas appellaverunt.²²
 15IL [ARBITER HADRIAE] est^{em}
 18IL [SICCIS OCULLIS] preter lacrimas, ut Lucanus [9.1044] ‘qui sicco lumine’
 20IL [INFAMES] effexe<ge>sis^{RUXZ}
 21IL [NEQUIQUAM] frustra
 22IL [PRUDENS] providens
 23IL [IMPIE] impiorum hominum naves^{δRXyZ}
 24IL [NON TANGENDA] que non debuerant tangi*
 26IL merito ‘audax’, id est omnia paciens lucri cupiditate
 26 gens humana nenata† sibi semper reposcit^{23*}
 28 AUDAX I. G. patronomicum†. Prometeum dicit filium Iapeti. qui dum ignem superis furatus esset, numinum indignacione febres hominibus da<t>e dicuntur uti calorem quem desideraverint.
 31IL [INCUBUIT] institit
 32IL [TARDA NECESSITAS LETI] tarde venientis^{mRUXYy}
 34IL [EXPERTUS] est^{mRUXyZ}
 35IL ut Virgilius [cf. *Aen.* 6.15] ‘pennis aufer]sus se credere caelo’
 37IL [ARDUUM] difficile
 38IL [CAELUM IPSUM...] sicut Gigantes^{mRXyZ24}
 39IL id est non patimur illum quiescere; nam quidam Gigantes ipsum celum conati sunt deducere ad solum.
 40IL [PONERE] de<ponere>^{yZ}; ille quidem vellet, si nos permittemus illum cessare.^{δmRXZ25}

Odes 1.4 Solvitur acris hiemps (f. 4ro-vo)

unique to Clm 6394 and Harley, the addition of *venena* could be seen as a Horatian interpolation, inspired, for instance by *Epodes* 5, 17, or 3.

²⁰ Serv. *Aen.* 8.710; PsA *ad loc.*; Harl. note on *Odes* 3.27.20 (= H. Sch.? + Virgil *G.* 3.475) {6

²¹ **XZ** ...Aquilonos†; **m** ...Aquilonem

²² Serv. *Georg.* 1.138

²³ *scilicet negate* sibi

²⁴ **R** sicut *et* Gigantes

²⁵ **ceteri** ille quidem vellet, *sed* nos *non* permittimus illum cessare *a nostra lesione*; **δ** *deest* a nostra; **m** *deest* cessare

- T pragmatice diculos† ad Sextium Quintilium²⁶ de verno tempore
M <...> metrum constat ex iiii pedibus heroicis et ii<i> trocheis, secundus archilocus† dicitur; et constat ex pentamemere iambica et iii trocheis.²⁷
M ode dicolos distrophos, metrum archiloicum†; primus versus ex eroico tetrametro +catabucolico ceptomeri+ tribus trocheis; secundus dimeter iambicus claudus cui si addas unam syllabam est integre iambicus. sive, ut alii putant, constat ex pentometro† iambico et tribus trocheis. hoc metrum multi itifallicum vocant, quod itifallicum ex <...> tribus constat trocheis.*²⁸
1IL [SOLVITUR] vernali tempore^{RXZ}; temporum varietate et ventorum^{δmRXyZ}; [FAVONI] Xephiri
2IL it enim fit mare navigabile^{δmRXyZ29}; [CARINAS] quod si carinulas dixeris erit integer trimeter.
3IL non indiget^y aut pecus stabilis†^{mZ} aut arator^X igni^{δR30}
4IL [ALBICANT] albescunt^{δRXyZ}
5IL [IAM] idest vernali tempore^{δmRXyZ}; [IMMINENTE LUNA] omnia animalia ad coitu<m> fervere facit.
5 chorus proprie est coevorum cantus et saltacio, unde choreas³¹
6IL [GRATIE] scilicet iii, Pastrhea Exriale Euperfile
7# ALTERNO T. pro sono cantilene ad rithmum pedum ferientes
8IL [OFFICINAS] domus illorum^{δmRXyZ}; fabritas^{R32}
8# VULCANUS AR. ardens Vulcanus epitheton nature et temporis*³³
9# NUNC DICT A. V. N. C.: NITIDUM unguentis delibutum; IMPEDIRE MIRTO coronare
9IL [IMPEDIRE MYRTO] implicare coronis^{δXyZ34}
10IL [FLORE] pro floribus^{δRXyZ}; [FERUNT] florem*
11IL [FAUNO] silvarum d<e>o
13IL [PALLIDA] epitheton, quod homines pallidos facit; [PAUPERUM TABERNAS] id est parva tuguria^{δRXy}
14IL [TURRES] palatio†^{δRXyZ35}; [BEATI] felix, dives,^m sanitate gaudens^{δRXZ}
15# INCHOARE LONGAM dictum est a chop inde +c<...>munia traxere c<...>munia+.*³⁶

²⁶ π *Paranetice* dycolos ad Sestium *Quirinum* & *Paraeneticæ* dicolos ad Sestium *Quirinum* (cf. λφψ

Paranetice dicolos Sestio *Quirino*...)

²⁷ cf. *Exp. metr.*

²⁸ cf. *Exp. metr.* (cf. PsA *ad loc.*)

²⁹ ceteri tunc enim..., y tunc etenim..., δ illegible; R ... navigale†

³⁰ δR ... stabulis aut pastor ...; y indiget (only); Z non indiget pecus stabulis (only)

³¹ Serv. *Georg.* 1.346 {6 App.

³² R fabrica†

³³ cf. & *Odes* 1.4.7: ... *natura* aeris et *temporis* est, quia, dum aer frigescit ut in hieme, non emittit fulgura, sed postquam calor est nimius ut in aestate, *natura* est tunc fulgurare; ideo dicit, dum *Vulcanus ardens* urit graves officinas Cyclopum, idest fabricat fulgura.

³⁴ y coronis (only)

³⁵ ceteri palatia

³⁶ Grammatical texts offer two different Greek etymologies of *inchoo*, one from *choo* (**Eutychn.** *Ars de verbo* p. 449 l. 18 et *inchoo* inchoas, quod a choê graeco videtur *tractum*), another from *chaos* (**Paul. Ex. Festi** p. 95 l. 4 *inchoare* videtur ex Graeco originem *trahere*, quod Hesiodus omnium rerum initium esse dixerit *chaos*; **Sedul. Scot. in Don. Art. M. II**, p. 208, l. 39 *chaos* ...unde factum est uerbum *inchoo* inchoas, id est

- 16IL [PREMET NOX] imminet mors; [FABULEQUE MANES] pro fabularum^{δRyZ}; g<enitivus> sing<ularis>^{δXyZ}
- 16# FABULEQUE [&] M. definit quod sunt manes fabule. manes dii boni dicebantur, unde et mane tractum putatur. aut certe <s>omnus pocius quam <in>feri qui sunt fabulosi. unde et Virgilius [Aen. 6.269] ‘*perque domos ditis vacuas et inania regna.*’
- 17IL [EXILIS] propter umbrarum tenuitate<m>^{δmXyZ37}; ad quam mox perveneris^{δXyZ} promovearis^{RY38}
- 17 ET DOMUS EXILIS non domus exilis – quemadmodum exilis que tantum recepit populum? – sed exilium umbrarum habitaculum.*³⁹
- 18IL [REGNA VINI] ad magisteria convivarum pertinet
- 19IL [TENERUM LYCIDAN] pro quolibet puero cinedo et catamito; [IUVENTUS] tua^{δRXy}
- 20IL [TEPEBUNT] marcescent^{δmXyZ}

Odes 1.5 Quis multa gracilis (f. 4vo)

- T prosphonetice detraculos† ad Birram
- M metrum duobus versibus asclepiadeum, tertius ferecratius qui constat spondeo dactilo spondeo, quartus gliconicus qui constat ex spondeo et duobus dactilis.
- 1IL [GRACILIS] tener, teneri enim adhuc graciles solent esse et puelle et adolescentes.
- 1 rosa a specie floris nuncupata quod rutulanti colore rubeat.⁴⁰
- 2IL [URGET] impellit^R ad libidines^{δX}
- 3IL [GRATO] amoeno^{mRXy}; [ANTRO] spelunca^{mRXy}
- 4IL [CUI] puero^{δmRXyZ}; [RELIGAS COMAM] demulces^m, o Pyrra^{δXyZ41}
- 5IL [SIMPLEX MUNDITIIS] netali† pulchritudine gaudens⁴²; [FIDEM] mutatam^{mRe}
- 6IL [MUTATOS] offensos^{RXy}; [ASPERA] tuam asperitatem, turbidis moribus, in se [idest] commotam^{mR43}
- 6 unde Virgilius [cf. Aen. 5.851] ‘*et tociens celi deceptus fraude sereni*’. idem de perfid<i>a mulierum <...>
- 6 [MUTATOSQUE DEOS] iuxta opiniones hominum dixit, qui iratis aut propiciis diis lucra sive dispendia sua applicant; ut Lucanus [1.510] ‘*o faciles dare summa deos eademque tueri/ difficles*’. bene allecoricos ‘aspera equora’ et ‘auram fallacem’ meretricem vocavit, hoc est inconstantem, nam dum blandiendo incipientem trahat, captum curdeliter† nudat.
- 8IL [EMIRABITUR] valde^{δmRyZ}; [INSOLENS] non solitus te talem videre^{δmRXyZ44}

incipio quasi *in chao* id est in principio; cf. Rem. in Don. Art. M. 56 ...*inchoo* inchoas; et venit a nomine, quod est *chaos*; cf. Diom. Ars Gram. 1 p. 365 l. 18 *cohū* enim apud veteres mundum significat, unde subtractum *incohare*). None of these texts match the Horace scholion closely and none are used directly elsewhere in Harley lyric scholia. Since the Harley scholion is corrupt, it is not clear whether it matches either of these two etymologies.

³⁷ δ propter unbras

³⁸ R non longo post promovearis, ieris (only); δX ad quam mox ut perveneris; y non longo post perveneris; Z ad quam postquam, mox ut perveniens†

³⁹ { 1.4

⁴⁰ Isid. Et. 17.9.17

⁴¹ y comeris, o Pyrra (comeris alone in many mss)

⁴² λφψ naturali pulchritudine

⁴³ R ... commutatam; m turbidis moribus te in asperitatem mutatam

- 9IL [FRUITUR] valde^{δXy}; [CREDULUS] credens^{δXy}; [AUREA] pulcra
 10IL [VACUAM] ab amore alieno^{δRXy45}; [SEMPER AMABILEM] sui amatricem^m
 12IL [FALLACIS] instabilis fidei^{δRXyZ46}
 13IL [INTEMPTATA NITES] in experta^R places^{δXyZ}; [TABULA] per tabulam^δ
 14IL [VOTIVA PARIES INDICAT] per^R; Neptuni
 14 metafora a naufragis, qui evadentes pictas gladibus suis tabulas preferunt et cum quibus evaserunt vestibus eas Neptuni templo suspend[et]unt. per hanc autem allegoriam ostendit post nuditatem suam a meretricis se amore liberatum.
 16? Iuppiter et Neptunus et Plutus fratres fuerunt. qui inter se elementa mundi partiti sunt. Iuppiter celum elegit; Neptuno potentia maris forte evenit; Pluto [Pluto] postremus regna inferorum possedit.⁴⁷
 16IL [DEO] Neptuno

Odes 1.6 Scriberis Vario (f. 4vo-5ro)

- M metrum tribus versibus asclepiadeum, quartus glyconicus
 1IL [VARIO] hic fuit contubernalis Virgilii tragoediarum scriptor.
 2IL [MAEONII CARMINIS ALITE] idest Omeri qui ex Meonia regione fuit.
 3IL [NAVIBUS AUT EQUIS] naumachi[n]a scilicet aut ippomachi[n]a^{δRXZ}
 4IL [MILES] Romanus^X exercitus^m tecum^{δRyZ}; scilicet scribitur ab illo^{δmRXyZ48}
 4 dux dictus eo quod sit ductor. sed non statim, quicumque principes vel duces sunt, etiam reges dici possunt. in bello autem melius ducem nominari quam regem. nam hoc nomen exprimit in proelio ducentem.⁴⁹
 4 [TE DUCE] unde et Virgilius [Aen. 10.370] ‘*ducis Evandri*’. Salustius [Hist. 4.7 Maur.] ‘*quo cupidius in ore ducis sese quisque bonum*’; non dixit ‘in ore consulis’.⁵⁰
 4 miles dictus quia mille erant ante in numero uno vel quia unus est ex mille electus.⁵¹
 5IL [NOS] lirici^{XZ}; [AGRIPPA] o^{XyZ}; [DICERE] conamur; [HEC] tua facta sunt†^{δmRXyZ52}; [GRAVEM] idest fortem^{δmXyZ}
 6IL [PELIDE] Achillis^{δmRXyZ}; subaudi dicere conamur^{δξXy53}; CEDERE nescientis^R in proelio^{δξmXyZ54}
 6# PELIDE id est Achillis qui filius fuit Pelei et Thetidis. hic natus a matre tinctus in Stygiem† paludem, toto corpore invulnerabilis fuit, excepta parte qua tentus est. qui cum amatam Polixenam ut in templo acciperet statuisset, insidiis Paridis post simulacrum latentis occisus est.⁵⁵

⁴⁴ **R** non consuetus ...; **m** insuetus ...; **y** *deest* te

⁴⁵ **RX** ab amore alieno, **δ** ab amore alienam; **y** ab amatore alieno

⁴⁶ **δyZ** instabilitatis fidei

⁴⁷ Unknown {9}

⁴⁸ **δy** scribetur ab illo, **Z** scriberetur ab illo

⁴⁹ Isid. Et. 9.3.21-2

⁵⁰ Isid. Et. 9.3.21-2

⁵¹ Isid. Et. 9.3.32

⁵² **δXy** tua facta conamur; **R** idest facta tua scribere, s. ab inferiori conamur (cf. Harl. 2724 on the next line)

⁵³ ξ at 7

⁵⁴ ξ**mR** nescientis dare locum **Z** rescii† cedere...

⁵⁵ Serv. Aen. 6.57 (= VM 1.36) {6}

- 7 [ULIXEI] Priscianus dicit eu dyptangon† transire in <...> longum, ut in hoc loco.*⁵⁶
- 7IL [CURSUS] navigia^{δmXyZ}; [ULIXEI] genitivus Grecus^{δRXy}
- 8IL [PELOPIS] Grecus*; [PELOPIS DOMUM] tragoediam
- 9IL [TENUES] nos; [CONAMUR] scilicet scribere^{δRXyZ}
- 10IL [IMBELLISQUE LYRE] tum lira non est apta bellis sed amoribus, ideo bellorum gesta non pertinent ad lyricos.
- 12IL [DETERERE] minuere ex consequenti, quia que deteruntur minuuntur
- 13IL [MARTEM] quemlibet virum bellicosum^{δmRXy57}; [TUNICA ADAMANTINA] forti^{δmXyZ}; [quo]que perrumpi <...> posit; utpote lorica^{δξmRXy58}
- 13 adamans lapis durissimus est; non potest molliri nisi hircino sanguine.*⁵⁹
- 14IL [DIGNE SCRIPSERIT] quis lyricorum^{δRXZ60}; [MERIONEN] <...> pugnare<t> contra Troianos; [16 SUPERIS] dis^{δξmRXY61}
- 15IL [NIGRUM MERIONEN] respersum^Z fama^{δR}; [OPE] amminiculo*
- 15 Meriones frater Idominei fuit filius Deucalionis, qui ad Troiam cum octaginta navibus venit. ibi post multa prelia telo Hectoris percussus occubuit.⁶²
- 16IL [DIDIDEN] Diomede<m>
- 17IL [NOS] lirici^{δXyZ}; [PROELIA VIRGINUM] rapacissimos amores^{δRXyZ}
- 18# quanvis sectus† unguis habeant tamen seviunt in iuvenes tamquam accipitres in minores aves.
- 19IL [VACUI] otiosi^y; [QUID] propter quod, id est amores^{δmRyZ}
- 20IL [LEVES] scilicet ex consuetudine leves; ad scribendas quaslibet levitates

Odes 1.7 Laudabunt alii (f. 5ro-vo)

T pranetice diculos Planco

M metrum heroicum; primus versus exameter est; secundus vero tetrameter est et fa<lis>cus appellatur, oe quod ex iiii pedibus ultimis constet versus heroicus.†

M ode dicolos distrophos, namque primus versus heroicus est exameter, sequens tetrameter est et phaliscus appellatur, eo quod ex quattuor pedibus ultimis constet versus heroici.⁶³

1 Mitilene insula est contra Asyam, que a proxim<a> continente abest vii d. passibus.⁶⁴

⁵⁶ Prisc. *Inst. Gram.* 1.39.14 sive 6.277.6 {1.3

⁵⁷ **m** bellicosum (only)

⁵⁸ **X** ut lorica; **ξmRy** lorica (only)

⁵⁹ Unknown = Hor. Sch.? The idea that diamond can be reduced by goat's blood, is found in several texts from Pliny onwards (Plin. NH 20.1; Solinus 52.55-6; Serv. <Auct.> *Aen.* 6.552; Aug. *Civ. Dei* 21.4; Prisc. Dion. Perieg. 1063; Eug. Tolet., *Carm.* 62; Greg., *Reg. pastor.* 3.13; Rem. 1.35.2 ad Mart. 1.75), among which Solinus and Remigius scholia were used elsewhere by our scholiast. Harley matches none of these sources verbatim. The same information appears, with slightly different wording, in German 11th-century Clm 375: *qui est lapis durissimus et domari nullo modo potest, nisi hyrcino calido sanguine perfusus.* (cf. 12th-century Italian Vat. Lat. 3260 *adamans est genus lapidis insectabilis qui lapis numquam potest dividi nisi aceto et sanguine hyrcino.*)

⁶⁰ **Z** lyricorum (only)

⁶¹ **δξXY** at line 16

⁶² Dar. 14.17, 19.24; Dict. Prol. 2? {2.1

⁶³ *Exp. metr.* and PsA *ad loc.*

- 1 Rodos Cycladum insula nobilissima est et ab oriente prima, quondam Ophyusa vocata, in qua urbs eiusdem nominis fuit eroe† coloso famona† septuaginta cubitorum altitudinis. distat a portu Asie viginti milibus passuum.⁶⁵
- 1IL [RHODON] in ortu solis positam^{δXyZ}
- 2IL [BIMARISVE] quod gemino mari alluitur
- 3# [MOENIA] unde iste Planc[t]us erat, et ubi ipse patrimonium suum habebat. dicit igitur laudent alii quod eis placet†, ille laudabit[ur] et delectabitur in sua regione^{y66} pre aliis.
- 3# Thebe civitas est Bacho dicata eo quod ibi habundet.
- 3# [DELPHOS] civitas Grecorum ubi colitur Apollo, inde dicitur Apollo Delphicus.
- 4 [TEMPE] amena loca Thesalie dicuntur Tempe et est indeclinabile.
- 4IL [INSIGNES] c<l>aras^{δRXyZ67}; [THESSALA] aut*
- 5IL [SUNT] multi^{δmRXyZ}; [EST] opus*; [INTACTE] virginis^{δRXy}
- 7IL [UNDIQUE DECERPTAM] ne aliquid emineat equanimiter tonsam^{mR68}
- 7# [OLIVAM] propter Minervam Athenarum conditricem ac oleae inventricem^{RXyZ}
- 8IL [PLURIMUS] multus^{RyZ69}
- 9IL [ARGOS] oppidum^{mYZ} Grecum^{δXy}; [DITESQUE MYCENAS] sunt equis^{δRXyZ70}; idest civitas^{δXyZ}
- 10IL [PATIENS] laborum^{δRXyZ71}; [LACEDEMON] pro quolibet Greco^{δRXyZ}
- 10 [PATIENS LACEDEMON] post matricidium Orestes cum fureret, adiit oraculum de sanitate. oraculum respondit sic eum posse sanari, si Diane Scythi<c>e de Taurica simulacrum auferret. profectus est autem illuc. ibi erat soror eius Ephienia sacerdos, que advenas immolabat. agnovit fratrem, pepercit illi, interrogavit cur venisset. ille causam itineris indicavit, abstulerunt inde simulacrum, simul soror est secuta, delati sunt ad Italiam et collocaverunt in nemore Ar[i]ci<n>o simulacrum et consecraverunt nemus. post hoc Italiam inmite numen et asperum visum est, miseruntque ad Orientem simulacrum. quod Lacedemonii acceperunt et, ne aut crudelitatem aut sacrilegium facerent, statuerunt hoc, ut iuvenis aras ascenderet et superinponeret manus et tam diu loris cederetur quam diu sanguis de vibicibus in aram manaret et satisfaceret numini.
- 11IL [OPIME] fertilis^{δXyZ}; [PERCUSSIT] amore suo^{δRZ}
- 12 Albunea fons est quidam in Tyburtinis altissimis montibus; et Albunea dicta ab aque qualitate, que in illo fonte est. unde etiam nonnulli ipsam Leucateam volunt. sciendum sane unum nomen esse fontis et silvae.⁷²
- 13IL [TIBURTI†] montis^R
- 14IL [MOBILIBUS] se<m>per currentibus^{δRXyZ}; [POMARIA] id est viridaria^{δRXyZ}
- T15 ad Plancum oratio ad benevolentiam⁷³

⁶⁴ Bede *de Nom.* 207 {4

⁶⁵ Bede *de Nom.* 241; aereo Colosso famosa {4

⁶⁶ y ...placeat... laudabit et delectabitur sua regione

⁶⁷ (δ?)Xy caras; RZ claras

⁶⁸ m undique, idest ne aliquid emineat equaliter tonsa†; R equanimiter† tonsam (only)

⁶⁹ R multi

⁷⁰ Z equis (only)

⁷¹ R ad laborem; (δ?)XyZ durus ad laborem

⁷² Serv. *Aen.* 7.83 + Porph. *ad loc.*? {6

⁷³ x...hortatio ad bene vivendum (cf. Φ ...hortatio bene vivendo)

- 15IL [UT] sicut^{YZ}; [OBSCURO] de^y
 19IL [MOLLI...MERO] suavi vino; [SIGNIS] scilicet bellicis^{δRyZ}; seu eas in expeditionem^R
 21f. Oratius [cf. *Odes* 1.7.21f.] ‘*Teucer Salimina† patremque/ cum fugeret*’ plus est quam si diceret ‘relinqueret’; Virgilius [*Ecl.* 1.4] ‘*nos patriam fugimus*’.
 21IL [TEUCER] Telamonis et Hesione filius^{δRXyZ74}; [PATREM] Telamonem^{δXy}
 22IL [UDA LYAEO] ypalage; semper vino^R; ypallage est, ipsum vinum enim udum oportet intellegi.⁷⁵
 23IL bene ‘populea’ propter fortitudinem animi, est enim arbor in tutela Herculis.
 24IL [AFFATUS] ipse Teucer^{mRXyZ76}; [AMICOS] socios
 25IL [PARENTE] patre
 26IL [IBIMUS] sequimur illam fortunam^{δRXZ}
 27IL [NIL DESPERANDUM] est vobis*; [TEUCRO DUCE] periculorum omnium inchoatore vel expte†^{RXyZ77}
 28IL [CERTUS] verus qui aliquando dubius in responsis^{XZ78}
 29IL [AMBIGUAM] idest duplicem propter quod diximus in Cypro^{δRy79}
 30IL [PEIORAQUE PASSI] ut Virgilius [cf. *Aen.* 1.199] ‘*o graviora passi*’
 32IL [ITERABIMUS] repetemus^X vel perarabimus^{δRyZ80}

***Odes* 1.8 *Lydia, dic, per omnes* (f. 5vo-6ro)**

- T erotice diculos ad Lidiam
 M metrum choriambicum, quod constat coriambo et bachio <...>
 1IL scilicet quod interrogo dic per omnes deos
 3IL [APRICUM] amenum
 7 frena dicta quod equos fremere cogant vel quod hec equi obmordeant. unde et nec[tes]frendes dicti adhuc lactant<es> porculi, quod nondum aliquid frendant, id est cominuant, dentibus. hinc et fava† fresa que molita est. lupati sunt freni asperrimi dicti autem lupati a lipinis† dentibus qui inequales sunt. unde etiam eorum morsus vehementer obest.⁸¹
 8 natate adolescentibus inter summa erat virtutum et exercitationis studia; flavum autem inundatione turbidum dixit, unde Virgilius [*Aen.* 7.31] ‘*et multa flavus arena*’, Lucanus [8.374] ‘*nec frangit nando violenti verticis amnem*’; ad insigne virtutis
 10f. ordo est: neque iam nobilis gestat bragia livida arenis† sepe expedito disco trans finem, sepe expedito iaculo trans finem; posinaclum dicebant certi ponderis discum, quo iuvenes in agonibus contendebant; fortior iudicandus, qui ultra eum designati spacii finem iecisse[n]t; ita et misilibus certabatur. quando palestrizabantur inter se olea† ungebantur.⁸²
 12IL [EXPEDITO] misso

⁷⁴ **Z** filius Telamonis (only)

⁷⁵ λφψ ipsum enim virum

⁷⁶ **m** Teucer (only)

⁷⁷ **ceteri** experto

⁷⁸ **X** ...dubius in promissis; cf. **Z** non fallax sed vere dictus, alias sepe in responsis dubius

⁷⁹ **δ** ...propter hoc quod...; **y** [AMBIGUAM] duplicem, [NOVA] Cipro

⁸⁰ **δ** repet<emu>s vel peragrabimus; **y** repetimus† peragrabimus (only); **Z** peragrabimus (only)

⁸¹ Isid. *Et.* 20.16.1-2; fava fresa, lupinis dentibus

⁸² **Keller** livida armis; for the last sentence cf. λφψ at *Odes* 3.12.6

- 14IL [DICUNT] s. latuisse; [FILIUM ... THETIDIS] Achillem
 16IL Lycii populi fuerunt Troianis ferentes auxilium.

Odes 1.9 Vides ut alta (f. 6ro)

- T paranetice ad Taliarchum puerum
 1 [STET] aliquando est alias horret, ut [Aen. 6.300] '*stant lumina flamme*'; item plenum est, ut [Aen. 12.4-7-8] '*iam pulvere celum stare vident*'; item positum est, ut [Aen. 3.63] '*stant manibus are*'; item placet, ut [Aen. 12.678] '*stat conferre manum*'. pro loco ergo hic sermo intellegendus est.⁸³
 1IL [STET] horret
 1 Soracte mons est Hirpinorum in Flaminia collocatus. in hoc autem monte cum aliquando Diti patri persolveretur, nam manibus consecratus est, subito venientes lupi exta rapuerunt. quos cum diu sequerentur, delati sunt ad quandam speluncam, halitum ex se pestiferum emittentem, adeo ut iusta stantes necaret: exinde orta est pestilentia, quia fuer<ant> lupos secuti. de qua responsum est, posse eam sedari si lupos imitarentur, id est raptu viverent. quod postquam factum est, dicti sunt populi Hyrpisarani. nam lupi Sabina lingua vocantur hyrpi; sarani vero a Dite, nam Ditis pater Saranus vocatur: quasi lupi Ditis patris. unde Oratius [Odes 1.9.1f.] '*vides*'. '*vides ut alta stet nive candidum/Soracte*'⁸⁴
 2IL [SORACTE] mons est
 3IL [LABORANTES] ponderis magnitudine
 6IL [LARGE] abundanter; [BENIGNIUS] remissius solito
 8IL [DIOTA] vinarium vasculum
 9IL [CETERA] idest omnes sollicitudines
 12IL [AGITANTUR] commoveantur sedato flatu ventorum
 14IL [DIERUM] sive malum sive bonum^{mUY85}
 15IL [APPONE] patienter fer
 16IL choree a choro dicte quod iunctis manibus salte[n]tur; [CHOREAS] s. sperne^{mRUX}
 17IL [VIRENTI] subaudi tibi scilicet
 18IL [CAMPUS ET AREAE] scilicet repetatur planolus ad ludum locus
 18 campus est planicies terrarum, dictus autem campus quod brevis sit pedibus nec erectus ut montes sed patens et spacio porrectus et iacens; unde et Grece pedion dicitur; sumpsit autem nomen ex Greca ethymologia, cami enim Grece breve dicunt.⁸⁶
 18 area dicitur tabularum equalitas. dicta autem area a planicie atque equalitate; undeque ar[e]a. alii aream vocatam dicunt quod pro tridurandis frugibus eraditur vel quod non trituantur nisi arida.⁸⁷

⁸³ Serv. Aen. 1.646? {6

⁸⁴ Serv. Aen. 11.785; Harley shares the spelling of the following proper names with Servius manuscripts St Gall 861-2 (S) and Karlsruhe 116 (A), both containing *Aeneid* 6-12: *Soracte* (rather than the Virgilian lemma *Soractis*), *Hyrrisani*, *Saranus*, *Sarani*. Unlike S and Harley, A reads *alitur*; it spells the final *Saranum* with single 'r'.

⁸⁵ U sive bonorum sive malorum

⁸⁶ Isid. Et. 14.8.23; *planus* locus, *χαμαί* enim Grece

⁸⁷ Isid. Et. 15.13.16; Isidore manuscripts read *unde et* rather than *undeque*. *Undeque* is a rare alternative to *undique*, but I find one other example of this word meaning *et unde* in the 10th-century (935-952) *Praeloquia* of Ratherius Veronensis (6.5): *Cura ergo tanto amico festine reconciliari undeque cecideras restitui...*

- 19IL [LENESQUE] voluptuosi; [SUSURRI] confabulationes; [SUB NOCTEM]
scilicet per^{mRU}
20IL [COMPOSITA] statuta; [REPETANTUR] replicentur^{mRUY88}; scilicet a te^{mRUY}
21IL [ET] repetatur^{mRy}; [INTIMO] secreto^{mUX}
22IL [RISUS AB ANGULO] s. repetatur a te
23IL [DIREPTUM] distractum^{mRXy89}; [LACERTIS] brachiis

Odes 1.10 Mercuri, facunde (f. 6ro-vo)

- T laudes Mercurii
M metrum saphicum
1IL [FACUNDE] laudat ab arte [ADHLANTIS] laudat a genere
2IL [QUI FEROS...] qui <in>compositos hominum mores tua eloquentia docuisti⁹⁰
3IL [CATUS] doctus; vel sapiens*
6 [LYRE PARENTEM] ipse enim dicitur lyre inventor
8IL [CONDERE] abscondere*
13ff. per transitum historiam tangit quia constat Priamum, Mercurio duce cum ad
supplicandum venisset, dormientem Achillem excitavisse, ut rogaret eum pro filii corpore,
cum eum potuisset occidere.⁹¹

Odes 1.11 Tu ne quaesieris (f. 6vo)

- T [Odes 1.12 bis, cf. *infra*] prosphonetice detraculos ymnus
M metrum coriambicum endecasillabum† quod constat ex spondeo, tribus coriambis
et piricchio† sive iambo⁹²
3IL licet cognoveris que res commoveat mare, necesse est ut bibendo hanc reseces
curam.
4IL [PLURES HIEMES] tempus posuit pro anno, a parte totum

6IL [SAPIAS] etiam si sapias; [LIQUES] idest consumes potando; necesse est
6 Tyrrhenum mare dictum est a Tirrenis pastoribus, qui videntes Liberi patris
tigrides metu precipitaverunt se in mare.^{m93}
7IL [RESECES] auferes^{mRUXY94}

Odes 1.12 Quem virum aut heroa (f. 6vo-7vo)

- T prosphonetice detraculos ymnus
M metrum saphicum
1IL [ACRI] grave sonanti
2IL [SUMIS] consumis*; [CLIO] una ex musis^{mRUX95}
3IL [QUEM] subaudi sumis celebrare

⁸⁸ m replicent<...>

⁸⁹ mRX abstractum...

⁹⁰ Keller eloquentia domuisti

⁹¹ Serv. Aen. 1.487 {6 App.

⁹² Keller choriambicum exdecasyllabum

⁹³ = Sch. ad Boeth. 3 m. 8.8; at the same lemma in Clm 375 (s. xii, German){9

⁹⁴ m sic; RUY auferas, X auferas†

⁹⁵ U una ex novem Musis; m una fuit ex viii Musis...

- 6IL [PINDO for HEMO] mons Troie ubi quondam Orpheus cecinit;⁹⁶ [HEMO for PINDO] mons Thessalie
- 7IL [VOCALÉM] vocales omnes summe voces† dicuntur.⁹⁷
- 8IL [7 TEMERE] inordinate; [7 INSECUTE] sunt^{ξmRY}
- 10IL [LAPSUS] cursus^{ξmRUXY}; scilicet canam*
- 11IL [BLANDVM] scilicet [et] pro blande; [AVRITAS] sensum audiendi habentes
- 13IL [QUID] scilicet dicam^{ξmRXyZ}
- 20IL [PALLAS] sapientia
- 22IL [LIBER] Bache^{ξmRUXY98}; [SEVIS INIMICA VIRGO] scilicet Dianam studiosam venandi
- 22 Liber est ipse Dionisius repertor vitis. Liber dicitur quia etiam servi ebrii liberi sibi videntur, Oratius [Ovid *Ars. Am.* 1.239] ‘*tunc pauper cornua sumit*’, idest audatiam et confidentiam. sive ut alii dicunt Liber vocatur quia liberat mares messis† seminibus, nam per Iunonem femine, per Liberum mares liberari et p<ur>gari dicuntur.⁹⁹
- 24 <P>hebus interpretatur novus, et re ue<r>a sol in ortu <s>uo novus cernitur, <u>nde et puer inerbis pingitur quia re<iuve>nescit. auri<com>us dicitur a splen<dor>e radiorum quasi <au>reas comas habens. sagittarius vocatur a ra<di>is iaculorum quibus <om>nem visibilem penetrat mundum. vulnificus autem, id est vulnera faciens, quia <in> his que penetrat <q>uedam quodam modo vulnera relinquit.¹⁰⁰
- 25IL [ALCIDEN] Herculem, alce enim Grece <...> virtus, inde Hercules a veritate† Alcides dicitur.¹⁰¹
- 26IL [HUNC] Castorem^{mNUXy}; [PUGNIS] pedestri<bu>s^{ξmU102}
- 27IL [SIMUL] statim^{mRU}
- 28IL [STELLA] signum geminorum
- 29IL [AGITATUS] resolutus
- 30IL [FUGIUNTQUE] fugantur
- 33IL subaudi memorem*
- 34IL [POMPILI] magna pax fuit eius tempore.
- 35IL [FASCES] honores^{UX}
- 35 Cato comes Pompeiarius† in civili bello contra Cesarem occisso Pompeio a Tholumeo rege Egipti apud Pelusium portum Alexandrie in Amffricam concessit. ibi infinita Romanorum nobilitas cum Iuba Mauritanie rege, bellum reparavit. contra quos Cesar post multas dimicationes aput Tapsum victor extitit; castra eorum duruit† lx elephantos cepit. M. Porcius Cato sese Utice amore libertatis occidit. Iuba rex percussori iugulum dato precio prebuit.¹⁰³
- 37 Regulus consul Romanorum.* <...> post multa prelia cum* Kartaginenses pro commutatione captivorum Romam misissent, adquiescentes Romanos suo consilio revocavit. hunc Peni, dum sacramenti memor reverteretur, sectis palpebris vigiliis necaverunt.

⁹⁶ Keller mons Thracie

⁹⁷ Keller homines summae vocis

⁹⁸ ξ Bach<?>

⁹⁹ Remig. 28.15 ad Mart. 1.51; missis seminibus {7

¹⁰⁰ Remig. 11.14-18 ad Mart. 1.12

¹⁰¹ λφψ a virtute

¹⁰² ξ pedestres?; U pedestris; m pedestri†

¹⁰³ Eutr. 6.23; Oros. 6.16.3-4; PsA *ad loc.*; ex Orosio castra eorum deripuit {2.2.2

38 Lucius Emilius Paulus et Puplius Terentius Varro consules contra Hannibalem missi infelicissime apud Cannas Apulie vicum omnes Romane pene rei vires perdiderunt. nam in ea pugna xliiii milia Romanorum interfecta sunt. Paulus consul cum posset ignaviter abisse, maluit fortiter perire quam ignominiose de bello aufugere, quem Hannibal maximo honore sepelivit. ipse Hannibal funeri eius interfuit.¹⁰⁴

41 Curius quidam senator fuit clarus paupertate; qui cum agrum suum coleret evocatus propter virtutem meruit dictaturam; qui non totondit cesariem propter iniuriam accepte potestatis. hic enim, vicit Pyrrum regem Epirotarum ferentem Tarentinis auxilium; cui ad focum sedenti magnum auri pondus Samnites cum attulissent repudiati sunt; non enim aurum habere preclarum sibi videri dixit, sed eis qui haberent aurum imperare.¹⁰⁵

47 [IULIUM SIDUS] Iulium Cesarem dicit qui primus apud Romanos monarchiam rerum sibi vindicavit. qui bellis civilibus toto orbe compositis dum statum rei publicae clementer Rome instaurat, coniuratum est in eum a lx vel amplius senatoribus equitibusque Romanis. precipui erant coniuratorum duo Bruti ex eo qui Rome primus consul fuerat et reges expulerat, et Cassius Servilius. ergo Cesar cum in senatum cum ceteris venisset ad curiam, iiixx vulneribus confossus interiit. cui cum Augustus Cesar consobrinus eius ludos funebres celebraret, medio die stella apparuit. quam ille confirmavit esse parentis. unde Virgilius ‘*ecce Dionei processit Cesaris astrum*’.¹⁰⁶

47IL [INTER IGNIS] inter stellas^{R107}

49IL [PATER ATQUE CUSTOS] apostropha† ad Iovem

50IL [CURA] subaudi sit^{RUXyZ}

51IL [FATIS] per fata; [TU SECUNDO] scilicet sit secundus a te; scilicet ut tu in celo, ille in terris regn<aret>

54IL [EGERIT] sub<egerit>^{RUXyZ}; [DOMITOS] subiugatos

56IL [SERAS ET INDOS] populi sunt^{mR}; subaudi a superiore ‘regnes secundo Cesare’.^{UXy108}

59 [PARUM CASTIS] pollutis secundum pontificum et a[u]ruspicum documenta, qui dicunt nunquam† fieri fulmina nisi in lucis pollutione aliqua alienis. locus quo cadunt fulmina bidental dicitur, vel quia duos dentes fulmen habet vel quia bidente ab a[u]ruspibus consecratur; quem calcari nefas est; nec potest expiari nisi immolata hostia.¹⁰⁹

Odes 1.13 Cum tu, Lydia, Telephi (f. 7vo-8ro)

T de Telepho erotice dicolos ad Lidiam

M metrum primo versu gliconicum, secundo asclepiadeum

M [bis] metrum primo versu gliconicum, secundo asclepiadeum

4IL [BILE] ira^{mR}

6IL [HUMOR] lacrimae

7IL [ARGUENS] probans^{δmXyZ}

¹⁰⁴ Oros. 4.16.1-3; unknown (in part comparable to Porphyrio *ad locum*) {2.2.1}

¹⁰⁵ Serv. *Aen.* 6.844; PsA *ad loc.*; PsA 3.20.1?; *de Sen.* 55 {4}

¹⁰⁶ Eutr. 6.25; Oros. 6.17.1-2; Serv. *ad Ecl.* 9.46; *Ecl.* 9.47; Virgil quotation also in **mU** {2.3.2}

¹⁰⁷ **R** stellas dicit (only)

¹⁰⁸ **U** ‘regnes secundo Cesare’ (only)

¹⁰⁹ PsA *ad loc.*; = Sch. Pers. 2.26 (5, 9) {9}

12IL [LABRIS] tuis^{δmRXyZ}

14IL [BARBARE] male*

16# [QUINTA PARTE] vi cause sunt cum quibus mulier inquitur, que sunt visus, aggressio, locutio, tactus, osculum, concubitus.*¹¹⁰

16 [NECTARIS] hyle est que omne corpus mundi quod ubicumque cernimus ideis inpressa formavit; sed altissima et purissima pars eius, qu[i]a vel sustentantur divina vel constant, nectar vocatur et creditur esse potus deorum; inferior vero atque turpidior† potus animarum et hoc est quod veteres Letheum fluvium vocaverunt.¹¹¹

17IL [TER ET AMPLIUS] finitum pro infinito

20IL [CITIUS] prius*; [AMOR] eius*

Odes 1.14 O navis, referent (f. 8ro-vo)

T paranetice detracholos alligorice ad navim de Bruto reparante bellum civilem; ad rem publicam

M ode tricolos tetrastrophos constans diversis metris; duo enim sunt asclepiadei, tercius <fe>regratius, qui constat ex spondeo et tactilo et spondeo, <...> et coriambo et pirichio¹¹²

M metrum duobus versibus asclepiadeum, tercius feregratius, quartus glyconicus qui tripod<i>a dactil<ic>a dic[i]<un>tur.

2IL [O QUID] <...> clamantis*

5IL [MALUS] masculinum genus

5 malus arbor <na>vis generis est mascuni, Horatius [Odes 1.14.5] ‘*nec malus celeri sautius Africo*’, et dictus est malus vel quia <ha>bet instar mali in <su>mitate vel quia <quibus>dam malis ligneis <ci>ngitur, quorum volubitate vela facilius eleventur.¹¹³

12IL [FILIA] ut sis*

17IL [QUE] navis^U; [TEDIUM] fuit*

18IL [DESIDERIUM] est*

20IL [CICLADAS] insule sunt in mari*

20# Cycladas autumant inde dictas quod, licet spaciis long<i>oribus a Delo proiecte, in orbem tamen circa caelum† site sunt; et orbem cyclon Grai locuntur. non ideo dicuntur Cyclades quia in rotunditate sunt, sed cum longo ordine eas circumire necesse est, vel propter promuntoria vel quia naturale est ut conmutaciora† sint maria vicinitate terrarum, quos† constat anhelitum quendam ex se mittere.¹¹⁴

Odes 1.15 Pastor cum traheret (f. 8vo-9ro)

T sub persona Paridis exponit imminencia Ilio

G Hecuba Dimantis filia uxor Priami pregnans in somnis vidit se genuisse facem qu[i]a tota urbs incenderetur; quod Priamus auditus cum seniori[ori]bus referret

¹¹⁰ cf. Porph. (ad loc.): quia in quinque partes amoris fructus esse partitus dicitur: uisu, adloquio, tactu, osculo, concubitu; cf. λφψ (ad loc.): quia in quinque partes amoris fructus partitus est, visu, alloquio, tactu, osculo, concubitu...

¹¹¹ Marc. In Somn. 1.12.11; turbidior potus {4

¹¹² Exp. metr. In the *Expositio* this metre is discussed at its first occurrence (*quinta ode*); the glyconic is explained earlier (*tertia ode*).

¹¹³ Serv. Aen. 5.487 {6 App.

¹¹⁴ Serv. Aen. 3.126, 127; Isid. Et. 14.6.19; Isid. circa Delum, Serv. ut concitiora

responderunt sapientes, quos in consilio habebat, puerum quem pareret exicium genti et causam esse incendii. propterea natum Paridem pater occidi iubebat, mater eum ideo pastori clam alendum tradebat. nutritus et adultus cum agonalis certamine superaret omnes, ipsum etiam Hectorem, stricto gladio petitus ad† Hectore dixit se esse germanum: quod allatis crepundiis probavit, qui habitu rustici ad hoc tempus latebat. propterea eum pastorem nominat, perfidum propter violata iura hospicii.¹¹⁵

G Alexander patrem hortabatur ut classis prepa<ra>retur et ipse in Greciam mitteretur: se rei principem futurum et victis hostibus adepta Grecia domum rediturum esse. nam sibi in Yda silva cum venatum abiisset in somnis Mercurium adduxisse Iunonem, Venerem, Minervam, ut inter eas de specie iudicasset aiebat. et tunc sibi Venerem pollicitam esse si suam speciem iudicasset speciosissimam, daturam se[i] ei uxorem, que in Gretia specio<sio>r forma videretur. unde sperabat Priamus Venerem adiutricem Alexandro futuram.¹¹⁶

G eversi Ilii hec est vera causa. Herculis cum Cholchos iret perditio Hyla, post peragratam Mysiam navibus Troiam venit; a cuius portu cum eum La<o>medon arceret occisus est et eius filia Hesyona, belli iure sublata, comiti Telamoni tradita est, qui primus ascenderat murum. unde Teucer natus est, nam Aiace ex alia constat esse procreatum. tunc Hercules Priamu<m> quoque redemptum a vicinis hostibus in paterno regno locavit, unde et Priamus dictus est ANO TY ΠΙΙΑCΘOI id est emptione. P<ri>amus ut Ilium venit, ampliora menia extruxit, et civitatem munitissimam addidit, et multitudinem militum ibi esse fecit, ne per ignorantiam opprimeretur, ita et† Laomedon pater eius expressus est. et postquam Ilium stabilitum vidit, legatos in Greciam misit, ut sibi de patris sui nece satisfacerent et Hesionam sororem redderent. qui contumeliose habi<ti> non impetratis rebus perquam† ierant ad Priamum reversi sunt. unde commotus Priamus misit Paridem cum exercitu, ut aliquid tale adduceret, aut uxorem regis, aut filiam. qui expugnata Sparta Helenam rapuit. nam sollicitata Helena cum Parin sequi no<lu>isset, egressus ille civitatem obsedit. qua eversa Helenam rapuit: unde et recipi meruit a marito.¹¹⁷

1# freta abusive modo maria, nam proprie fretum est mare naturaliter momile† ab undarum fervore nominatum.¹¹⁸

4IL [CANERET FERA] idest dicere<t> crudelia^{mRUX119}

5IL o Alexander*; [NEREUS] Neptunus^{mRUXZ}; [AVI] idest omine^R

6IL [QUAM] Helenam; [REPETET] requirit [MULTO... MILITE] multo exercitu

8# [REGNUM PRIAMI VETUS] duobus milibus octingentis annis Troianum regnum stetisse firmatur; necessaria scientia.¹²⁰

10IL o Paris^{δmyZ}; [SUDOR] bellicus labor

11IL [AEGIDA] scutum Palladis^{UY}

12IL [RABIEM PARAT] pro belli rabie[m] furorem posuit¹²¹

13IL [FEROX] crudelis^{mYy}

¹¹⁵ Unknown (cf. Dictys 3.26); Serv. *Aen.* 5.370; the whole cf. VM 2.225 {9

¹¹⁶ Dar. 7.1-12 {2.3.2 App.

¹¹⁷ Serv. *Aen.* 10.91-2, 1.619; Dar. 4.6; **Dar.** ita ut Laomedon; corrected in darker ink: perquam ierant to pro quibus ierant; {2.3.2

¹¹⁸ Serv. *Aen.* 1.607; naturaliter mobile {6 App.

¹¹⁹ **R** predicaret..., **m** ut predicaret..., **U** ut predicaret crud<el>i<a>; **X** predicaret peissima, crudelia

¹²⁰ Serv. *Aen.* 2.363 {6 App.

¹²¹ **Keller** pro belli furore rabiem

- 15IL [DIVIDES] [et] nequiquam^{δRy}
 17IL [CALAMI...GNOSII] de canna facta Cretensi^{Y122}
 20IL [COLLINES] inquinabis
 21IL [LERTIADEN] idest Ulixen
 21# singulos velud exitiales duces minatur: Ulixen et Nestorem filium Pylīi^{†123};
 Ulixes enim Astianactam precipitem muro dedit.
 22# hic Nestor filius Nelei a Pilo civitate fuit, qui etiam pater erat Antyluchi et
 Calchantis.*¹²⁴
 23IL [SALAMINIUS] de Salamina civitate
 24# Teucer frater Aiacis filius Telamonis fuit.
 24# Stelenus Capanei et Euadnes filius fuit.
 25IL [IMPERITARE EQUIS] domitor equorum
 26# Merion<es> frater fuit Idominei <...> filius Deucalionis erat.¹²⁵
 28IL [TYDIDES] Diomedes; [MELIOR PATRE] doctior bello*
 31IL [MOLLIS] imbellis
 32IL [NON HOC POLLICITUS] scilicet ut fugeres

Odes 1.16 O matre pulchrior (f. 9ro-vo)

- T ad Tindaridem faciens iamborum potestatem
 M metrum duobus versibus alchaicum, quod constat ex spondeo iambo, cesura
 iambica pentimemetri[†] et duobus dactilis, ita ‘o matre pulchra filia pulchrior’; tertius
 dimeter iambicus ipercalectica[†], ‘pones iambis sive flamma’; quatuor pindaricus constat
 ex duobus dactilis et duobus trocheis ita ‘sive mare libet Hadriano’.
 G hanc odam Oracius in satisfactionem fecit amice sue, quam iratus carmine<m>
 leserat, promittens abolenda que de ea scripserat, Ste[r]sicorum Siculum poetam imitatus,
 qui vituperationem Helene scribens cecatus est, et postea responso Apollinis laudem eius
 scripsit et lumen recepit, cuius rei et in epodon idem poeta meminit [17.42ff.] ‘*infamis
 Helene Castor offensus vice/ fraterque magni Castoris/ adempta vati reddidere lumina.*’
 4IL [LIBET] placet^{UYy}; [HADRIANO] pro Hadriatico
 5# ADITIS id est templis, kata antyfrasin, id est per contrarium, quod a paucis
 adeatur, id est <a> solis tantumodo sacerdotibus. est enim interior pars <tem>pli.¹²⁶
 5IL [DINDIMENE] mater deum a loco^{mUYy127}; [ADYTIS] ex secretis templi^{mUYy128}
 6 Apollo est Pythius dictus a Phytone serpente quem secundum fabulam <m>ox
 natus interfecit; vel quod melius est a verbo Greco <quo>d est phyto id est interrogo.
 ipsum enim interrogabant <...> consulebant.¹²⁹
 8IL [CORYBANTES] ministri matris deum

¹²² Y Cretentis[†], de canna enim sagitte fieri consueverunt (cf. φ *ad loc.*)

¹²³ Keller Nestorem Pylum, Nelei filium

¹²⁴ Nestor’s father and city are named in Pseudo-Acro *ad locum*: *singulos uelut exitiales duces minatur, Vlixen et Nestorem Pylum, Nelei filium*. Horace depicts Nestor as Antilochus’ father in *Odes* 2.9 (14f.), but his connection with Calchas remains a mystery.

¹²⁵ Dict. Prol. 2? {2.1

¹²⁶ Remig. 8.2 ad Mart. 1.7 {7 App.

¹²⁷ m mater magna a loco

¹²⁸ Y ex ecr<?>atis (?) templi; m secretis templi (only)

¹²⁹ Remig. 10.6 ad Mart. 1.10 {7

- 8 Coribantes sunt ministri matris deum, qui dicuntur da<i>mones quasi
d<a>emones qui totum sciunt.¹³⁰
- 9IL [UT IRE] <qua>tiunt mentem hominis^{mUY131}
- 12IL [IUPPITER] aer p[er]luuius; [RUENS] in[per]petuose veniens
- 12 fisici Iovem etherem id est ignem volunt [in] intellegi, Iunonem vero aerem. et
quoniam tenuitate hec elementa paria sunt dixerunt esse germana. sed quia Iuno, id est
aer, subiectus est igni, id est Iovi, iure superposito elemento mariti traditum nomen est.
Iovem autem a iuvando dixerunt. nulla res sic fovet omnia quemadmodum calor.¹³²
- 13IL [ADDERE] pro addisse^{UYy}
- 14IL [PRINCIPI LIMO] primo homini^{N133}, hic est Adam qui primus homo factus est;
[PARTICULAM UNDIQUE] ex omnibus animalibus
- 16IL [ADPOSUISSE] prefertur^{RUYY134}
- 18IL [URBIBUS ULTIME STETERE CAUSE] usque ad eversionem
- 19IL [CUR] ut*; [PERIRENT] urbes*
- 23IL [DULCI] voluptuosa^{mUYy135}
- 24IL [IN CELERES IAMBOS] scilicet propter iram
- 25IL [FURENTEM] furore commotum^{mUYy}
- 26IL [TRISTIA] idest carmina*
- 27IL [RECATATIS] idest meliore carmine^U recantantur
- 28IL cum multo carmine laudibus corriguntur^{mY}

? ΦANTASCMA vero hoc est visum cum inter vigilius† et adultam quietam† in
quadam ut aiunt prima somni nebula adhuc se vigilare estimans qui dormire vix cepit
aspicere videtur irruentes in se vel passim vagantes formas a natura seu magnitudine seu
specie discrepantes variasque tempestates rerum vel letas vel turbulentas. in hoc genere
est et ΕΠΙΑΛΤΗC quem publica persuasio quiescentes opinatur invadere et pondere suo
pressos ac sentientes gravare.¹³⁶

Odes 1.17 Velox amoenum (f. 9vo-10ro)

- T ad eandem meretricem
- M metrum duobus versibus alchaicum, tertius dimeter iambicus ipercatalecticis,
quartus pindaricus
- 4IL [PLUVIOSQUE] pluviales^R
- 5IL [IMPUNE] sine periculo
- 8IL [METUUNT] uxores olentes mariti^{Uy137}
- 9IL [LUPOS] metuunt^{Ry}
- 10IL [UTCUMQUE] quandocumque sive quotienscumque

¹³⁰ Serv. Aen. 3.111, PsA ad loc. {6 App.

¹³¹ m ...mentem hominum; U ...mentem meam

¹³² Serv. Aen. 1.47

¹³³ N homini (only)

¹³⁴ ceteri fertur

¹³⁵ U in voluptuosa

¹³⁶ Macr. In Somn. 1.3.7 {4

¹³⁷ Uy uxores olentis mariti

- 11IL [USTICAE] aut nomen montis aut insule; [CUBANTIS] depress<e>[it], ut [Aen. 3.689] ‘*Tapsumque iacentem*’
- 13IL [TUENTUR] defend<u>nt^{mRUy} ut iusticia mea et carmen meum placent† diis
- 14IL [MUSA] mea*; [CORDI] pro ad cor
- 15IL [MANABIT AD PLENUM] habundabit; habundanter,^y largo dono terris† frugum^{mU138}
- 16# dicit cornu quem† Hercules Artheloo abscidit. ipsum Ceres implevit omni bono et ille semper abundantia manabat.*¹³⁹
- 16# Fortuna cum cornu pingitur quod Hercules Acheloo detraxit et Fortune dedit.
- 17IL [CANICULAE] stella est in ore Canis estifera; inimicos afferens estus^{UX140}
- 18IL id est ut [cf. Georg. 2.353] ‘*fī[i]ndit canis estifera arva*’; canicularis
- 18 [FIDE TEIA] Hactius† poeta Teius fuit ab urbe Teio. repromittit amice sue secum in agello suo lyricum carmen cantatorum†.¹⁴¹
- 19IL [20 VITREAMQUE] id est <a>ut pulcram <a>ut proc<u>rato lucentem nitore, vel mori vicinam¹⁴²; poete*
- 20 Circe vero mortalis fuit, quam stulti filiam Solis putabant, si fas ut dei filia credatur esse mortalis. sed ordinem fabule perstringamus. hec igitur Circe in insula Menia delatos ad se in feras mutabat. ad hanc forte delatus Ulixes Euriloquum cum xx et duobus sociis misit, quos ad† humana specie co<m>mutavit. sed Euriloquus inde auffugit et Ulixi nunciavit. is solus ad eam proficiscitur, cui in itinere Mercurius remedium dedit monstravit quomodo Circen deciperet. qui, postquam ad eam venit, ab ea poculo accepto Mercurius remedium miscuit et edunt† ensem eique minatus est ut socios suos restituisset. tunc Circe sensit sine voluntate deorum non esse factum fideque data sibi, socios ei restituit. ipse cum ea concubuit, ex qua Thelecnus procreavit.¹⁴³
- 23# Thioneus Liberi fuit filius, qui in Chio insula regnavit, pater Thoantis, Lemni regis. cuius filia fuit Isiphile, que coniunctioni †cornu ad usus veros† facta sola patrem serviv<it>† quam fabulam narravit <...>¹⁴⁴

f. 9vo

? Herculis fabulam tangit. qui cum in hospicio ad Eneum† regem venisset, Deianeram filiam eius corrupit et fidem dedit se uxorem ducturum. post eius discessum Euricion Yxionis filius Centaurus uxorem Deianeram peti<i>t, quam pater vim timens Euricioni promisit. qui constituto die cum fratribus venit ad nuptias. eo forte die quo nuptie celebrabantur, superveniens Alcides Centauros interfecit, Deianeramque insperate suo matrimonio copulavit. item aliter Centauri nati erant Yxione et nube, quam pro se Iuno mutavit. qui cum in nuptos† Pyrithoi ebrietate caluissent et vellent puellae nubentis irrupere thalamum a Lapytis, quorum rex fuit Pyrithuus, interempti sunt.¹⁴⁵

Odes 1.18 Nullam, Vare, sacra vite (f. 10ro-vo)

¹³⁸ ceteri terre

¹³⁹ { 1.4

¹⁴⁰ UX ...nimios afferens estus

¹⁴¹ Holder Anacreon lyricus poeta...

¹⁴² Keller mari vicinam

¹⁴³ Sch. Theb. 4.550; eduxit ensem; corrected in darker ink: si fas to sed nefas; edunt to eddit {6

¹⁴⁴ Keller coniuratione adversus viros facta, patrem servavit

¹⁴⁵ Sch. Theb. 5.261-3; in nuptiis {8

- T ad Varum Quintilium
M metrum choriambicum ex spondeo tribus choriambis et bi<ri>rriichio sive iambo;
sive phaletium
2IL [MITE] humile*; [MOENIA] circa*
4IL [MORDACES] que mordent animum^{mUXYy146}
5IL [INCREPAT] increpat, commemorat; quod sine vino solet <...>
6IL [BACHE] Bachus leticie auctor et pater; [TEQUE] eligat; [NON TE POTIUS]
scilicet laudat^R
9IL [SUPER MERO/ DEBELLATA] propter vinum facta^{Uy147}
10IL [FAS ET NEFAS] licitum et illicitum
11IL in luxuriam proni scilicet propter ebrietatem
12IL [INVITUM QUATIAM] non plus bibam quam oportet; p<o>tabo*; [OBSITA]
co[m]perta^{mR148}; absolute positum
13IL o Bache*; [SUB DIVUM RAPIAM] palam^m proferri^{Y149}
13 [BERECYNTIO/ CORNU] a Berecynto monte, nam apud <...> ludi theatrales in
honorem Liberi patris non nisi in lucis per noctem fiebant. ad quos sacerdos
sacrificaturos cantu tiliarum tympanorumque vocabat. actisque sacrificiis per epulas
intemperatas, in quibus cas†<...> et facilis amoris occasio, lucerne extingebantur
indiscreta licentia omnia voluptuosa <...>¹⁵⁰
14IL [CECUS] per ebrietatem
14 tympanum est qut<is?>, est corium extentum quod percussum magnum edit
sonitum.¹⁵¹
15IL subaudi sequitur^{δRX152}; [VACUUM] vanum; [PLUS NIMIO] quam
oportet^{mRUYy153}

Odes 1.19 Mater saeva Cupidinum (f. 10vo)

- T ad puerum suum de Glicere† meretrice
M metrum gliconicum primo versu, secundo asclepiadeum
1IL [MATER SAEVA CUPIDINUM] idest Venus^{mRUy}
3IL [LASCIVA LICENTIA] ocium quod semper in lasciviam resolvitur
4IL iam desertis et abenis† ab animo, denuo isdem incitari¹⁵⁴
5IL [GLYCERE] nomen puellae amate; [NITOR] pulchritudo^{δmRUXy}
6IL [PURIUS] clarius^{mRy}
9IL [RUENS] celeriter veniens^{RUy}
10IL hic ostendit se in deliciis Veneris occupatum non posse res bellicas scribere

¹⁴⁶ UX que mordent mentem

¹⁴⁷ y(?) id propter facta

¹⁴⁸ m cooperta; R ?

¹⁴⁹ Y ...proferam

¹⁵⁰ Virgil *Aen.* 11.737f.; Serv. *Aen.* 1.686; Horace *Odes* 1.18; PsA *ad loc.*; corrected in other hand and ink:
per to post, in quibus... occasio underlined in dotted line, *et* inserted after *extingebantur*, ending *voluptuose*
fiabant {6

¹⁵¹ Remig. 58.10 ad Mart. 2.133 {7 App.

¹⁵² m at 16

¹⁵³ m sic; RUYy quam oporteat

¹⁵⁴ Keller alienis ab animo

11IL VERSIS in fugam, qua re fortiores dicuntur Parthi, ut [cf. Lucan 1.230] ‘*emissam Parthi post <...> sagittam*’.

13IL [VIVUM... CESPITEM] aut terra virens aut cespes ad sacrificium

14IL [TURAQUE] sacrificia

15IL [BIMI CUM PATERA MERI] veteris vini

16IL [MACTATA VENIET LENIOR HOSTIA] facto sacrificio mansuescit

Odes 1.20 Vile potabis (f. 10vo-11ro)

T Mecenatem ad cenam invitat

2IL [CANTHARIS] vasis vinariis ansas habentibus

3 theatrum est quo <s>cena includitur, semicirculi figuram habet, in quo stantes omnes aspiciunt. cuius prius figura rotunda erat, sicut et amphitheatri; postea ex medio amphiteatro theatrum factum est. teoros enim Grece, Latine spectaculum.¹⁵⁵

4IL [PLAUSUS] favor

9 prela sunt autem trabes quibus uva calcata iam premitur.¹⁵⁶

10 Falernus mons Campanie est in quo optima vina nascuntur.¹⁵⁷

Odes 1.21 Dianam tenerae (f. 11ro)

T laudes, ad chorum virginum et puerorum

M metrum duobus versibus asclepiadeum, tertius feregratius, quartus gliconicus

1IL [DICITE] cantate

2IL [INTONSUM] crinitum Apollinem

3IL [LATONAMQUE] Dianam

3-4IL DIANAM subaudi di<ci>te^{RU}; [SUPREMO] maximo, [Ter. *Adelph.* 2.1.42] ‘*Pro supreme Iuppiter*’ et [Aen. 7.220] ‘*rex ipse Iovis de gente suprema*’

6IL [QUAECUMQUE] scilicet coma^{mRUxy}; [PROMINET] iuxta eminet^{Uy}; [ALGIDO] nomen montis^{mRU158}

9 Tempe sunt proprie loca amena Thessalie, abusive cuiusvis loci amenitas.¹⁵⁹

10IL [MARES] pueri*

11 pharetra sagittarum teca a ferendo iacula dicta; sicut pheretrum ubi finus† defertur; que idcirco ethiniolo[n]giam communem habent, quia pharetra mortem, pheretrum mortuum portat. coriti proprie sunt arcuum tece sicut sagittarum pharetre.¹⁶⁰

12 [FRATERNAQUE ... LYRA] Mercurius lyram invenit et eam Apollini tradidit, donata sibi virga caduceo.¹⁶¹

12# [FRATERNAQUE ... LYRA] quia a Mercurio lyra inventa dicitur et Apollini data ab eo, quia Apollinis frater Mercurius putatur.

Odes 1.22 Integer vitae (f. 11ro-vo)

¹⁵⁵ Isid. *Et.* 18.42.1; inserted in darker ink: *figura, (in rasura) amphitheatri* and *enim*, h in *teatrum* and *teoros* {5

¹⁵⁶ Serv. *Georg.* 2.242

¹⁵⁷ Serv. *Georg.* 2.96

¹⁵⁸ R mons est

¹⁵⁹ Serv. *Georg.* 2.469 {6

¹⁶⁰ Isid. *Et.* 18.9.1-2; corrected in darker ink: *finus* to *funus*, h inserted in *teca*, *tece*, n in *ethimolongiam* removed

¹⁶¹ Serv. *Aen.* 4.242? (cf. PsA *ad loc.*) {6

- T innocentiam cuique tutam esse †exempto iudicio†;¹⁶² ad Fuscum
M metrum saphicum endecasillabum, quartus adonius
3IL [NEC?] ego*; [GRAVIDA] plena
5 [SYRTES] duo sunt sinus prope in extrema Affrica inpari magnitudine pari natura; quorum proxima terre prealta sunt, cetera uti fors tulit alta, alia in tempestate vadosa, nam ubi mare magnum esse et sevir ventis cepit, limum arenamque et saxa ingentia fluctus trahunt, ita facies locorum cum ventis mutatur. Syrtes a tractu nominate sunt. quas inaccessas vadosum ac reciprocum mare efficit. cuius sali defectus vel incrementa haut promptum est deprehendere. ita incertis mo[n]tibus nunc in †brevis arescit† dors<uo>sa, nunc inundatur estibus inquietis; ut auctor est Varro perflabilem ibi terram ventis penetrantibus; subitam vim spiritus citissime aut revemere† maria aut resorbere.¹⁶³
7 [CAUCASUM?] Tylus Indie insula est; ea fert palmas, oleam creat, vineis abundat. terras omnes hoc miraculo sola vincit, quod quecumque in ea arbor nascitur numquam caret folio. ibi mons Caucasus qui maximam orbis partem perpetuis iugis penetrat; fronte qua soli obversus est arbores piperis ostentat, quas ad iuniperi similitudinem diversos fructus edere adseverant. qui pene in maturi exeunt, dicuntur piper longum; qui incorrupti, piper album; quorum cutem rugosam et torridam calor fecerit, nomen trahunt de calore.¹⁶⁴
8 Hidaspes fluvius est Medie¹⁶⁵
11IL [VAGOR] discurro^{mU}
13IL [PORTENTUM] pro lupis^{mUX166}
14 DAUNIAS id est Apulia qu[i]a Daunus pater Turni regnabat
14 [DAUNIAS] Apulia dicta est a Dinno rege, socero Diomedis, aut regio in qua regnavit pater Turni, unde et [Aen. 12.934] ‘*Dauni miserere senecte*’.
15IL [IUBE TELLUS] Mauretania intellegenda a Iuba rege
17IL [PIGRIS] frigidis
18IL [ESTIVA] calida^{mUy}; [RECREATUR] perflatur

Odes 1.23 Vitas hinnuleo (f. 11vo)

- T ad Chloen quam ad matrimonium hortatur
M metrum duobus versibus asclepiadeum, tertius feregratius, quatus gliconicus
1IL [VITAT] fugit^{mUVy}; [INULEO] cervino pullo
2IL [AVIIS] sine viis^{mUy167}
5IL [VERIS INHORRUIT / AD VENTUS FOLIIS] ypallage pro ‘mobilia folia inhorruerunt’
9IL [TIGRIS] velocissimum animal
10IL [GETULUSVE] de Getulia^V; [FRANGERE] comminuere^V; occidere^{Vy}

Odes 1.24 Quis desiderio (f. 11vo-12ro)

¹⁶² The Harley corruption is shared by Reginensis 1703; cf. Φ *ad loc.*: *dicit innocentiam semper et ubique tutam esse exemplo suo quod eum fugerit lupus*. (Φ draws on Porph. *ad loc.*)

¹⁶³ Sal. *Jug.* 78; Sol. 27.3-4; Sol. in *brevia refert* dorsuosa, revomere {4

¹⁶⁴ Sol. 52. 49-51

¹⁶⁵ Serv. *Georg.* 4.211 {6 App.

¹⁶⁶ *ceteri* pro lupo

¹⁶⁷ *mU* sine via

- T alloquitur Virgilium
M metrum tribus versibus asclepi<a>deum [constat], quartus gliconicus
1 ordo est: o Melpo<me>ne, qui[s] pater dedit liquidam vocem cum cithara, precipe
lugubres cantus. quis pudor aut modus sit <...> tam cari capitis. consulatur† hoc† ode
Virgilium inpatienter Quintili amici sui mortem lugentem. sensus autem vel ordo: da
mihi precepta carminis, o Musa, quibus ostendam, quis modus desiderii esse debeat
carissimi sodalis aut amici.
11IL [DESIDERIO] amor^{mUVy}
2IL [CARI CAPITIS] amici; [PRECIPE] da precepta; [LUGUBRIS/ CANTUS]
genitivus^{EUVy}
3IL [CUI] tibi^U
5IL [PERPETUUS SOPOR] mors, [cf. *Aen.* 10.745f.] ‘et feritas† urget/ somniorum†’
et [*Aen.* 6.278] ‘consanguineus leti sopor’
6 Fides incorrupta bene est appellata soror Iusticie.
9IL [FLEBILIS] lamentabilis^{EV}; quod est mortuus^{Em168}
11IL [NON ITA] subaudi scilicet ut reddatur^{ERUV169}
13IL [BLANDIUS] delectabilis
13 ordo est: quod si blandius Treicio Orpheo moderere fidem auditam arboribus,
num redeat sanguis vane imagini, quam Mercurius, non lenis recludere fata [vero]
precibus semel compulerit nigro gregi horrida virga.
13# ORPHEUS Trax fuit qui dum cantu suo vel cythara arbores conmoveret ut
sequerentur, Euridicen tamen suam uxorem ab inferis revocare non potuit.
14 [FIDEM] acusativus hic est nominativo fidis, ut fit pyrichius, nam fides iambus
est.¹⁷⁰
14IL [MODERERE] pro modere<ris>; [FIDEM] chordam
15IL [SANGUIS] vita
16IL [QUAM] subaudi imaginem^{δENRXy}; [VIRGA] caduceo; [HORRIDA] severa
17IL [LENIS] flexibilis^{EmV}; [PRECIBUS] scilicet humanis^{δERXy}; [RECLUDERE]
aperire
18IL [COMPULERIT... GREGI] congregaverit umbra<rum> multitudini
19IL [DURUM] subaudi est quod dico; [LEVIUS FIT] lavigatur
20IL [CORRIGERE] emendare^{EmUVy}; [NEFAS] idest impossibile^{δmVXy}

Odes 1.25 Parcius iunctas (f. 12ro-vo)

- T ad Lydiam de superbia ipsius
M metrum saphicum
1IL [PARTIUS] rarius; [IUNCTAS] clausas; [QUATIUNT] concutiunt^{ξUV}
2IL [IACTIBUS] ictibus lapidum; [PROTERVI] insolentes
3IL [ADIMUNT] auferunt^{ξy}
4 ianua enim est primus ingressus domus, dicta a Iano cui consecratum est omne
principium. cetera intra ianuam hostia vocantur generaliter, sive uualve sint sive fores:

¹⁶⁸ **Em** [OCCIDIT] mortuus est (only)

¹⁶⁹ **RUV** ut reddant

¹⁷⁰ Serv. *Aen.* 6.120 {6 App.

quamvis usus corruerit ista. nam fores proprie dicuntur que foras aperiuntur sicut apud veteres fuit; [v] valve autem sunt ut dicit Varro que revolvuntur et se volant†.¹⁷¹

5IL [QUE] ianua^{ξδNRUVXy}

6 cardo dicitur quasi cor ianue quo movetur.¹⁷²

9IL [ARROGANTES] te dedignantes

10 angiportum alii dicunt vicum sine exitu, quasi in loco deserto et sine conventu ubi fletura est; alii dicunt vicum angustum et flexuosum immundum† anguis, vel ipso secreto serpentibus tutum, quasi anguis portum.¹⁷³

13IL [FLAGRANS] ardens^{ξUVX}

13f. per virilia celi. in mare ergo precipitasse dicuntur, quando† fruges in ventrem mittuntur et venerem generant ac libidinem excitant. cum enim venter intemperate reficitur, virilia ad contumeliam excitantur.¹⁷⁴

14 FURIARE novo verbo usus est, quasi in furorem libidinis urgere. Virgilius [cf. *Georg.* 3.266] ‘*scilicet aut† omnes furor est insignis equarum.*’

16IL [QUESTU] querela

17IL [PUBES] iuventus

18IL [PULLA] nigra^{mRUVXy}; [MAGIS] quam te^ξ

19 [ARIDAS FRONDES] aridas anus et decrepitas mulieres, et sic [et]iam etate frigidas ut Ebro glaciali sint similes, merito a iuvenibus contempnas*

Odes 1.26 Musis amicus (f. 12vo)

T ad Musas

M metrum duobus versibus alchaicum, tercius iambicus ypercatalecticis, quartus pindaricus

1IL [MUSIS AMICUS] scilicet ego; [TRISTIAM ET METUS] anxietatem, cordis dolores^m

2IL [TRADAM] committam^m

3IL [PORTARE] ut portent^{δNRXy}; [QUIS] a quibus^{δξmNUVXy175}; [SUB ARCTO] septentrionalis plaga

4IL [REX] Eucius^{ξmNUVX176}; [GELIDE HORE] australis plage^{m177}

5IL [TIRIDATEN] Tiridates rex Armeniorum sive Persarum; et ponitur pro omni homine iusto.^{δmRXZ}

9 [PIBLEA] Pobleē† muse dicte aut a Pibleo fonte Macedonie, aut a vico, aut a monte Pibleo Orcomoeniorum, aut a veste, hoc est a peplo quo virgines utuntur.*¹⁷⁸

G musica est pericia modulationis sonu cantuque consistens, et dicta musica per d<e>rivationem a Musis. Muse autem sunt apellate †a portu maso†, idest a querendo, quod per eas sicut antiqui voluerunt vis carminum et vocis modulatio que<re>retur. quarum sonus quia sensibilis res est, et preterfluit in preteritum tempus, inprimiturque

¹⁷¹ Serv. *Aen.* 1.449; se velant {6 App.

¹⁷² Serv. *Aen.* 1.449

¹⁷³ Keller in modum anquis

¹⁷⁴ = Sch. Luc. 8.458 in Cologne 199, s. ix, France/ Germany; quia fruges {9

¹⁷⁵ UV pro quibus

¹⁷⁶ ceteri Eolus

¹⁷⁷ m plage (only)

¹⁷⁸ The Pseudo-Acronian note lacks the final phrase *quo Virgines utuntur*.

memorie. ideo <a poet>is Iovis et Memoriae filias Musas esse confictum est. nisi enim ab homine memoria tenebitur, soni pereunt quia scribi non possunt.¹⁷⁹

Odes 1.27 Natis in usum (f. 12vo-13ro)

T ad sodales suos

M metrum duobus versibus alchaicum, tercius dimeter novenarius iambicus, quartus pindaricus

1IL [NATIS IN USUM] <im>ventis ad hoc specialiter <...>

2IL [TRACTUM] gentes; [TOLLITE] o convive^{mR}

3 ypalage est 'prohibite rixas a verecundo Bacho', id est moderato, vel quia virgineo ore pingitur, vel quod eo uti deceat verecunde.¹⁸⁰

4 [PROHIBITE RIXIS] <...> tale est illud Virgilius† [cf. *Aen* 8.73] 'accipite Enean et eundem† arcete periclis'

5 LUCERNIS idest conviviiis, que a vespera inchoari consuerunt, unde Virgilius [*Aen*. 1.727] 'et noctem flammis funalia vincunt'

5 lucerna a lichno dicta est, unde et brevis est 'lu', ut Persi<u>s [5.181] 'disposite pinguem nebulam vomuere lucerne'. si enim a luce diceretur non staret versus. lichnus† aut quasi lucinius est enim cicendela† lucerne.¹⁸¹

5 ACINACIS gladiis Persarum lingua, sed hic pro quolibet ponitur ense.

6IL [IMPIUM] bell<icum>^{δmRXyZ}

7IL [LENITE CLAMOREM] conpescite tumultum

9IL si me vestro vultis commisceri convivio

10IL [FALERNI] pro bono vino*; [OPUNCIE] a loco^{δξmUVy}

11IL [MEGYLLE] nomen convivi† qui Opuncio orniundus erat

12IL [VULNERE] sit*; [SAGITTA] scilicet libidinis^{mR}

13IL [CESSAT] si / sed^{δmy}; [VOLUNTAS] scilicet confessionis

14IL [MERCEDE] nisi dicas

15IL scio*

21IL [SAGA] malefica; [SOLVERE] liberare*

24 Pegasus Bellorofontis equus cuius celeritate Chimera dicitur interempta. hoc dicitur inde Picius rex uxorem nomine Anthiam habuit que amavit Bellorofontem. quem cum de stupro interpellasset et ille reniteretur criminata est apud maritum. ille eum ad Chimeram interficiendam missit ut ab illa perderetur. quam Bellorofons equo Pegaso residens interfecit, qui de sanguine natus fuit. Pegasus† allegorice pro sapiente accipitur cuius consilio vix stultus a prava intentione revocatur.¹⁸²

Odes 1.28 Te maris et terrae (f. 13ro-vo)

T ad Architan arte ge[y]ometren

MIL metrum heroicum, secundus idem heroicus tetrameter

M metrum primo versu heroicum, secundus idem heroicus tetrameter

¹⁷⁹ Isid. *Et*. 3.15.1-2; appellatae απο του μασαι; μάσαι and *quaereretur* are variously corrupted in Isidore manuscripts, *Maso* occurring in Voss. lat. F. 74 and Madrid Tol. 15.8, *quaereretur* only in the former.

¹⁸⁰ *ceteri* consentiunt, *Keller* ypalage est <pro> prohibite

¹⁸¹ Isid. *Et*. 20.10.2; *Isid. ceteri* *licinius*, *Lindsay* *lychnus* {5

¹⁸² λφψ *Bellorophon* allegorice

- 1 [NUMEROQUE] ut est [cf. Virg. *Georg.* 2.105f.] ‘*quem qui scire velit, Libici velut† equoris idem/ dicere q. m. t. a’*
- 2IL [MENSOREM] geometrem; [COHIBENT] continent; [ARCHYTA] Pitagoribus† fuit¹⁸³
- 3IL [MATINUM] mons est
- 4 idest nihil profuit ad mortalem condicionem per fisice disciplinam rationem celi et ipsas rerum naturas perscrutum, ut illud [*Georg.* 3.525] ‘*quid labor aut bene facta iuvant?*’
- 5IL [AERIAS TE<M>PTASSE DOMOS] idest astrinomiam† mensurasse^{δmRUVXy184}; [ANIMOQUE] sagacitate^{mU}
- 7IL [PELOPIS GENITOR] Tantalus
- 7# Tantalus, Pelopis pater, epularum scelere deorum conviva, a quibus pro funestis filii dapibus poena percussus est.
- 7 Tantalus rex Chorianthiorum amicus numinibus fuit. que frequenter cum susciperet et quodam tempore defuissent epule, filium suum Pelopem occidit et diis ad epulandum posuit. tunc abstinentibus cunctis, Ceres humerum eius exedit, et cum eum dii per Mercurium revocare ad superos vellent, eburneus ei est brachius† restitutus. ideo autem sola Ceres dicitur comedisse, quia ipsa est terra, que corpus resolvit. per Mercurium autem ob hoc fingitur revocatus, quod ipse est deus prudentie, per quam philosophi deprehenderunt HAAINTHNHCIAN vel MHΘHMYXWCYN. Tantalus autem hac lege dampnatus esse dicitur apud inferos ut in Heridano inferorum stans nec undis presentibus nec vicinis eius pomariis perfruatur.¹⁸⁵
- 8# Tithonum, Laomedontis fratrem, Aurore maritum in auras receptum, hoc est mortuum dicit.
- 8IL [REMOTUS] receptus
- 9IL [ARCHANIS] secretis
- 10# anima Phitagore prius in pavonem translata est, dein ad Euphorbium Panthoi filium, inde ad Homerum, postremo ad Ennium.^{m186}
- 10# PANTENDEN nunc Phitagoram significat, qui predicavit se apud Troiam Euforbium, Panthois filium, fuisse, qui interfectus a Menelao iterum revixit factus Phitagoras; idque eum cognovisse agnito clippeo quem in templo Martis Euforbis fixerat. et ideo dicit ‘nil ultra morti nisi nervos atque cutem concesserat’.
- 11IL recordatus Troianorum refixo clippeo
- 12IL [ULTRA] preter
- 14IL [IUDICE TE] o Archita
- 15IL [NATURE] phisice^{RX}; [VERIQUE] idest veritatis^{δmUVXy}; [MANET] idest delet*
- 16IL [CALCANDA] intranda
- 18IL [EXITIO EST AVIDUM] idest usque ad necem*
- 19IL [MIXTA SENUM...] totius etatis multitudo congloba[n]tur; [NULLUM] subaudi quia^m
- 20# [PROSERPINA] vis herbarum et omnium que semine de terra surgunt Proserpina accipitur, unde et Proserpina vocata a proserpendo, idest porr<o> et multum crescendo.

¹⁸³ Keller Pythagoricus

¹⁸⁴ ceteri mensurasse (only)

¹⁸⁵ Serv. *Aen.* 6.603 {6}

¹⁸⁶ Unknown; at the same lemma in Clm 375 (s. xii, German, ‘m’) {9}

que bene puella vocatur quia terrarum semina singulis annis innovantur, quod terra duplicata vel centuplicata reddit semina que acceperit, unde et ipsa Proserpina Ecathea vocatur. ekaton namque centum Grece dicitur, per quod innuitur quod dictum est, quia vis terre centuplicatum restituit, quod acceperit. hinc et ipsa silvarum vel venatorum dea fertur, quia silvas vis nature de terris producit et venacio silvis et pascuis nutritur.¹⁸⁷

20# [PROSERPINA] que omnes suscipiat, quam nullus evadit. figura ypalage 'fugit[e] Proserpina' <pro> 'fugerunt Proserpinam', ut illud in Virgilio [Ecl. 10.16] 'stant et oves circum, nostri nec penitet illas' pro 'illar[i]<um> non penitet' d<icit>.

21 [ORIONIS] ut Virgilius [Aen. 1.535] 'fluctu nimbosos Orion'. ortus enim et ocasus Orionis tempestuosi sunt. ideo et comite<m> eius Nothum dixit ventum. devexit† autem, in devexa parte celi positum, unde Virgilius [Aen. 1.608] 'convexa polus dum sidera pascit'.¹⁸⁸

21 [ORIONIS] Oenopion rex cum liberos non haberet a Iove Mercurioque Neptuno quos hospicio susceperat hortantibus, ut ab his aliquid postulare, petiit ut sibi con<ce>derent liberos. illi, intra corium immolati sibi bovis urina facta, preceperunt ut obrutum terra repletis maternis mensibus solveretur. quo facto inventus est puer, cui nomen ad† urina inpositum est, ut Orion diceretur. qui postea venator factus cum vellet cum Diana concumbere, ut Horatius dicit [Odes 3.4.71], eius sagittis occisus, ut Lucanus [9.836], inmisso scorpione periit et deorum miseratione relatus in sidera signa† famosum tempestatibus fecit. veri simili<u>s autem est a scorpione interemptum quo oriente occidit. sane magnitudine sua multis diebus oritur, et ideo eius etiam apud peritos est incerta tempestas.¹⁸⁹

22IL [ILLIRICIS... UNDIS] mare*; [OBRUIT] dimersit^{mUV}

23# hic quasi Archytam ponit precari nautam, ne remaneat insepultus, sed iam harenam iniciat. nam in sacris et hoc genus sepulture tradebatur [et] ut <et>si non obrueretur, manu plena tracta† terra cadaveri pro sepultura esset, ut [Aen. 6.365f.] 'aut tu mihi terram/ inice'. ideo enim et particulam harene dixit. ordo est: [de] tu, nauta, ne parce malignus dare particulam vage harene ossibus et inhumato capiti, etiamsi plectantur Venusine silve, quodcumque minabitur Eurus Hesperiiis fluctibus et cetera.¹⁹⁰

23IL [VAGE] instabilis^{δmRUVX}; [NE PARCE MALIGNUS] sis parcendo inmisericors^{δmUX191}

25IL [PARTICULAM DARE] sepulturam; [QUODCUMQUE] periculum^{δmRVXy}; [MINABITUR] tumescat^{UVX192}

26# [VENUSINE] Venusia civitas Apulie est confinis Lucanie, cuius silvas, que immense sunt, pro quibuscumque posuit. admonet ergo ne, etiamsi tempestas sit que tales silvas flectat, omittat sepeliendi curam.

27IL [PLECTANTUR] etiamsi; [MULTAQUE MERCES] ne adtentus ad lucrum

28IL [EQUO] prospero^{mUVX}

¹⁸⁷ Remig. 36.4 ad Mart. 1.81 {7 App.

¹⁸⁸ Keller devexum autem

¹⁸⁹ Serv. Aen.1.535; almost the entire Harley extract appears in VM 1.32, notably sharing Harley's jumbled order *Iove Mercurioque Neptuno*, but replacing the -que on the last item *Neptunoque*. The other Harley copy of this note (at *Odes* 3.27.18) similarly standardises the position of -que. {6

¹⁹⁰ Keller ter iacta terra; at tu, nauta

¹⁹¹ δU ne parcas inmisericors; X ni differas inmisericors

¹⁹² X tumescet; V ?

- 29IL [NEPTUNOQUE CUSTODE TARENTI] quia ibi colitur
 29# vel quia Neptunus apud Tarentum devotius colebatur, vel quia in
 <N>eptu<ni>[m] tutela dicitur fuisse, seu quia Palantus, Neptuni filius, apud Tarentum
 Herculi et Neptuno templa constituit, ut fortiter per favorem Herculis faceret, per
 Neptunum feliciter ageret.
 30IL [NEGLEGIS] si^{mRUVX}
 31IL [NATIS] filios tuos; [COMITTERE] cognosce[s]^{my} comminuere† te^{U193}
 31# studio commercandi fraudem que <re>dundet in posteros capiat, seu
 certe inhuman<ita>is piaculum eius filios ledat. aut, ne longum putaret, etiam ipsum
 delicti subitum penas minatur. ut excusacionem arceat, dum [qui] nec morosum, quod
 ceperat, ostend<it>.
 32IL [IURA] leges^U
 33IL [MANEANT] expectant^{δmRUVXy194}
 34IL [PIACULA NULLA RESOLVENT] nullis hostiis expiab<eris>
 35IL [FESTINAS] festinanter ire velis^{mV195}; [NON EST MORA] scilicet in
 navigando^{δmRy}; [LICEBIT] licetum est^{δRy196}
 35 ut [cf. *Aen.* 3.453] ‘*hic tibi ne qua mor[t]e fuerint fastidia tanta*’.

Odes 1.29 Icci, beatiss (f. 13vo-14ro)

- T ad Iccium
 M metrum duobus versibus alchaicum, tercius timeter novenarius iambicus
 ypercatalecticis, quartus pindaricus
 1 ad Iccium scribit, quem miratur intermisso philosophie[t] studio repente se ad
 militarem vitam contulisse cupiditate divitiarum. nam idem Iccius Paneti, Socratici
 philosophi, pibliotecam emerat, cuius lectione ad philosophandum fuerat deductus.
 1 [bis] ad Iccium scribit, quem miratur intermisso filosofie studio repente se ad
 militarem vitam contulisse cupiditate diviciatum. nam idem Iccius Paneti †et Socratis†
 philosophi publiotecam emerat, cuius lectione ad philosophandum fuerat deductus.
 2IL [GAZIS] pecuniis*; [ACREM] gravem^m; [MILITIAM] pugnam^{δmRUX}
 2 gaza Persicus sermo est et significat divicias, est autem generis feminini, ut [*Aen.*
 5.40] ‘*et gaza l<et>us agresti*’, nam gaza omnis est fructus.¹⁹⁷
 2 [ut] admovet† periculorum per que ad divicias gerentes bella perveniunt.¹⁹⁸
 2 [bis] admonet periculorum per que ad divicias gerentes bella perveniunt.
 4IL [HORRIBILIQUE] crudeli
 5 [et] NECTIS CATENAS aut inliga[ti]s regibus victis catenas, aut fabricas;
 mucius† enim nexibus fiunt catene.¹⁹⁹
 6IL [SPONSO NECATO... SERVIET] id est nisi occiso prius sponso in servitium
 captiva non veniet
 7IL [PUER QUIS EX AULA] regis filius, qui captus pocula ministraret

¹⁹³ U cognosce te (only?)

¹⁹⁴ δmRXy ex(s)pectent; UV exspectant

¹⁹⁵ V celeriter abire velis

¹⁹⁶ δRy licetum erit

¹⁹⁷ Serv. *Aen.* 1.119; 5.40 {6

¹⁹⁸ Keller admonet periculorum

¹⁹⁹ Keller mutuis enim...

- 9 Serica est gens Parthis vicina sagittandi gnara; a seres† dicta*
 9 derivativum est ex eo quod Seres vocantur. Serica gens enim est Partibus vicina, sagittandi arte famosa, a qua et rusticum† vocatur.²⁰⁰
 10IL [ARCU PATERNO] documento^{UVX}
 10 idest quis rerum naturam neget posse mutari, cum studia tu in contraria verteris contra omnium opinionem? ordo est: quis neget relabi posse rivos pronos arduis montibus et Tiberim posse reverti, cum tu pollicitus meliora tendis mutare Hiberis loricis <...>
 11IL [PRONOS] proclivos, nam proni dicuntur rivi de montibus effluentes quod inpetuose fluunt.
 12IL [11-12 POSSE REVERTI] subaudi neget^{mRU201}
 13IL [COE<M>PTOS] congregatos^{δmRUVXZ}
 14 <...> Hiberis mutare tendis. mutare autem, subaudi studia, secundum professionem autem suam poeta philosophiam vult intelligi. elocutio vero nota est <...>
 14IL [SOCRATICAM] disciplinam Socraticam
 15IL [LORICIS] militia

Odes 1.30 O Venus, regina (f. 14ro)

- T ad Venerem
 M metrum saphicum
 G Acidalia dicitur Venus vel quia inicit curas quas Greci acidas dicunt, vel certe a fonte Acidalio, qui est in Orchomeno Boetie civitate in quo se Gratie <...> enim per horum fere numinum munera conciliantur. ideo autem nude sunt quod Gratie sine fuco esse debent; ideo conexe quia insolubiles esse Gracias decet, Oratius [Odes 3.21.22] ‘segnesque nudum† solvere Gracie’. quod vero una adversa pingitur due nos respicientes hec ratio est, quia profecta a nobis gracia duplex solet reverti, unde est supra [Aen.1.544] ‘nec te certasse priorem peniteat’.²⁰²
 1IL Gnidus uros† est Carie; Paphos vero urbs Cipri insule
 1 quasi eppigramma [id] est hoc in dedicationem veniens† scriptum, quam ipse consecraret†. Gnidus urbs Carie est, Paphos vero urbs Capri† insule, utraque Venerem precipue colens. precatur ergo, ut desertis velut propriis civitatibus assit edibus consecratis. incertum autem est utrum Glicera amica sit an ancilla.²⁰³
 3IL [DECORAM] ornamento compositam
 5IL [PUER] Cupido
 6IL [GRATIE] idest virgines; [NIMPHE] mulieres
 7 [IUVENTAS] iuventus est multitudo iuvenum; Iuventas dea ipsa, sicut Libertas; iuventa vero etas; sed h<ec> confundunt plerumque poete.²⁰⁴

14ro (for Odes 1.33 14vo?)

- M metrum tribus versibus asclepiadeum, quartus gliconicus

²⁰⁰ Keller et Sericum vocatur

²⁰¹ RU quis neget

²⁰² Serv. *Aen.* 1.720 {6 App.

²⁰³ Keller in dedicationem Veneris, Cypri insulae

²⁰⁴ Serv. *Aen.* 1.590 {6

Odes 1.31 *Quid dedicatum* (f. 14ro-vo)

T ad Apollinem

M metrum duobus versibus alchaicum; tertius trimeter† noverarius† iambicus; quartus pindaricus.²⁰⁵

1IL [DEDICATUM ... APOLLINEM] templum Apollinis

4 Sardinia a Sardo, Herculis filio, dicta a[m]bundat frugibus caret serpentibus sed quod in aliis locis serpens hoc solifuga facit Sardis agris, animal perexiguum forma araneis simile, solifuga dicta quod diem fugiat. in metallis argentariis plurima est, nam solum illud dives est argento; occultim exreptat et per imprudentiam supersedentes† pestem facit. huic incomodo accedit et herba sardonis, que in fluviiis fontaneis provenit iusto largius. ea si edulio fuerit nescientibus, nervos contrahit, diducit rictu ora, ut qui mortem oppetunt intereant facie ridentium. contra quidquid aquarum est variis commodis servit. stagna pisculentissima. hiberne pluvie in estivam pernuriam resarvantur†, nam homo Sardus opem plurimam de imbrido celo habet: ut imber sufficiat usui ubi defecerint scaturrigines. fontes calidi et salubres aliquot locis effervescunt, qui medelas adferunt: aut solidant ossa fracta aut abolent a solifugis insertum venenum aut etiam ocularias egritudines. sed qui oculis medentur et coarguendis valent furibus; nam quisquis sacramento raptum negat, lumina aquis attrahat, ubi periurium non est cernit clarius, si perfidia abnuat, detegitur facinus cecitate et captis oculis admissum fatetur amyn.²⁰⁶

5# CALABRIA estuosa enim et aptior pecori regio est; [Lucan 9.185] ‘*et calidi lucent buceta Methini*’.

6IL [EBUR INDICUM] Indis enim ebur est abunde.^{mUX207}

7# Liris fluvius est Campanie interfluens urbem Minturnensium, ut Virgilius [cf. Lucan 2.424] ‘*et umbrose lucis† per regna Marice*’.

9# [CANENA] Gales oppidum est in agro Sidicino, ubi vina optima nascuntur.

9ff. vinum inde dictum quod eius potus venas sanguine cito repleat; hoc autem alii quod nos cura[s] soluat Liem appellant. veteres vinum venenum vocabant. sed postquam inventus est virus letifferi sucus, hoc vinum vocabant illud venenum. unde et Hieronimus in libro quem <...> virginitate conservanda scripsit [Epist. 22]: ‘adulescentulas’ inquit ‘ita vinum debere fugere ut venenum ne pro etatis calore ferventi bibant et pereant.’ inde est quod apud veteres Romanos femine non utebantur vino nisi sacrorum causa certis diebus. merum dicimus cum vinum purum significamus; nam merum dicimus quidquid purum atque sincerum est; sicut mera aqua, nulli utique rei mixta. hinc et merenda quod antiquitus id [est] temporis pueris operariis quibus <...> merus dabatur; aut quod meridient eo tempore, id est soli ac separatim, non ut in prandio aut in cena, ad unam mensam. inde dicimus etiam illud tempus quod post medium diem est meridiem appellari quod purum est. mustum est vinum e lacu statim sublatum. dictum autem creditur mustum quod in se limo terram habeat mixtam; nam mus terra unde et humus. cuius tanta vis fervoris est ut vasa quamvis grandia ex eo plena absque spiramine repleta ilico disrumpat. roseum vinum id est cum rubore, rosa enim rubet. amineum vero quasi sine mineo, id est sine rubore, nam album est. sucinacium sucine gemme simile est, idest fulvi

²⁰⁵ Keller *dimeter* novenarius

²⁰⁶ Mart. 6.645; Sol. 4.2-7; the phrase *abundant frugibus* is surely inspired by Horace’s description (3-4): *non opimae/ Sardiniae segetes feraces...*;

²⁰⁷ m Indis ebur *adundat*, X [in] Indis enim ebur *abundat*

coloris. limpidum vinum id est perspicuum, ab aque specie dictum quasi limfidum, limfa enim aqua est. turbidum, quasi terbidum, id est terra commixtum, quod est fece.

Falernum vinum vocatum a Falerna regione Campanie, ubi optima vina nascuntur.²⁰⁸

10 fortunam a fortuitis nomen habere dicunt, quasi deam quandam res humanas variis casibus et fortuite inludentem; unde et cecam appellabant, eo quod passim in quoslibet incurrens sine ullo examine meritorum et ad bonos et ad malos venit. fatum autem a fortuna seperant† et fortuna quasi sit in his que fortuitu veniunt, nulla palam causa, fatum vero appositum singulis et statutum aiunt.²⁰⁹

11IL [EXSICCET] bibendo^{mU}; [CULULLIS] poculis

11 proprie autem culilli calices dicuntur fictiles, quibus pontifices vel virgines Vestales utebantur. hic autem pro urceolis et conchis posuit.

12IL [VINA SYRA REPARATA MERCE] pretiosa; commutata^{δmRUX}

13IL [TER ET QUATER] idest sepe^{δmX}

14IL [AEQUOR] mare^m

16IL [CICHORIA] milia† herba*; subaudi pascit*; [LEVESQUE MALVE] viles^{mV}

20IL subaudi dones^{mUV}

Odes 1.32 Poscimur si quid vacui sub umbra (f. 14vo)

T ad lyram de carminibus

M metrum saphicum

1IL [POSCIMUS†] a Mecenate et Augusto^{δmNRUX210}; [SUB UMBRA] in secreto

4 barbitus genus est organi, instrumentum videlicet musicum ex ebure factum, unde et barbitus a barro, id est elephante dicitur.²¹¹

7IL [SIVE] sive inter arma sive navigatione finita^{mRUWXy212}

8IL scilicet canebat cythara^m

9IL Liber enim et cantilenam suadet et voluptatem.

9 Liberum a liberamento apellatum volunt, quod quasi maris† in coeundo per eius beneficium emissis seminibus liberentur. quod idem Liber muliebri et delicato corpore pingitur. dicunt enim mulieres ei adtributas et vinum propter excitandam libidinem. unde et frons eius pampino cingitur. sed ideo coronam viteam et cornu habet, quia cum grate et moderate vinum bibitur letitiam prestat, cum ultra modum excitat lites, idest quasi cornu invadit. idem autem et levis† ΑΠΩ TVLEIN, eo quod multo vino membra solvuntur. sed Grece Dionisius a monte Indico Nis<e> ubi dicitur esse nutritus. ceterum est et Nisa civitas, ubi colitur idem Liber. unde et Nisius dictus est.²¹³

10IL [PUERUM] Cupidinem

13IL [DECUS PHOEBI] liram dicit esse Apollinis [SUPREMI] summi

14IL [GRATA TESTUDO] apta lyra^{δmRUXYy214}

15IL [LENIMEN] consolatio^{δmRUŸy}; [CUMQUE] quandocumque

²⁰⁸ Isid. Et. 20.3.2-6

²⁰⁹ Isid. Et. 8.11.94

²¹⁰ N a Mecenate vel ab Augusto

²¹¹ Remig. 23.2 ad Mart. 1.36

²¹² m sive navigatione finita (only)

²¹³ Isid. Et. 8.11.43-44; Lyaeus ἀπὸ τοῦ λύεiv; corrected in darker ink: *maris* to *mares*, *quia* to *qui*, *est* inserted after *civitas* {5

²¹⁴ δmRY lyra (only)

16IL [VOCANTI] s. in<vocanti>^{dmYy}

f. 14vo-15ro

Tullius de senectute alia multa et hoc in primis loquitur: quid enim est iocundius† senectute stipata studiis iuventutis? nec ulli bonarum arcium magistri non beati putandi, quamvis consenuerint vires atque defecerint. etsi ista ipsa defectio virium adulescentie viciis efficitur sepius quam senectutis; libidinosa enim et intemperans adulescentia effetum corpus tradit senectute†. moderati enim et nec difficiles nec inhumani senes tollerabilem senectutem agunt; importunitas autem et inhumanitas omni etati molesta est. non enim viribus aut velocitatibus aut celeritate corporum res magne geruntur, sed consilio, auctoritate, sententia; quibus non modo <...> orbari sed etiam augeri senectus solet. neque enim excursionem nec saltu nec <e>minus hastis aut cominus gladiis utitur senectus, sed consilio, ratione, sententia; que nisi essent in senibus, non sumum consilium maiores nostri appellassent senatum. apud Lacedemonios quidem [in] <ei> qui amplissimum magistratum gerunt, ut sunt, sic etiam nominantur senes. quodsi legere aut audire voletis, maximas r.p. ab adolescentibus labefactatas a senibus sustentatas et restitutas reperietis. “cedo, qui uestram rem publicam tantam/ amisistis tam cito?” sic enim percontantur, ut est in Nevii poete ludo. respondentur et alia et hoc in primis: “proveniebant oratores novi, stulti adulescentuli.” temeritas est videlicet florentis etatis, prudentia senectutis. resistendum igitur senectuti est, eiusque vitia diligentia compensanda sunt, pugnandum tanquam contra morbum sic contra senectutem; <h>abenda ratio valetudinis, utendum exercitationibus modicis, tantum cibi et pocionis adhibendum ut reficiantur vires, non opprimantur. nec vero corpori[s] solum subveniundum est, sed menti atque animo molto magis; nam hec quoque, nisi tamquam lumini oleum instilles, exstinguntur senectute. et corpora quidem exercitationum defetigatione† ingravescent, animi autem exercitando levantur. nam quos ait Cecilius comic<us>† ‘stultos senes’ hoc significat credulos, oblivios<os>, dissolutos, que vicia sunt non senectutis. ut petulantia, ut libido magis est adulescentium quam senum, nec tamen omnium[a] adulescentium, sed non proborum, sic ista senilis stulticia que deliratio appellari solet senium levium est, non omnium. ut enim adulescentem in quo est aliquid senile, sic senem in quo est aliquid adolescentis probus; quod qui sequitur, corpore senex poterit esse, animo numquam erit. semper enim in bonis studiis laboribusque viventi non intellegitur quando obrepat senectus. ita sensim sine sensu aetas senescit, nec subito frangitur, sed diuturnitate exstinguitur. ex quo efficitur id quod e<g>o magno quondam cum adsensu omnium dixi, miseram esse senectutem que se oratione defenderet. non cani nec ruge repente auctoritatem arripere possunt, sed honeste acta superior etas fructus capit auctoritatis extremos. hec enim ipsa sunt honorabilia salutari, adpeti, decedi, adsurgere, adduci, reduci, consuli; que et apud nos et in aliis civitatibus, ut queque optime morata est ita diligentissime observantur. Lysandrum Lacedemonium dicere aiunt solitum, Lacedemone<m> esse honestissimum domicilium senectutis: nusquam enim tantum tribuitur etati, nusquam est senectus honoratior. quin etiam memorie proditum est, cum Athenis ludis quidam in theatrum grandis natu venisset, magno consensu locum ei nusquam datum a suis civibus; cum autem ad Lacedemonios accessisset, qui legati cum essent certo in loco consederant, consurrexisse omnes illi dicuntur et senem sessum

recepisse. quibus cum a cuncto consessu plausus esset multiplex datus, dixisse ex his quendam, Athenienses scire que recta essent, sed facere nolle.²¹⁵

Odes 1.33 Albi, ne doleas (f. 14vo-15ro)

- T ad Albium
M metrum tribus versibus asclepiadeum, quartus glyconicus
2IL [INMITIS] erga te^{δRYy}
3IL [ELEGOS] miserabile carmen; [TIBI IUNIOR] scilicet amatori suo*
4IL [PRAENITEAT] plus niteat
6IL [TORRET] adurit^{mRUWVy}; [ASPERAM] renitentem^{mUVW}
7IL [DECLINAT] deducitur
8IL [LUPIS?] iura*
9IL [TURPI... ADULTERO] foedo amatori
10IL [VISUM] subaudi est^R
13IL [MELIOR] nobilior^{δmRUWVy216}
14IL [GRATA COMPEDE] dilecto* amore; [MYRTALE] nomen concubine
15IL [ACRIOR HADRIAE] sevir in moribus^{δmVWXy217}
15# Hadryia nomen maris contra Ravennam, quod per hostia Padi fluminis intrat<ur>, et appellatur sinus Adriaticus.²¹⁸

Odes 1.34 Parcus deorum (f. 15ro-vo)

- T ad Fortunam et se ipsum
M metrum duobus versibus alchaicum, tercius dimeter novenarius iambicus, quartus pindaricus
1IL [PARCUS DEORUM CULTOR] minus colens; [INFREQUENS] rarus^{δmRVXy}
5IL [DIESPITER] diei pater Iuppiter
7IL [PER PURUM] serenum celum^{δmRUWVXy}
11# [ATHLANTEUSQUE FINIS] Athlans mons enim est qui in ultimo Oceani fine porrigitur.
12IL [IMA SUMMIS MUTARE] erigere fessos^{UV219}
16IL [SUSTULIT] elevavit

Odes 1.35 O diva, gratum (f. 15vo-16ro)

- T ad Fortunam
M metrum duobus versibus alchaicum, tercius dimeter novenarius iambicus, quartus pindaricus
7IL [BYTHINA] species pro genere, ut [cf. Georg. 2.451-2] ‘innatat alnus/ misso† Pado’; [LACESSIT] idest navigat^{mUVW}
8 [CARPATHYUM PELAGUS] inter Egiptum et [t]Rhodrum ab insula Carpathiu illic posita²²⁰

²¹⁵ de Sen. 28-29, 7, 17, 19-20, 35-6, 38, 62-4 {4

²¹⁶ δ nobilius† scortum

²¹⁷ δmVy in moribus sevir (δ saevior); W severior (only); X minoribus† (only)

²¹⁸ Bede de Nom. 149 {4

²¹⁹ U idest ipse Diespiter erigit fessos

²²⁰ Serv. Aen. 5.595 = Isid. Et. 13.16.5 {5.0

- 9IL [DACUS] gens iuxta hunc fluvium degens, aspera bellis
 12IL [PURPUREI] pro purpurati
 14IL [STANTEM COLUMNAM] presentem^W felicitatem^{mRVY221}; [POPULUS
 FREQUENS] bellicosus^{mUVW}
 15IL [CESSANTES AD ARMA] inermes^{VW} commoveat^{mUy}
 18IL [CLAVOS TRABALES ET CUNEOS] species tormentorum
 20IL [UNCUS] cum quo puniebantur damnati
 21-2 canam autem fidem dixit vel quod in canis hominibus invenitur, vel quod ei
 albo panno involuta manu sacrificatur, per quod ostenditur fidem esse secretam. unde et
 Horatius [*Odes* 1.35.21f.] ‘*et alba† rara Fides colit/ velata panno*’.²²²
 22IL [COMITEM] sociam^{ξmVWy}
 23IL [UTCUMQUE] quotienscumque; [MUTATA... VESTE] aut luctu aut pauperie
 24IL [VESTE] felicitate^{δmRUVXy}; [INIMICA] scilicet tu illorum, contraria^{δmVX223}
 25IL [MERETRIX] quelibet^{δmRUVXy}
 26IL [DIFFUGIUNT] recusant^{δRXYy}
 27IL [SICCATIS] quando siccantur^m
 30IL [RECENS] novum*
 33IL [PUDET] tedet scilicet nos^{ξUVy224}
 37IL [QUIBUS/ PEPERCIT ARIS] que non polluit templa vel polluit cede, ut Lucanus
 [2.103] ‘*stat cruor[e] in templis*’.²²⁵

***Odes* 1.36 *Et ture et fidibus* (f. 16ro-vo)**

- T ad Lamiam vel ad Numidam
 M metrum primo versu gliconi<c>us†, secundo asclepiadeum
 4 Hesperie due sunt, una que Hyspania dicitur, altera que in Italia. que hac ratione
 discernuntur. aut enim Hesperiam solam dicis et significas <...> Hyspaniam que in
 occidentis est fine, ut Horacius [*Odes* 1.36.4] ‘*qui nunc Hesperia*’, <...> ab Hespera†
 dicta, id est stella occidentali. ceterum Italia Hesperia dicitur a fratre Atlantis, qui Italiam
 pulsus a germano tenuit, eique nomen pristinae regionis inposuit, ut Hyginus docet.²²⁶

- 4IL [SOSPES] reversus^{δξmUVWXy227}
 9IL [8 NON ALIO REGE] sub eo scilicet^{mU}
 11IL prolatum vinum expediatur continuata leticia²²⁸; [NEU... MODUS] sit mensura
 13IL [DAMALIS] proprium nomen^{UW}
 14IL [BASSUM] proprium nomen^{(ξ)mUW}; [TREICIA] a loco^{ξmUW}
 14 AMYSTIS quidam putant quod pocionis genus sit apud Trachios. ideo amystis
 dicta qu<i>a[s] certa mensura clausis oculis potaba[n]tur uno ductu. alii amysten
 gemmam intellegi volunt, que presenti usu amethystus dicitur. clausa enim poculis
 ebrietatem prohibet.

²²¹ R presentem dignitatem; Y idest felicitatem (only)

²²² Serv. *Aen.* 1.292 {6

²²³ δX tu scilicet illis...; V scilicet illis contraria (only)

²²⁴ V nos (only); y tedet scilicet nos; U tedet s. nos; ξ s. tedet nos

²²⁵ Keller non spoliavit templa

²²⁶ Serv. *Aen.* 1.530 {6 App.

²²⁷ δXy revertens

²²⁸ Keller vinum expedatur

- 17IL [PUTRES] nimio potu <m>artentes† et libidine resolutas†
 17 [PUTRES] fisici dicunt ex vino mobiliiores oculos fieri; Plautus ‘faciles’ oculos habet, id est mobiles vino; Horatius ‘putres’.²²⁹
 19IL [DIVELLETUR] disiungetur^{ξmUVWY230}; [ADULTERO] a Numida

Odes 1.37 Nunc est bibendum (f. 16vo -17ro)

- T in victoria Augusti
 1 post bellum civile primum imperium Romanorum inter tres divisum est, ita ut Antonius orientem, Augustus Gallias, urbem Lepidus optineret. Antonius Augusti sororem habuit uxorem, qua spreta amore ductus, Cleopatre Ptolomei sorori coniunctus est. qua indignatione Augustus adversum Antonium et Cleopatram bellum gessit apud Acti<ac>um promuntorium et prefecto classis Agrippa superavit Antonium prelio navali. quo victo et Alexandriam cepit.
 1 hac ergo oda leticiam significat ob victoriam Augusti.
 2# [SALIARIBUS... DAPIBUS] Saliare cene, quas Salii faciebant, dicuntur amplissimi apparatus fuisse, unde et proverbio erat Saliare cenas dicere opipares† et copiosas.
 2IL [PULSANDA TELLUS] pedum plausu ferienda
 3 pulvinaria dicebantur aut lecti deorum, aut tabulata in quibus stabant numina ut eminentiora [n]<v>iderentur; post consolationem enim hostiis epulabantur, ut [cf. *Aen.* 11.740] ‘*luce† vocat hostia pinguis in alto*’.
 5IL [ANTE HAC] hactenus^{ξUVWY}; [NEFAS] subaudi erat^{ξU}; [CECUBUM] vinum vetus
 7IL [REGINA] Cleopatra, ut est [Luc. 10.63] ‘*terrui illa suo, s<i> fas, Capitolia sistro*’; ypallage pro ‘ipsa demens’
 9IL [TURPIUM/... VIRORUM] e<u>nuchorum quos satellites habuit Cleopatra. TURPIUM aut male vite aut castrorum
 11IL [SPERARE] tentare^{ξmUVW}
 13 aut navi qua fugit Cleopatra, aut per allegoriam ostendit Cleopatram primum corporis sui illecebris Cesarem cepisse, secundo Antonium, Augustum deinde temptasse, sed eum eius vitasse complexus. ideo dicit ‘*vix una sospes navis ab ignibus*’.
 14IL [LYMPHATAM] ebriam; [MEREOTICO] vino
 15IL [VEROS] iustos
 17IL [ADURGUENS†] insequens^{ξVW} illam scilicet^{δξmRUy}
 20IL [16 VOLANTEM] aut fugientem, ut [*Aen.* 8.224] ‘*pedibus timor...*’*
 21IL [GENEROSIUS] nobilius^{δmRUVWXY}
 22IL [MULIEBRITER] more mulierum^{mRUXy}
 24IL [CLASSE CITA] navigio celeri^{mUVXY231}
 25IL [IACENTEM] victam^U
 27IL [TRACTARE] adhibere^{ξUX232}; [ATRUM] quod atros facit^{ξmUX233}
 31IL [DEDUCI] subtrahi^{ξVWXY}; [SUPERBO] nobili^{ξmXY234}

²²⁹ Serv. *Aen.* 8.310 (?); *Horatius putres* was perhaps added by the scholiast. {6

²³⁰ ξ disiungitur; y disiungatur

²³¹ U celeri (only)

²³² ξ *sibi* adhibere

²³³ ξm *quia* atros facit; U *qui*† atros facit

G Antonius Artabanen Armenie regem prodicione et dolo cepit, quem argentea catena vinctum ad confessionem thesaurorum regionum coegit; expugnatoque oppido magnam vim auri argentique abstulit. qua elatus pecunia denunciari bellum Cesari, atque Octavie, sorori Cesaris, uxori sue, repudium indici iussit et Cleopatram sibi ex Alexandria occurrere imperavit. ipse Actium classem constituerat profectus, cum prope terciam partem remigum fame offendisset, nihil motus ‘remi modo’, inquit ‘salvi sint, nam remiges non deerunt quoad Gretia homines habuerit’. Cesar ducentis triginta navibus rostratis a Brundusio in Epyrum profectus est. Agrippa vere† premissus a Cesare multas onerarias naves frumento atque armis graves ab Egipto Syriaque ad subsidium Antonio venientes cepit, peragratoque Polop<on>ensium sinu Mothonam urbem validissimo Antoniano presidio munitam expugnavit. inde C<o>rciram cepit; fugientes navali prelio persecutus profligavit multisque rebus cruentissime gestis ad Cesarem venit. Antonius defectu et fame militum suorum permotus bellum maturare instituit ac repente instructis copiis ad Cesaris castra processit et victus est. tercio post pugnam die Antonius castra ad Actium transtulit navali prelio decernere paratus; ducente et triginta fuere Caesaris naves triginta sine rostris, triremes velocitate Liburnicis pares et octo legiones classi superposite, absque cohortibus pretori<i>s. classis Antonii centum septuaginta navium fuit, quantum numero cedens tantum magnitudine precellens, nam decem pedum altitudine a mari aberant. famosum et magnum hoc bellum apud Actium fuit. ab hora quinta usque in horam septimam incerta vincendi spe pregravissime utrimque cedes acte sunt. reliquum diei cum sequente nocte in victoriam Cesaris declinavit. prior regina Cleopatra cum sexaginta velocissimis navibus fugit; Antonius quoque detracto insigni pretorie navis fugientem secutus est uxorem. inluciscente iam die victoriam Cesar consummavit. ex victis xii milia cecidisse referuntur, vi milia vulnerata sunt, e quibus [i] <M> inter curandum defecerunt. Antonius et Cleopatra communes liberos cum parte regie ga<z>e ad Rubrum mare premittendos censuerunt. ipsi, presidiis circa duo Egypti cornua Pelusium Paretoniumque dispositis classem et copias instaurando bello paraverunt. Cesar sexto imperator appellatus et quartom ipse cum M. Licinio Crasso consul Brundisium venit. ibi orbis terrarum presidia divisim legionibus composuit; unde in Syriam profectus mox Pelusium adiit, ubi Antonianis presidis ultro susceptus est. interea Cornelius Gallus premissus a Cesare quattuor legiones, quas Antonius apud Cyrenas presidii loco constituerat suscepit in fidem, atque inde Paretonium, primam Egypti ac Libie parte civitatem victo cepit Antonio, ipsumque continuo apud Pharam vicit. Antonius equestre adversus Cesarem bellum iniit, in eo quoque miserabiliter victus aufugit. K. Sextilibus prima luce Antonius cum ad instruendam classem in portum descenderet, subito universe naves ad Cesarem transeerunt†; cumque unico presidio spoliatus esset, trepidus se cum paucis recepit in regiam. deinde imminente Cesare turbataque civitate idem Antonius sese ferro transverberavit ac semiaminis ad Cleopatram in monumentum, in quod se illa mori certa condiderat, perlatus est. Cleopatra postquam se servari ad triumphum intellexit, voluntariam mortem petens, serpentis ut putatur morsu in sinistro tacta brachio exanimis inventa est, frustra <...> etiam psyllus admovente, qui venena serpentium a vulneribus hominum haustu revocare atque exsurgere solent.²³⁵

²³⁴ m nobili (only)

²³⁵ Oros. 6.19.3-18

Odes 1.38 Persicos odi (f. 17ro)

- T ad puerum ministrum;
T ad puerum suum
M metrum sahpicum†
1IL [PERSICOS] regales; [APPARATUS] delicias
2IL [DISPLICENT] mi^{U236}; [PHILIRA] phillos Grece folium
3 phyllira species est arboris nigrum habens corticem; interpretatur foligera quia
ϕyllon Grece est folium, de cuius arboris cortice veteres volumina faciebant.²³⁷
4IL [SERA] tarda^{UV}
5IL [SIMPLICI] singulari; [NIHIL ADLABORES] scilicet amplius^{ξRVXy}
6IL [SEDULUS] studiosus;
8IL subaudi dedecet^R myrtus^{ξV}

Odes 2.1 Motum ex Metello (f. 17ro-vo)

- T ad Asinium Pollinium† consularem virum pracmatice tetra[a]co<lo>s
M metrum alchaicum duobus versibus, tercius iambicus ypercatalecticis, quartus
pindaricus
1IL subaudi tractas*
2IL [ET MODOS] qualitates^{δNVWXy}; hinc incipe^{ξ238}
6IL [PERICULOSE PLENUM] periculum inferentis
9IL [SEVERE] tristis; [MUSA] nominativus casus*
10IL [DESIT] absit^{ξUVW}; [PUBLICAS] vulgares^{ξmV}; [MOX] pos[se]<tea>²³⁹
11IL [ORDINARIS] pro ordinaveris^{mUVWy}
12IL [CECROPIO] Cecropid<o?>; primus inventor tragoedie*
14 Asinius Pollio, ductor Germanici exercitus, post captam Salonam, Dalmatie
civitatem, primo meruisset lauream, post etiam consulatum adeptus fuisset. eodem anno
suscepit filium, quem a capta civitate Saloninum vocavit. fuit etiam tragoediarum et
historiarum scriptor, quod utrumque in eo laudat Horatius dicens [Odes 2.1.6-10]
‘periculose plenum opus alee/ tractas et incedis per ignes/ suppositos cineri doloso/
paulu[lu]m severe musa tragoedie/ desit theatris.’²⁴⁰
24 Cato comes Pompeianus in civili bello contra Cesarem occisso Pompeio a
Tholomeo rege Egipti apud Pelusium portum Alexandrie in Amfricam concessit. ibi
infinita Romanorum nobilitas cum Iuba Mauritanie rege, bellum reparavit. contra quos
Cesar post multas dimicationes apud Tapsum victor extitit; castra eorum diruit lx
elephantos cepit; M. Porcius Cato sese Utice amore libertatis occidit. Iuba rex percussori
iugulum dato precio prebuit.²⁴¹
37IL [PROCAX] perseverans
37 procax est perseverans, nam procare est petere, unde proci petitores vocantur.²⁴²
38IL [NENIE] vanitatis

²³⁶ cf. RVy mihi

²³⁷ Remig. 59.14 ad Mart. 2.136

²³⁸ ξ hinc incipe secundum huius <...>

²³⁹ (ξ postquam)

²⁴⁰ Serv. Ecl. 3.84; 4.1 {6

²⁴¹ Eutr. 6.23; Orosius 6.16.3-4; PsA ad Odes 1.12.35 {2.2.2

²⁴² Serv. Aen 1.536? {6

Odes 2.2 Nullus argento color (f. 17vo-18ro)

T ad Salustium Crispum encomiastice tetracolos

5IL [PROCULEIUS] proprium nomen

5 laudat Proculeum amicum Augusti qui pius sic erga fratres suos Scipionem et Murenam fuit, ut cum despoliatis civili bello patrimonium suum ex integro divideret, quod cum ipsis ante diviserat.

10 Libia vocatur a Libia Epaphi regis filia. hec incipit a monte Atlante et a colonia Tingi que olim Anthei civitas erat, ubi finitur Egiptium mare et Libicum pelagus incipit; terminum autem et finem habet circa limitem Egipti in Canopo ostio, quod sic dictum est a Canopo Menelai gubernatore illic sepulto. estuat enim ardore solis hec regio Affrice, unde Libia est dicta quasi lipsia, id est egens suco, id est pluvia, vel quod inde fluat Lyps ventus. et aliter Iuppiter Epaphum, quem ex eo pressa Io creaverat, in Egiptum oppid[i]a communire ibique regnare iussit. ille enim Memphim oppidum et alia plura constituit, et ex Cassiopa uxore suscepit filiam Lybien vocatam, que postea in Affrica possedit regnum, cuius ex nomine terra Lybies est appellata.²⁴³

Odes 2.3 Aequam memento (f. 18ro-vo)

T ad Dellium

4IL [MORITURE DELLI] o

15# Parce sunt exceptrices et librarie Iovis. sunt autem tres: Cloto, Lachesis, Atropos; Cloto evocatio, Lachetis sors, Atropos sine ordine. quo figmento significatur primum evocatio humane vite, invocantur enim homines ex non esse in esse; deinde sors qualiter cuique vivendum sit; succedit postea mors que est sine ordine, nullam enim observa[n]t dignitatem, nulli enim parcat etat[i] sed indifferenter trahit omnia.²⁴⁴

21IL [DIVESNE] an

23 Servius: deos eternos dicimus, divos vero qui ex hominibus fiunt. aut bene dixit de Iunone divam, respiciens ethimologia[m], nam in Oratio legimus [Odes 2.3.23f.] ‘sub divo moreris/ victima nil miserantis Orchi.’ id est sub aere, quem constat esse Iunonem. deus autem vel dea generale est omnibus, nam quod Grece est deos, Latine timor vocatur, inde deus dictus quod omnibus religio sit timoris.²⁴⁵

23IL [SUB DIVO] sub aere

24# Orchus est ipse Pluto. orcho Grece est iuro, hinc Orchus est dictus, quasi enim iurat et affirmat nullam se animarum sine supplicio et examine dimissurum.²⁴⁶

Odes 2.4 Ne sit ancillae (f. 18vo-19ro)

T ad Xantheticam +tralitam+ ancillam amare crimen non esse, protreptice tetracolos²⁴⁷

3# obsidentibus Troyam Graia Achilles ministras et velud officinam belli proximas Troye civitates ratus, sumptis aliquot navibus Lesbium aggreditur ac sine difficultate eam capit et Forbanta illius loci regem multa adversos† Grecos hostiliter molitum interfecit

²⁴³ Unknown? = Sol. 31.1 + Plin. NH 5.1-2; Rem. 74.13 ad Mart. 2.192; Sch. Theb. 4.737 {3

²⁴⁴ Remig. 5.16 ad Mart. 1.3; corrected in darker ink: *observant* to *observat*, *et at sed* to *et ad se* {7

²⁴⁵ Serv. Aen. 12.139

²⁴⁶ Remig. 29.7 ad Mart. 1.59

²⁴⁷ Several versions of the mysterious *tralita* – perhaps originally *Filida*? – appear in manuscripts reported by Keller and Holder (1909, p. 100).

atque inde Diomedeam filiam regis cum magna preda abducit. dein Piram et Hierapolim urbes refertas divitiis, cunctis suorum poscentibus, ui magna aggressus paucis diebus sine ulla difficultate ex[s]cindit. ceterum, qua pergebat, agri referti iugi pace depredati omnibusque vexati neque quicquam, quod amicum Troyanis videretur, non eversum aut vastatum relinqui. quis cognitis finitimi populi ultro ad eum cum pace accurrere ac, ne vastarentur agri, dimidium pacti fructu<u>m dant fidem pacis atque ab eo accipiunt. his actis Achilles ad exercitum regreditur magnam vim glorie atque prede apportans. eodem tempore rex Scytharum cognito adventu nostrorum cum multis donis adventabat. ceterum Achilles haud contentus eorum que gesserat Cylicas aggreditur ibique Lirnesum paucis diebus pugnando cepit. interfecto deinde Etione, qui in locis imperitabat, magnis opibus naves replet, abducens Astymonen Chrisi filiam que eo tempore regi denupta erat. propere inde Podasum obpugnando occipit Legeorum urbem. sed eorum rex Brissos, ubi animadvertit in obsidendo sevire nostros, ratus nulla ui prohiberi hostes aut suos satis defendi posse, desperatione effugii salutisque attentis ceteris adversum hostes, domum regressus laque<o> interiit. neque multo post capta civitas atque interfecti multi mortales et abducta filia regis Yppodamia. per idem tempus Ajax Telamonius Traces omni modo infestabat. sed ubi rex eorum Polimestor virtutem atque gloriam viri cognovit, diffidens rebus suis deditionem occipit. tuncque Polidorus Priami filius, quem rex recens natum alendum ei transmisit, merces pacis ab eo traditur. aurum etiam aliaque dona huiusmodi ad conciliandum hostium animos affatim prebebantur. dehinc frumentum per omnem exercitum pollititus, naves onerarias, quas ob id Ajax secum habuerat, replet. multis execrationibus adversum Grecos amicitiam Priami renuens, in pacis fidem receptus est. his actis Ajax iter ad Frygyas convertit. ingressusque eorum regionem Theurantum dominum locorum solitario certamine interfecit ac post paucos dies expugnata atque incensa civitate magnam vim prede trahit, abducens Tegmessam filiam regis. igitur ambo duces multis vastatis atque expugnatis regionibus ipsi clari atque magnifici ingenti nomine ex diversis locis quasi de industria eodem tempore ad exercitum remeare. dein per precones conductis in unum cunctis militibus ducibusque, progressi in medium singuli laborum atque industrie documenta in conspectu omnium exposuere. que ubi Greci animadvertere, favore ingenti ac laudibus eos prosecuti mediosque statuantes ramis oleae ornavere. dein consilium de dividenda preda haberi ceptum Nestore et Idomenea in decernendo optimis auctoribus. itaque cunctorum sententia ex omni preda quam Achilles adportaverat exceptam Etionis coniugem Astymonem, quam Chrisi filiam supra docuimus, ob honorem regium Agamennoni obtulere. ipse enim Achilles preter Brissi filia<m> Hippodamiam sibi Diomedeam retinuit, quod eiusdem etatis atque alimonii non sine magno dolore diuelli poterant et ob id iam antea genibus Achillis obvolute ne sepa<ra>rentur precibus magnis oraverant. ceterum reliqua preda ob singulorum merita distributa est. dein que Ajax adportaverat Ulixes et Diomedes rogatu eius in medios intulere. e quis auri atque argenti quantum satis videbatur Agamennoni regi datur, ac deinde Aiaci, ob egregia laborum eius facinora, Theuranti filiam Tegmessam concedunt. ita divisus in singulos que supererant, frumentum per exercitum dispertiunt.²⁴⁸

6IL [TEGMESSE] proprium nomen femine

14IL [PHILLIDIS] proprium nomen

²⁴⁸ Dict. 2.16-19

16# MERET per diptongon luctum significat, nam aliter milic<iam> significat et est breve, ut Horatius dicit [cf. *Ars* 345] ‘*hic meret <e>ra liber Sosis*’. sane mere<or> aliud est.²⁴⁹

Odes 2.5 Nondum subacta (f. 19ro-vo)

T non esse properandum ad virginis osculum
M duobus versibus alchaicum, tertius iambicus ut supra, quartus pindaricus
11 autumnali enim tempus est omnium rerum fertilitas, unde et autumnus vocatur, autumnare enim est maturescere vel colligere, et tunc est maturitas et collectio omnium frugum.²⁵⁰
16, 17, 18IL [LALAGE, PHOLOE, CHLORIS] proprium nomen femine
20IL [GNIDIUSVE GIES] proprium nomen amasii

Odes 2.6 Septimi, Gadis (f. 19vo-20ro)

T ad Septimum prosphomptice† tetracolos
1IL [GADES] populos
2IL [CANTABRUM] populum
3 duo sunt sinus prope in extrema Africa inpari magnitudine, pari natura; quorum proxima terre prealta sunt, cetera uti fors tulit alta, alia in tempestate vadosa. nam ubi mare magnum esse et sevir ventis cepit, limum arenamque et saxa ingentia fluctus trahunt: ita facies locorum cum ventis mutatur. Syrtes a tractu nominate sunt. quas inaccessas vadosum ac reciprocum mare efficit. cuius sali defectus vel incrementum haud promptum est deprehendere. ita incertis mo[n]tibus nunc in brevia rescit† dorsuosa nunc inundatur estibus inquietis; ut auctor est Varro perflabilem ibi terram ventis penetrantibus; subitam vim spiritus citissime aut remove† maria aut resorbere.²⁵¹
5IL [TIBUR] locus
5 Tybur et menia Cathilli unum sunt, nam tres fratres de Grecia venerunt ad Italiam Cathillus, Coras, Tybur vel Tyburnus. hi quidem diversas fecere civitates, unam tamen pariter condiderunt et eam de fratris maioris nomine Tybur nuncupare.²⁵²
10 Galesus vero fluvius est Calabrie qui iuxta civitatem labitur Tarenti<n>am.²⁵³
10IL [GALESI] fluvii
11 Lacones et Athenienses diu inter se bella tractarunt, et cum utraque pars adfligeretur, Lacones, quibus iuventus deerat, preceperunt, ut virgines cum quibuscumque concumberent. factum est et† cum post sedata bella iuventus incertis parentibus nata et patres erubesceret et sibi in obprobrio esset – nam partheniate dicebantur – accepto duce Phalanto, octavo ab Hercule, profecti sunt, delatique ad breve oppidum Calabrie, quod Taras, Neptuni filius, fabricaverat, id auxerunt et prisco nomine appellarunt Tarentum. de quo nunc dictum est “*regnata petam Laconi rura Phalanto*”.²⁵⁴

²⁴⁹ Serv. *Aen.* 4.82? {6

²⁵⁰ Remig. 14.16 ad Mart. 1.17

²⁵¹ Sal. *Jug.* 78; Sol. 27.3-4; Sol. brevia resedit, revomere maria {4

²⁵² Serv. *Aen.* 7.670 {6 App.

²⁵³ Serv. *Georg.* 4.125-6 {6

²⁵⁴ Serv. *Aen.* 3.551; *factum est et cum* is corrupt in Servius manuscripts; as far as can be deduced from the apparatus some manuscripts read *ut et*, others *ut*, but none share Harley’s *et*. Servius manuscripts offer different variants where Horace reads patres *erubesceret*. The Servius editors suggest that *erubesceret* may

- 11IL [LACONI] proprium nomen
 12IL [PHALANTHO] proprium nomen
 18IL [AULON] mons
 18 Aulon mons est Calabrie, ut Horatius dicit [*Odes* 2.6.18f.] ‘*et amicus Aulon/ fertilis Bacho*’, in quo oppidum fuit quod secundum Hyginum, qui scripsit De Situ Urbium Italicarum <...> olim non est.²⁵⁵
 19 Falernus est mons campanie in quo optima vina nascuntur.²⁵⁶

Odes 2.7 O saepe mecum (f. 20ro-vo)

- T ad Pompum Varum prosphonetice tetracos
 G civile bellum monstrat, quod Cesar Octavianus apud Philippus† Macedonie urbem contra interfectores patris sui gessit. interfecerant autem eum Brutus et Cassius; fug[i]erunt autem ipsi in Gretiam, ubi inveniunt plures exercitus per totam Macedoniam occupaverunt eos. sed et Herodes de Siria illis in auxilium advenit; ergo Dolabellam ducem, Cesaris mortem ufcisci† cupientem, multis bellis in Siria victum ad mortem compulerunt. dein apud Athenas convenientes totam Gretiam pene depopulati sunt. Rodios terra marique obpugnatos ad dedicionem coegerunt, hisque nihil preter vitam reli[n]querunt. profecti sunt igitur contra eos Cesar Octavianus et M. Antonius; remanserat enim ad defendendam Italiam Lepidus. illi autem apud Philipp<o>s Macedonie urbem contra eos pugnauerunt. Cesar tunc eger in castris se continere statuit capiende quietis causa; sed medici sui hortatu qui per somnum† suum admonitum se fatebatur, ut ea die Cesarem salutis ipsius causa deceret in campum egredi, egre inter copias egressus est, mox castra direpta sunt. Antonio victo in prima pugna, periit tamen in ipsa pugna dux nobilitatis Cassius. et castra eius similiter direpta sunt. secundo prelio iam Cesare convalescente infinitam nobilitatem que cum Bruto erat in bello interfecerunt. hinc Brutus ad desperationem coactus latus percussori prebuit.²⁵⁷
 3 post fedus Titi et Romuli placuit ut quasi unus de duobus fieret populus, unde et Romani Quirites dicti sunt quod nomen Sabinorum fuerat a civitate Caribus, et Sabini a Romulo Romani vocati sunt.²⁵⁸
 3 Romulus autem ideo Quirinus est dictus vel quod hasta utebatur que Sabinorum lingua curis dicitur – hasta enim, id est curis, telum longum est, unde est securis quasi semicuris – vel a chirana† qui Grece rex dicitur.²⁵⁹
 16 freta abusive modo maria, nam proprie fretum est mare naturaliter mobile ab undarum fervore nominatum.²⁶⁰
 23# exple idest minue ut Virgilius dicit [*Aen.* 6.545] ‘*explebo numerum*’ idest minuam; nam E[t]nnius [*frag.* 518 Skutsch] ait ‘*navibus explebant sese terrasque replebant*’.²⁶¹
 23IL [EXPLE] minue

have been imported from the alternative narrative of this event at *G.* 4.125, but also conjecture *patres erubesceret*, that is Harley’s reading, as a possible original text.

²⁵⁵ Serv. *Aen.* 3.553 {6}

²⁵⁶ Serv. *Georg.* 2.96

²⁵⁷ Eutr. 7.3; Oros. 6.18.13, 15-16 {2.3.1}

²⁵⁸ Serv. *Aen.* 7.710 {6 App.}

²⁵⁹ Serv. *Aen.* 1.292; a *κοιρανός*

²⁶⁰ Serv. *Aen.* 1.607 {6 App.}

²⁶¹ Serv. *Aen.* 6.545

27? [EDONIS?] in Asiatica parte numerantur Esse[e]dones. qui nefandis funestantur inter se cibus, quorum mos est parentum funera prosequi cantibus et proximorum corrogatis cetibus corpora ipsa dentibus laniare ac pecudum mixta carnibus dapes facere. capitum etiam ossa auro incincta in poculorum tradere ministerium.²⁶²

Odes 2.8 Ulla si iuris (f. 20vo)

T ad Varium

14 Venerem dicit matrem cupidinum. nam sicut sunt due Veneres, casta et turpis, ita sunt due Cupidines, cupiditas videlicet honesta et turpis. cuius Cupidinis Bachus pater et Venus genetrix fingitur esse, quia post nimiam potulentiam solet excitari libido. depingitur puer nudus, alatus, et pharetratus. puer depingitur quia turpis amor puerilis est et sic in amantibus sermo deficit sicut in pueris. nudus depingitur, quia turpitudine a nudis peragitur vel quia nil secretum est in turpitudine. alatus autem ideo est, quia amantibus nec levius aliquid nec mutabilius invenitur. sagittas vero ideo gestare dicitur quia turpis amor et velociter pertransit et mentem stimulat conscientia perpetrati criminis.²⁶³

23 Servius dicit: usus obtinuit ut innuptas virgines, nuptas mulieres vocemus. nam apud maiores indiscrete virgo dicebatur et mulier. unum enim utrumque sexum tantum significat, ut ecce hoc loco dicit 'armis mulieribus' cum Camillam innuptam fuisse manifestum sit. item in buccolicis legimus [Ecl.6.47] 'a, virgo infelix' cum Pasiphen constat ex Minoe ante timorem tauri liberos siscipisse. Terrentius etiam post partum virginem vocat.²⁶⁴

24 aura est splendor, ut Horatius dicit [Odes 2.8.23f.] 'tua ne retardet/ aura maritos', id est splendor. hinc enim aurum dicitur, a splendore qui est in eo metallo: hinc et aurarii dicti quorum fa<vor> splendidos reddit.²⁶⁵

24IL [AURA] splendor vel pulchritudo^m

Odes 2.9 Non semper imbres (f. 21ro)

T ad Valgium paranetice

1# imber dicitur omnis humor, ut Lucretius [1.715] 'ex igni terra atque anima nascuntur et imbri', id est humore. nimbi vocantur repentine et precipites pluvie, nam pluvias dicimus lentas et tenues.²⁶⁶

2# Caspium mare ultra Massagetis et Apaleos Scythas esse in Asiatica plaga du<l>ce Alexandro Magno probatum est, mox Pompeio qui bello Mitridatico, sic<ut> comilito eius Varro tradit, ipsis aus<t>ibus experiri fidem voluit. cuius aque mirum in modum maciantur imbris crescunt estibus. id evenire produnt e numero fluminum quorum tanta copia ibi confluit ut naturam maris vertant.²⁶⁷

²⁶² Sol. 15.13

²⁶³ Remig. 3.14, 4.1 ad Mart. 1.1; Remig. 8.22 ad Mart. 1.7; post nimiam petulantiam {7}

²⁶⁴ Serv. Aen. 11.687 {6}

²⁶⁵ Serv. Aen. 6.204; Timpanaro (1998, *Enc. Or. III*, p. 69) notes that Servius chooses the 'golden' meaning of 'aura' in preference to 'magical charm' emanating from someone or something. This meaning, particularly appropriate to Horace, is documented by Nonius Marcellus (4.245 M.23): *AVRA est ventorum. Vergilius Georg. lib. IV (416) "at illi dulcis compositis spiravit crinibus aura". Idem Aen. lib. VI (204): "discolor unde auri per ramos aura refulsit"*. {6 App.

²⁶⁶ Serv. Aen. 1.123, 1.51 {6 App.

²⁶⁷ Sol. 15.18, 19.3-4 {3}

3# procella est vis venti cum pluvia, dicta procella ab eo quod omnia procellet†.²⁶⁸

5IL [AMICE] o; [VALGI] proprium nomen

14# Nestorem dicit Nelei filium qui tertia etate ad bellum Troyanum venit – nam prima etas triginta annorum est, secunda lx tertia nonaginta -- cuius filius Antylachus ut alii dicunt in Troiano bello Agamennone† Aurore filio interfectus est, alii dicunt eum ab Alexandro in fano Apollinis cum Achille occisum esse. nam Hecuba, mesta quod duo filii eius fortissimus Hector et Troylus ab Achille interfecti essent, consilium muliebre temerarium iniit ad ulciscendum dolorem. Alexandrum filium accersit, hortatur ut fratres suos vindicaret et insidias Achilli faceret et eum necopinantem occidat. quoniam ad se miserit et rogaverit ut sibi Polixenam daret in matrimonium. se ad eum missarum† Priami verbis ut pacem fedusque firment; satis sibi visum esse si eum occiderit. quod temptatum se Alexander promisit. noctu de exercitu eliguntur fortissimi et in fanum Apollinis collocantur. signum accipiunt. Hecuba ad Achillem, sicut ei condixerat, nuntium misit. Achilles letus, Polixenam amans, postera die ad fanum se venturum constituit. interea Achilles consequenti die cum Antilocho Nestoris filio ad constitutum veniunt, simulque fanum Apollinis ingrediuntur und[i]e ex insidiis Paris hortatur. Achilles cum Antilocho brachio sinistro chlamide involuto enses faciunt. exinde Achilles multos occidit. Alexander Antilochum interemit ipsumque Achillem multis plagis confodit. ita anima<m> ex insidiis nec quicquam pavens fortiter amisit. quem Alexander feris et <v>olucris proici iubet. hoc ne faciat Helenus rogat et suis tradi; quorum corpora accepta Argivi in castra ferunt.²⁶⁹

16# Servius dicit Troyli amore Achillem ductum palumbes ei quibus ille delectabatur obiecis, quas cum vellet tenere captus ab Achille in eius amplexibus periit. secundum Daretem Troylus non minus quam Hector vir fortissimus Achivos prostravit. Menelaum et Agamennonem vulneratos fugavit. hunc ut animadvertit Achilles iracund[i]e sevientem et Argivis insultare simulque sine intermissione Myrmidones prosternere, procedit in bellum. hunc Troylus excepit et sauciavit. Achilles saucius de prelio redit et aliquod dies vexatus in pugnam non prodierat, sed Mirmidones instructos hortatur, alloquitur ut fortiter oppressionem in Troylum faciant. tempus pugne supervenit, prodit Troylus in agmine letus. Argivi maximo clamore fugam faciunt. Mirmidones supervenere inpressionem in Troylum faciunt; quorum numero multi a Troylo occiduntur. dum acriter preliatur, equus vulneratus corrumpit et Troylum implici<tum> excutit. eum cito adveniens Achilles occidit et ex [ipso] illum trahere cepit. quod interventu Mennonis complere nequi<t>. nam adveniens Mennon et Troyli corpus eripuit et Achillem sauciavit. Achilles saucius de prelio red<i>it.²⁷⁰

20 Ni[m]fates et pluvius† est et mons, ut Ciminicum† montem et fluvium. per Nifatem autem fluvium populos iuxta habitantes accipimus, nam nec fluvius umque nec mons potest superari.²⁷¹

23# Geloni Scytarum sunt populi a Cesare victi qui de hostium cutibus et sibi indumenta et equis suis tegmina faciunt.²⁷²

²⁶⁸ Serv. *Aen.* 1.85 {6 App.

²⁶⁹ Sch. *Theb.* 4.126-7; Dict. 4.6; Dar. 34 {2.2.2

²⁷⁰ Serv. *Aen.* 1.474; Dar. 30-31, 33; **Dar.** ex proelio trahere {2.1

²⁷¹ Serv. *Georg.* 3.30 {6 App.

²⁷² Sol. 15.1 {3

Odes 2.10 Rectius vives (f. 21ro-vo)

T ad Licinium

4# litus dicitur omnis terra mari vicina. non solum infertilis, sed etiam apta frugibus, ut Virgilius [Aen. 4.212] ‘cui litus arandum’.²⁷³

18# cythare ac psalterii repertor Tubal perhibetur. iuxta autem oppinionem Grecorum, cythare usus ab Apolline creditur fuisse repertus. forma cythare initio similis fuisse traditur humano pectori, ut sicut vox e pectore ita ex ea cantus ederetur. inde et vocatur, nam pectus Dorica lingua cythara dicitur. paulatim autem plures eius species exciterunt. veteres cytharam fidiculam vel fidicen vocabant, quia tam conveniunt inter se chorde eius quam bene conveniat inter quos fides sit.²⁷⁴

20# hic est ordo pestilentie, ut Lucretius [6.1090] docet: primo aeris corruptio, post aquarum et terre, mox omnium animalium. notandum sane Apolline offenso pestilentiam semper creari, quod etiam Homerus ostendit, cum eum armatum inducit sagittis, unde et Apollo dicitur secundum aliquos ANO TOY ANOΛΛYEIN. contra si citharam teneat mitis est, unde Oracius dicit alio loco [Carm. Saec. 33] ‘condito mitis placidusque telo/ supplices audi pueros Apollo’.²⁷⁵

Odes 2.11 Quid bellicosus (21vo-22ro)

T ad Hirpinum Quintium

2IL [QUINTI] o

14# TEMERE polisemus sermo est et multas habet significationes: modo neglegenter significat, alias fortuitu, alias male, alia<s> inprovidae, alias passim, alias sine causa, que pro loco intelleguntur.²⁷⁶

17IL [EUHIUS] Bachus

17# Liber pater Euhios est dictus ex eo quod, in bello Gyganteo cum non apparuisset, credidit eum Iuppiter discerptum a Gygantibus et dixit ‘euhion’ idest ‘fili miser’, vel ‘ubi es’.²⁷⁷

21# scortum dicitur quasi sortum, sortum est enim solea; nam sicut solea maceratur inter manus sutoris, sic pellicula meretricis maceratur ab adulteriis.²⁷⁸

23# Lacene id est Elene a provincia Laconia, et notandum dirivationem minorem esse a principalitate, quod rarum est.²⁷⁹

Odes 2.12 Nolis longa ferae bella Numantiae (f. 22ro-vo)

T ad Mecenatem prosphonetice tetracolos

1# Numancia civitas citerioris Hispanie, haut procul a Vacceis et Cantabris in capite Gallactie sita, ultima Celtiberorum fuit. que in tumulto sita apud flumen Durium iiii milia passuum ambitu muri amplexabatur. quamvis aliqui adserant eam et parvo situ et sine

²⁷³ Serv. Aen. 1.3, 4.212 {6 App.

²⁷⁴ Isid. Et. 3.22.2-4 {5 App.

²⁷⁵ Serv. Aen. 3.13

²⁷⁶ Serv. Aen. 9.373, 9.327? {6

²⁷⁷ = Sch. Pers. 1.102 {9

²⁷⁸ Unknown, cf. Sch. Ter. Eun. 424 {9

²⁷⁹ Serv. Aen. 2.601; the gloss *id est Elene* was added by the scholiast, whether under the influence of Servius, who glosses *Tyndaridis facies invisa Lacaenae*, or of Horace scholia *ad locum*, which interpret the Spartan reference as a nod to Helen. (cf. λφψ *ad loc.*: *Lacaenae, idest Helenae de Lacona, quae et Lacedaemonia.*)

muro fuisse. hec per annos ⁱⁱⁱⁱiordecim c<u>m solis ⁱⁱⁱⁱ milibus suorum ^{cccc} milia Romanorum non solum sustinuit sed etiam vicit pudendisq[ue] federibus affecit. igitur Scipio Africanus Hyspaniam ingressus non se ilico ingessit hostibus, ut quasi incautos circumveniret, sciens numquam hoc genus hominum adeo in otium corpore atq[ue] animo resolvi, ut non ipsa qualitate habitudinis sue apparatus aliorum precelleret, sed aliquamdiu militem suum in castris velud in scolis exercuit. et cum partem estatis totamq[ue] hiemem ne adtemptata quidem pugna transegisset, sic quoque parum propemodum hac profecit industria. namque ubi copia pugnandi facta est exercitus Romanus oppressus inpetu Numantinorum terga convertit; sed increpatione et minis obiectantis sese consulis manuq[ue] ret<in>entis tandem indignatus in hostem rediit et quem fugiebat fugere compulit. Numantinos effugavere et fugientes videre Romani. unde quamvis Scipio, quia praeter spem acciderat, letatus et gloriatus esset, tamen ultra bello adversum eos audendum non esse professus est. itaque Scipio insistendum inoppinatis proventibus censuit, urbem ipsam obsidione conclusit, fossa etiam circumdedit. ipsum deinde vallum sudibus prestructum crebris turribus communiuit ut, si qua ab erumpente hoste in eum temtaretur eruptio, iam non quasi obsessor cum obsesso sed versa vice obsessus cum obsessore pugnaret. igitur conclusi diu Numantini et fame trucidati deditionem sui obtulerunt, si tollerabilia iuberentur, vel etiam si quasi viris mori liceret. ultime omnes duabus subito portis eruperunt, larga prius potione usi non vini, cuius ferax is locus non est, sed suco tritici per artem confecto, quem sucum a calefaciendo celiam vocant. suscitatur enim igne illa vis germinis madefacte frugis ac deinde siccatur et post in farinam redacta molli suco admiscetur; quo fermento sapor austeritatis et calor ebrietatis adicitur. hac igitur potione post longam famem recalescentes bello sese obtulerunt. atrox diu certamen et usque ad periculum Romanorum fuit, iterumq[ue] Romani pugnare adversum Numantinos fugiendo probavissent, nisi sub Scipione pugnavissent. Numantini interfectis suorum fortissimis bello cedunt, compositis tamen ordinibus ne<c> sicut fugientes in urbem revertantur. corpora interfectorum ad sepulturam ob<lata> accipere noluerunt. novissima desperatione in mortem omnes destinati clausam urbem ipsi introrsum succenderunt cunctiq[ue] pariter ferro veneno atq[ue] igne consumpti sunt. Romani nihil ex his penitus habuere victis preter securitatem suam; neq[ue] eversa Numantia vicisse magis Numantinos quam evasisse dixerunt. unum Numantinum victoris catena non tenuit; unde triumphum ederet, Roma non vidit, aurum neq[ue] argentum quod igni superesse potuisset apud pauperes non fuit; arma et vestem ignis absumpsit. igitur ea tempestate cum haec apud Numantiam gesta sunt, apud Romam Grecorum† seditiones cogitabantur. Scipio autem cum deleta Numantia ceteras Hispanie gentes pace componeret, Tiresum quendam, Celticum principem, consiluit, qua ope res Numanti<n>a aut prius invicta durasset aut post eversa fuisset. Tyresus respondit concordia invicta, discordia exicio fuit. quod Romani tamquam sibi [h]ac de se dictum exempli loco acceperunt.²⁸⁰

2# Hannibal Penorum imperator anno etatis sue xx Saguntum florentissimam Hispanie civitatem, amicam populi Romani, primum bello inpetitam, deinde obsidione cinctam fameq[ue] cruciatam omniaq[ue] fortiter contemplatione fidei, quam Romanis devoverant, digna indignaq[ue] tolerantem, octavo demum mense delevit. legatos Romanorum iniuriosissime etiam a conspectu suo prohibuit. exinde odio Romani nominis, quod patri suo Hamilcari novem annos agens ante aras fidelissime iuraverat, P.

²⁸⁰ Oros. 5.7.2-10, 5.7.12 – 5.8.2

Cornelio Scipione et P. Sempronio Longo consulibus Pyreneos montes transgressus inter ferocissimas Gallorum gentis ferro via aperta atque inviis rupibus ferro ignique re<s>cissis ad plana Italie maximo labore pervenit, habens in exercitu suo c peditum et xx milia equitum. Scipio consul primus Hannibali occurrit apud Ticenum quo prelio ipse Scipio graviter vulneratus per Scipionem filium suum a morte vix est liberatus. deleta ac occiso pene omni Romano exercitu deinde pugnatum est ab eodem consule apud Treviam flumen iterumque Romani pari clade superati sunt. Sempronius alter consul apud eundem fluvium congressus Hannibali amisso exercitu solus pene evasit. in eo tamen bello Hannibal sauciatus est. qui postea, cum in Etruriam primo vere transiret, in summo Appennino nivibus conclusus obrigit. ubi magnus hominum numerus, iumenta complurima, elephanti pene omnes frigoris acerbitate perierunt. Lucius Emilius Paulus et P. Terentius Varro consules contra Hannibalem missi infelicissime apud Cannas Apulie vicum omnes pene Romane spei vires perdiderunt. nam in ea pugna quadraginta iiii milia Romanorum interfecta sunt interempto etiam consule Emilio Paulo Varro consul cum L equitibus Venusium fugit. nam non dubium est ultimum illum diem Romani status fuisse, si Hannibal mox post victoriam ad pervadendam urbem contendisset. Hannibal in testimonium sue victorie tres mod<i>os anulorum aureorum Cartaginem misit, quos de manibus equitum senatorumque occisorum detraxerat.²⁸¹

5# Herculis fabulam tangit. qui cum in hospicio ad Eneum regem venisset, Deianeram filiam eius corrupit et fidem dedit se uxorem ducturum esse. post eius discessum Euricion Ixionis filius Centaurus uxorem Deianeiram petit, quam pater vim timens Euricioni promisit. qui constituto die cum fratribus venit ad nuptias. eo forte die quo nuptie celebrabantur, superveniens Alcides Centauros interfecit, Deianeramque insperate suo matrimonio copulavit. item aliter Centauri erant nati Ixione et nube, quam pro se Iuno mutavit. qui cum in nuptiis Pyrithoi ebrietate caluissent et vellent puellae nubentis irrumpere thalamum a Laphitis, quorum rex fuit Pyrithous, interempti sunt.²⁸²

7# ferunt fabule Titanas a Terra irata contra deos ad eius ultionem creatos, unde et Titanes dicti sunt, AIIW ΘW ΘICHWC, id est ab ultione. de his autem solus Sol abstinuisse narratur ab iniuria numinum, unde et celum meruit. Titanas enim contra Saturnum genuit, Gigantes postea contra Iovem. sed hec fabulosa sunt, nam Varro dicit in diluvio aliquos ad montes confugisse cum utensilibus. qui postea lacessiti bello ab his, qui de aliis veniebant montibus, facile ex locis superioribus vicerunt. unde fictum est ut dii superiores dicerentur, inferiores vero terrigene, et quia de humilibus ad summa reptabant, dicti sunt pro pedibus habuisse serpentes.²⁸³

11IL [MECENAS] o

Odes 2.13 Ille et nefasto (f. 22vo-23ro)

T ad arborem

3IL [ARBOS] o

21 furva mistico sermone Proserpina dicebatur; aut furve 'Flave' matronomicon, ut [Georg. 1.96] '*flava Ceres*'. alii volunt furve nigre positum, unde et furta putant dicta, quod committuntur obscuro.

²⁸¹ Oros. 4.14.1-3, 4.14.5-8, 4.16.1-5 {2.2.1}

²⁸² Sch. Theb. 5.261-3 {8}

²⁸³ Serv. Aen. 6.580, 3.578 {6}

21# vis herbarum et omnium que <...> de terra surgunt Proserpina accipitur, unde et Proserpina vocata a proserpendo, idest porr<o> et multum crescendo. que bene puella vocatur quia terrarum semina singulis annis innovantur, quod terra duplicata vel centuplicata reddit semina que acceperit, unde et ipsa Proserpina Ekatea vocatur. ekaton namque centum Grece dicitur, per quod innuitur quod dictum est, quia vis terre centuplicatum restituit, quod acceperat. hinc et ipsa silvarum vel venatorum dea fertur, quia silvas vis nature de terris producit et venacio silvis et pascuis nutritur.²⁸⁴

22 [EACUM] filius Iovis est iudex <inferorum?>. ordo est: et te bene vidimus, o Alce, plenius sonantem aureo plectro.

22# Rodomantus Mynos Eacus filii Iovis fuerunt, qui postea facti sunt apud inferos iudices.²⁸⁵

23# Elisios dicit campos ubi purgate anime requiescunt, quos fingunt poete esse intra† Iovialem circulum. Elisis Grece solutio dicitur, hinc Elisii campi dicuntur quod ibi solvuntur et purgantur anime a maculis carnis. nam poete fingunt animas post corpora inter vii planetarum circulos vel puniri vel purgari secundum merita prioris vite, et infernum quidem dicunt esse infra circulum lune, cuius fluvium Pyrflegetonta, id est igneum Flegetontem, in Martis circulo dicunt oriri.²⁸⁶

23IL [SEDESQUE DESCRIPTAS PIORUM] Elisios campos

25# Sapho poetria de Eolia fuit, deialecto in carminibus suis usa, quam cordarum significatione comme<mo>rat. querit<ur> autem Sapho de puelis civibus suis, quod non amarent quem ipsa diligebat. ordo est: et bene† vidimus te, Alce, plenius sonantem aureo plectro dura mala fuge et dura mala belli, utrumque digna sacro silentio. nomen poete lyrici, a quo et metrum alchaicum dictum est, qui res bellicas et navigationem suam scripsit, dum a Bitaco tiranno civitatis sue pulsus esset, eo quod Mitilen<en>sibus amorem libertatis suaderet, quos postea collecto exercitu superavit. aureo autem plectro propter celebritatem carminis dixit.²⁸⁷

27IL [ALCEE] proprium nomen; [DURA] mala

28IL [DURA] mala

36# Eumenides sunt Furie infernales, que occurrunt animabus a corpore exeuntibus easque cruciunt†. dicte autem sunt Eumenides cata antyfrasin, id est bone lune pro male.²⁸⁸

37 Prometheus post factos a se homines dicitur auxilio Minerve celum ascendisse et adhibita facula ad rotam solis ignem furatus, quem hominibus indicavit. ob quam causam irati dii duo mala inmiserunt terris, +idest febris, macie<m> et morbos+, sicut Saffo et Esiodus memorant, quod tangit etiam Oratius dicens [cf. *Odes* 1.3.29-31] ‘*post ignem etheria domo/ subductum macies et nova febrium/ cohors incubuit*’ ipsum etiam Prometheum, per Mercurium in monte Caucaso religaverunt ad saxum et adhibita est aquila que cor eius exederet.²⁸⁹

37# Tantalus rex Corinthiorum amicus numinibus fuit. que cum frequenter susciperet et quodam tempore defuissent epule, filium suum Pelopem occidit et diis epulandum

²⁸⁴ Remig. 36.4 ad Mart. 1.81 {7 App.

²⁸⁵ Serv. *Aen.* 6.566 {6 App.

²⁸⁶ Remig. 13.6, 8 ad Mart. 1.15; *infra* Iovialem circulum {7 App.

²⁸⁷ Keller *pene* vidimus te

²⁸⁸ Remig. 61.24 ad Mart. 2.142 {7

²⁸⁹ Serv. *Ecl.* 6.42; *terris* is omitted from the Horace quotation by several Servius manuscripts.

apposuit. tunc abstinentibus cunctis, Ceres humerum eius exedit, quem cum dii per Mercurium revocare ad superos vellent, eburneus ei est umerus restitutus, sicut Virgilius, ut [*Georg.* 3.7] ‘*umeroque Pelops insignis eburno*’. ideo autem sola Ceres <...> comedis, quia ipsa est terra, que corpus resolvit. per Mercurium autem ob hoc fingitur revocatus, quod ipse est deus prudentie, per quam philosophi deprehendere ΠΑΛΙΝΘΗΝΕCΙΑΝ vel ΜΗΘΗΜCΥCΧWSYN. Tantalus autem hac lege damnatus esse apud inferos dicitur, ut in Eridano inferorum stans nec undis presentibus nec vicinis eius pomariis perfruatur. per hec autem avaritia significatur, ut etiam alio loco dicit Oracius [*Sat.* 1.1.69] ‘*quid rides? mutato nomine de te/fabula narratur*’.²⁹⁰

39# Orion filius Neptuni et Euriale tante velocitatis erat ut supra fluctus curreret et super aristas festinaret nec eas infringeret. hic cum optimus venator esset fertur dixisse Diane se omnes terrestres feras facile posse capere. cuius iactantia Terra irata, scorpionem ei inmisit, qui eum mox interfecit. eius obitum Diana multis lacrimis prosecuta, eum inter sidera collocavit statuitque, ut cum exoriatur Scorpium Orionem excipiat occasus.²⁹¹

40# lincus† dictus, qui et in luporum genere numeratur, bestia maculis distincta ut pardus, sed similis lupo: unde et ille lincos iste linci<s>. huius urinam convertere in duriciam pretiosi lapidis dicunt, qui licurius appellatur, quod et ipsas linceas sentire hoc documento probatur. nam egestum liquorem harenis, in quantum potuerint, tegunt, invidia quadam nature, ne talis egestio transeat in usum humanum. linceas, dicit Plinius Secundus, [cf. *N.H.* 8.43] extra unum non admittunt fetum.²⁹²

Odes 2.14 Eheu fugaces (f. 23ro-24ro)

T ad Postumum +desponetice+²⁹³

8# Ticion Terre filius fuit. hic amavit Latonam. propter quod Apollinis confixus est sagittis et damnatus est hac lege apud inferos, ut eius iecur vultur exedat: quamquam Homerus dicat vicissim duos vultures ad eius penam succedere. sane in usu est ‘vultur’; licet Cicero ‘vulturius’ dixerit quod quidem potest esse et derivativum; Ennius [cf. *Ann.* 2.138, frag. 125 Skutsch] ‘*vulturus in silvis miserum mandebat hominem*’. declinatur sic: hic Ticios, huius Ticii, ut hic Delos, huius Deli. sane de his omnibus rebus mire reddit rationem Lucretius et confirmat in nostra vita esse omnia que finguntur de inferis. dicit namque Ticion amorem esse, hoc est libidinem que secundum phisicos et medicos in iecore est, sicut risus in splene, iracundia in felle; unde etiam exesum a vulture dicitur in eius penam renasci; etenim libidini non satis fit res semel peracta sed recrudescit semper, unde ait alio loco Oracius [*Odes* 3.4.77] ‘*incontinentis aut Ticii iecur*’.²⁹⁴

8# Gerion rex fuit Hispanie. qui ideo ternis membris fingitur quia tribus insulis prefuit, que adiacent Hispanie: Balearice minori et maiori et Ebusa†. ob hoc etiam bicipitem canem habuisse fingitur, quia et terrestri et navali certamine plurimum potuit. hunc Hercules vicit. qui ideo fingitur ad eum olla erea transvectus, quod habuit navem fortem et er<e> munitam. sane sciendum declinari ‘hic Geriones, huius Gerione’ – unde

²⁹⁰ Serv. *Aen.* 6.603 {6}

²⁹¹ Hyg. *Astron.* 2.26, 34 {4}

²⁹² Isid. *Et.* 12.2.20 {5}

²⁹³ ceteri *prosphonetice* (Keller-Holder 1909, p. 124).

²⁹⁴ Serv. *Aen.* 6.595-6

est [Aen. 8.202] ‘*tergemini nece Gerione*’ sicut Anchise; unde apparet usurpasse Salustium qui dixit ‘Gerionis’.²⁹⁵

9# Acheronta vult quasi de imo nasci Tartaro, huius estuaria Stygiem† creare, de Stygie autem nasci Coccyton. et hec est ethimologia <n>am phisiologia hoc habet, quia qui caret gaudio sine dubio tristis est. tristicia autem vicina luctui est, qui pereatur ex merore, unde hec apud inferos esse dicit.²⁹⁶

18# Danaus Beli filius ex pluribus coniugibus quinquaginta fili<as> habuit, totidem Egistus frater eius filios, qui Danaum fratrem filias suis filiis in matrimonium postulavit. Danaus responso comperit quod generis sui manibus interiret, Argos profectus est et primum dicitur navem fecisse a cuius nomine Argo dicta est navis. Egistus misit filios suos ad persequendum fratrem, hisque precepit, ut aut Danaum interficerent aut ad se non redirent, ut Agenor filio imperav<it>. qui postquam Argos venerunt, patruum oppugnare ceperunt. Danaus postquam vidit se resistere non posse filias suas fratris sui filiis spocondit uxores. que universe patris iussu suos viros interfecerunt. sola Ipermnestra Linceo pepercit.²⁹⁷

20 Sysiphus Eoli filius cum inter duo maria montem positum crudeli latrocinio occupasset – hac enim pena mortalium pascebatur, ut homines pregravans ingenti saxo necaret – tandem ab accolis deorum lege punitus apud inferos pondere saxi quod volvit penas exsoluit. per quem illi significantur, qui contempta vera philosophia ad volvenda[m] mundana crebro vertuntur.²⁹⁸

23# cupressus adhibetur ad funera, vel quod cesa non repullulat, vel quod per eam funesta<ta> domus ostenditur, sicut letam frondes indicant feste. Varro tamen dicit pyras ydeo cupresso circumdari propter gravem ustrine odorem, ne[c] offendatur populi circumstantis corona, que tam diu stabat respondens fletibus prefice, id est principi luctuum, quam diu consumpto cadavere et collectis cineribus diceretur novissimum verbum ‘ilicet’, quod ‘ire licet’ significat.²⁹⁹

Odes 2.15 Iam pauca aratro (f. 24ro-vo) priori continuat

11 de quo dicit Lucanus [2.380-90]: ‘hi mores hec duri immota Catonis/ secta fuit: servare modum, finemque tenere/ naturamque sequi, patrieque inpendere vitam;/ nec sibi sed toti genitum se credere mundo;/ huic epule: vicisse famem, magnique penates:/ summovisse hiemem tecto, precisaque vestis:/ hirtam membra super Romani more Quiritis/ induxisse togam, +Veneris hic+ maximus usus:/ progenies. urbi pater est, urbiq[ue] maritus,/ iusticie cultor, rigidi servator honesti/ in commune bonus.’³⁰⁰

²⁹⁵ Serv. Aen. 7.662

²⁹⁶ Serv. Aen. 6.295; whereas *mythologia* is the accepted reading, Harley shares the variant *ethimologia* (variously spelt) with four Servius manuscripts; the error *pereatur* (for *procreatur*) is not reported in the Servius tradition.

²⁹⁷ Sch. ad Theb. 2.222 {8}

²⁹⁸ Sch. ad Theb. 2.380, 4.537; the gloss *Eoli filius* was added by the scholiast (cf. PsA on Sat. 2.3.21). No gloss explains this patronymic in Harley. The father-son relationship is stated explicitly by Pseudo-Acro on Sat. 2.3.21 (*Sisiphus rex Corinthiorum, filius <A>eoli*) and Hyg. Fab. 60, 61, 239, a source unattested in the lyric part of Harley 2724. (The same patronymic is used in Ovid Met. 13.2.)

²⁹⁹ Serv. Aen. 6.216. Servius editor Jeunet-Mancy (2012) notes that the reference to Varro (presumably *Antiquitates rerum humanarum*) remains uncatalogued.

³⁰⁰ Luc. 2.380-90 {4}

17# itur: eo e brevis est, itur i longa invenitur. ergo quia hoc verbum breve est in origine et in declinatione fit longum, ideo certa eius natura nec in temporibus nec in participiis invenitur: nam cum itur longa sit, iturus brevis invenitur, ut [*Aen.* 6.680] ‘*superumque in lumen itur<as>*’. multi tamen temptant dicentes itur propter eo, que prima verbi origo est, per diptongon scribi debere: quod non procedit, quia [ad] diptongos semper longo† est, i autem et produci potest et corripitur. hinc est quod fortuitus i et producitur et corripitur: Iuvenalis [cf.13.225] ‘*non quasi fortuitus nec ventorum rabie sed/ iratus cadat in terras et iudicet ignes†*’, contra Oratius [*Odes* 2.15.17f.] ‘*nec fortuitum spernere cespitem/ leges sinebant*’. hic enim nisi littera i longa sit, non stat versus. et hoc protulimus exemplum unius sermonis, ne quis dicat iturus et itur ideo variam habere naturam propter temporum varietatem: unde melius est, ut diximus, considerare originis rationem. sane fortuitus ab eundo est et a fortuna compositum.³⁰¹

Odes 2.16 Otium divos (f. 24ro-vo)

T ad Grosphum Pompeium

1 Servius dicit otium ex rerum abundantia procreari. propterea Iovem fecisse multa, que possunt in vituperationem venire; sed ea hoc colore defenduntur, quo dicat voluisse eum ingenium mortalibus ex necessitate prestare ne torperent ocio.³⁰²

2IL [EGEO] mare

9 gaza Persicus sermo est et significat divitias.³⁰³

29# Achilles a matre Thetide tinctus in Stig[i]em paludem toto corpore invulnerabilis fuit, excepta parte qua tentus est. qui cum circa muros Troye bellum gereret, Polyxenam visam adamavit et condicione pacis in matrimonium postulavit. quam cum Troyani fraude promisissent, Paris post Tymbrei Apollinis simulacrum latuit et venientem Achillem ad fedus missa occidit sagitta. unde fingitur quod tenente Apolline Paris direxerit tela. tunc moriens Achilles petiit ut evicta Troya ad eius sepulchrum Polyxena immolaretur quod Pyrrus postea inplevit.³⁰⁴

30 Tythonus fuit frater Lamedontis, quem sibi maritum propter pulchritudinem Aurora rapuit. qui post optatam longissimam vitam in cycadam dicitur esse conversus.³⁰⁵

Odes 2.17 Cur me querellis (f. 24vo-25ro)

T ad Mecenatem paranetice tetracolos

G Egiptii xii esse adserunt signa, Chaldei vero xi: nam Scorpium et Libram unum signum accipiunt. secundum Egiptios chele Scorpii Libram faciunt. modo ergo secundum Chaldeos locutus est qui Scorpium et Libram pro uno signo accipiunt. sciendum deinde est voluisse maiores in his signis esse deorum domicilia. et Solis est Leo, Lune vero Cancer, ceterorum vero v planetarum bina sunt signa, prout se ratio siderum sequitur. nam primus circulus a terra Lune est, secundus Mercurii, tertius Veneri<s>, quartus Solis, quintus Martis, sextus Iovis, Saturni ultimus. sed remotis Sole et Luna quorum sunt domicilia Leo et Cancer, hi quinque ordine, quo eorum sunt circuli, bina possident signa,

³⁰¹ Serv. *Aen.* 6.179; the phrase *diptongos semper longa est* is corrupted in several Servius manuscripts, of which St Gall 861-2 is identical to Harley; *producitur* (but not *corripitur*) appears in Bern 167. {6 App.

³⁰² Serv. *Georg.* 1.123 {6 App.

³⁰³ Serv. *Aen.* 1.119 {6

³⁰⁴ Serv. *Aen.* 6.57 (= VM 1.36), 3.321 {6

³⁰⁵ Serv. *Aen.* 4.585, *Georg.* 3 328 {6

unum a sequentibus et unum a superioribus: ut Mercurii sint Virgo et Gemini, Veneris Libra et Taurus, Martis Scorpius et Aries, Iovis Sagittarius et Piscis†, Saturni Capricornus et Aquarius. unde per hec loca siderum Mecenatem et fortem propter Scorpium, id est Martis domicilium, et iustum propter Libram, et prudentem propter vicinam Virginem, id est Mercurii domicilium, fore significat.³⁰⁶

G Circulus Iovis inter Martem et Saturnum est, utroque temperatus, a Saturno humorem, a Marte trahens calorem. qui salubri temperie et quadam tranquillitate prosperitatis effulget quia prosperam habet constellationem. unde Marcianus dicit [2.196] *‘illic sidus erat temperamenti vivifici ac salubris effulgentia blandisque vibrata candoribus’*. Saturni enim sidus secundum mathematicos contrarium est et adversam habet constellationem, unde a mathematicis malitiosus et exitialis atque pestifer vocatur. huic enim inest facies Draconis propter nimietatem frigoris, rictus habet Leonis propter nimium estum caloris, videtur etiam habere cristas propter intemperantiam omnium elementorum et singulorum temporum. de quo ita Marcianus [2.197] dicit *‘ipsi presuli nunc facies draconis, nunc rictus leonis, nunc criste cum aprinis dentibus videbantur, totoque exicialis seviebat horrore.’* vita secundum mathematicos planetis moderatur, et in Iovis quidem circulo dicunt esse causam prosperitatis vel felicitatis, in Martis vel Saturni circulo econtra dicunt esse causam adversitatis.³⁰⁷

13 Chimera monstrum est ore leo, postremis partibus draco, media caprea. re vera enim mons est Cilicie cuius hodieque ardet cacumen, iuxta quod sunt leones, media autem parte pascua sunt, ima vero montis sunt serpentibus plena. hunc Bellerofons habita<bil>em fecit, unde Chimeram monstrum occidisse asseritur.³⁰⁸

14 Briareus centum habuit formas secundum fabulas ipse est Geriones.³⁰⁹

23# Saturnus deus pluviarum est, unde etiam senex fingitur: nam senes semper novimus gelidos. hic autem in capricorno facit gravissimas pluvias et precipue in Italia. unde Oratius hic dicit [Odes 2.17.19f.] *‘seu tyrannus/ Hesperie Capricornus unde’*. [unde] in scorpio grandines, item in alio fulmina, in alio ventos. unde precipit Virgilius nosse debere in quod se signum recipiat sidus Saturni, ut ostendat Saturnum bis ad unumquodque signum reverti, quod alii planete minime faciunt; solus enim est qui et longius a sole discedat et bis ad unum quodque signum revertat.³¹⁰

23? Saturnus postquam a Themide[i]o oraculo conperit a filio se posse regno depelli, natos ex Rea uxore devorabat. que natum Iovem, pulchritudine delectata, nymphis commendavit in monte Crete Dicteio ubi eum aluerunt apes et adhibite† sunt Curetes et Coribantes, qui tynnitū eris prohiberent audiri pueri vagitum, unde ipsi sunt matris deum ministri. ut autem fingatur Saturnus filios suos comedissee ratio hec est: quia dicitur deus esse eternitatis et seculorum, secula autem annos ex se natos in se revolvunt: unde Grece Krono<s> quasi [i]xponos, idest tempus.³¹¹

Odes 2.18 Non ebur neque aureum (f. 25vo-26ro)

T ad avarum

³⁰⁶ Serv. Georg. 1.33; {6 App.

³⁰⁷ Remig. 13.4 ad Mart. 1.15; Remig. 75.10 ad Mart. 2.196; Remig. 75.18 ad Mart. 2.197; Mart. 2.196-7 {7

³⁰⁸ Serv. Aen. 6.288 (Like Harley, VM 2.154 omits Servius' phrase *secundum fabulas*, but glosses the Chimera as *bestia* rather than *monstrum*.) {6

³⁰⁹ Serv. Aen. 6. 287? {6

³¹⁰ Serv. Georg. 1.336

³¹¹ Serv. Aen. 3.104

1# sane ebur eburis et eboris facit, sicut murmur huius murmuris. unde, quia in principalitatis declinatione varietas invenitur, etiam dirivatio varia est, nam eburn[e]us facit ab eo quod est eburis, ebor[n]eus facit ab eo quod eboris.³¹²

2# principaliter lacus dicitur, ut Lucilius [1290 Krenkel] ‘*resultant edesque lacusque*’, diminutio lacunar facit, inde fit diminutio lacunarium, et per mutationem littere laquearium.³¹³

5# Attalus rex Asie ditissimus fuit, qui populum Romanum testamento sibi fecit herede<s>. in cuius aula primum inventa sunt picta velamina, que ideo aulea sunt dicta quod primum in aula sunt inv<en>ta.³¹⁴

6 heredis nomen inpos<uit> census eris. s<olv>et tributum auctoris. <in> hoc enim vocabulo <pri>ma successio est he<re>ditatis et generis, ut sunt filii et nepotes. proheres est, qui loco <heredis> fungitur, quasi pro here<de>. est enim aut instit<utus>, aut substitutus.³¹⁵

20 Baia locus est in Campania calidis et sulfuratis aquis scatens, dictus a Bai<o> socio Ulixis illic mortuo, vel quia illic sunt Ba[i]uli[e], locus Herculis dictus quasi Boaulia, quod illic Herculis habuit animalia, que Gerioni detracta et† Hispania adduxerat.³¹⁶

25# in lege xii tabularum scriptum est [8.21] ‘*patronus si clyenti fra<u>dem fecerit, sacer esto*’; si enim clyentes quasi colentes sunt, patroni quasi patres, tantundem est clyentem, quantum filium fallere. et hoc posse fieri ex Oracii dictis intellegimus, qui hoc loco de avaris potentibus locutus, ait de vicino clyente [*Odes* 2.18.26f.] ‘*pellitur paternos/ in sinu ferens deos*’.³¹⁷

Odes 3.10 Extremum Tanain (f. 26ro-26vo)

T ad Licen meretricem

T ad Licen meretricem filiam feobole† formosissime et scientissime, seu arguta[m] voce seu malit chitara aut tibia cantare

5 IANUA autem est primus domus ingressus, dicta a Iano cui consecratum est omne principium. cetera intra ianuam ostia vocantur generaliter, sive uualve sint sive fores: quamvis usus corruperit ista nam fores proprie dicuntur que foras aperiantur sicut apud veteres fuit; valve autem sunt ut Varro dicit, que revolvuntur et se volant.†³¹⁸

Odes 3.11 Mercuri, nam te docilis (f. 26vo-27ro)

T ad Mercurium

1 Mercurius Iovis et Maiaie filius fuit. dictus quasi medius currens, quia <...> inter duos seritur; vel quasi mercatorum kiryos, id est dominus, quia sermo maxime inter mercatores viget. cuius et Antyopes filius Ampyon fuit, a quo lyram accepit qua canens

³¹² Serv. *Aen.* 11.11 {6 App.

³¹³ Serv. *Aen.* 1.726

³¹⁴ Serv. *Aen.* 1.697(?), PsA {6

³¹⁵ Isid. *Et.* 9.5.1; *hoc enimvero* vocabulo is corrupted in several Isidore manuscripts, of which Bern 101, Voss. lat. F. 74, and Madrid Tol. 15.8 share Harley’s *enim*. The Harley copy is partly washed out.

³¹⁶ Serv. *Aen.* 6.107; *ex* Hispania {6 App.

³¹⁷ Serv. *Aen.* 6.609 {6 App.

³¹⁸ Serv. *Aen.* 1.449; se *velant* {6 App.

muros Thebanos dicitur constituisse, ut eius cantu spontanea se saxa muris imponerent.³¹⁹

26f. Danaus et Egystus fratres fuerunt. Danao fuit virilis sexus quinquaginta numerus filiorum, e diverso Egysto par numerus filiarum fuit. voluit igitur Danaus fratris filias liberis suis in matrimonium sociare. Egystus oraculo cognosc<it>†, quod generis sui manibus interiret, precepit filiabus, ut sponso occiderent. sola Ipermesta, dum cetera facinus perpetrassent, Linceo pepercit.³²⁰

21 Ixion Laphitis imperabat amicissimus, ut d<iximus> s<upra>, Iovi, Phlege filius. qui post nubis co[g]itum fictae in formam Iunonis, cum se de eius stupro iactaret, ab irato Iove ad inferos trusus est et illic religatus ad rotam circumfusam serpentibus.³²¹

21 Tityon Terre filius fuit. hic amavit Latonam. propter quod Apollinis confixus est sagittis et dampnatus hac lege apud inferos, ut eius iecur vultur exedat.³²²

(27vo)

? cervi plurimi in Sithia regione abundant. mares hui<us>ce generis cum statum tempus venerem incitavit, seviunt rabie libidinis. femine licet prius conserantur, non concipiunt ante Arcturi sidus. nec qualibet partus suos educant. teneros studio acc<o>lunt et absconditos inter profunda fruticum vel herbarum pedum verbere castigant ad latendum. cum maturuit ad fugam robur, exercitio docent cursus et adsuescunt <...> per abrupta. acceptis canum latratibus secundo vento vias dirigunt, ut odor cum ipsis recedat. mirantur sibilum fistularum: rectis auribus acutissime audiunt, submissis nihil. stupent omnia; propterea facilius obvios se prebent sagittantibus. si maria tranent, non aspectu petunt litora, sed olfactu; infirmos <...> in ultimo et lassorum capita clunibus per vicos† sustinent. e cornibus quod dextrum fuerit efficacius est ad medelam; si fugare angues gestias, utrum velis ures, que ustrina preterea nidore vicium aperit ac detegit, si cui inest morbus commicialis. pro etate ramos augent. id incrementum in sexennes perseverat; deinceps numerosiora non possunt fieri cornua, possunt crassiora. que quidem castratis numquam crescunt nec tamen decidunt. dentes monstrant senectutem cum aut pauci inveniuntur aut nulli. serpentes ha<u>riunt et spiritu narium extrahunt de latebris cavernarum. diptamnum† ipsi prodiderunt, dum eo pasti excutiunt accepta tela. herbam quoque quam cinare<m> vocant contra noxia edunt gramina. adversus venena mirificum est hinnulei coagulum occisi in matris sue utero. patuit numquam eos febrescere, quam ob causam confecta ex medullis eorum unguina sedant calores hominum languentium. legimus plurimos matutinis diebus cervinam carnem degustare solitos sine febribus longevos fuisse; quod demum proderit si uno vulnere fuerint interempti. ad dinoscentam vivacitatem Alexander Magnus torques plurimis cervis innexuit, qui post annum centensimum capti necdum senii indicium preferebant.³²³

Odes 3.13 O fons Bandusiae (f. 27vo-28ro)

T ad fontem Bandusie

³¹⁹ Remig. ad Mart. *titulus*; Sch. *Theb.* 1.9-10; **Rem.** sermo inter duos {8}

³²⁰ Sch. ad *Theb.* 1.324 {8A}

³²¹ Serv. *Aen.* 6.601

³²² Serv. *Aen.* 6.595

³²³ Sol. 19.9-18 {3 App.}

Odes 3.14 *Herculis ritu* (f. 28ro)

T ad populum Romanum

1# Hercules Alcmene et Iovis filius inauditi roboris et <in>solite fortitudinis erat, cuius <...>decem triumphi feruntur. paratus evellendis et delendis semper adversitatibus, qui totum orbem [a] iussu Euristei regis peragrabat et cuncta monstra obprimebat.³²⁴

3# Penates autem sunt dicti quasi panates idest omnia consencientes.³²⁵

3# Cantabrico bello per quinque annos acto totaque Hyspania in eternam pacem cum quadam respiracione lassitudinis reclinata ac reposita, Cesar Romam rediit. quibus etiam diebus multa per se multaque per duces et legatos bella gessit. nam inter ceteros et Piso adversum Vi<nde>licos missus est, quibus subactis victor ad Cesarem Lug[i]dunum venit.³²⁶

19# Lucullo et Cassio consulibus gladiatores septuaginta et quatuor Capue a ludo Gnei Lentuli diffugerunt, qui continuo ducibus Cryxo et Ynomaio et Spartaco Vesuvium montem occupaverunt; unde erumpentes Clodii pretoris, qui eos obsidione cinxerat, castra expugnaverunt, ipsoque in fugam acto cuncta in predam averterunt. inde per Consentiam et Metapontum circumducti, ingentia brevi agmina collegerunt. nam Cryxo decem milium multitudo, Spartaco autem triplex tunc numerus fuisse fertur, Ynomaus enim iam in superiore bello fuerat occisus. itaque <...> cedibus incendiis rapinis stup[or]i[bus]que omnia miscerent, consules Gelius et Lentulus adversum eos cum exercitu missi sunt, quorum Gellius Cryxum acerrime pugnante prelio obpressit, Lentulus a Spartaco superatus aufugit. post etiam collatis frustra ambo consules copiis, accepta gravi clade fug[i]erunt. dehinc Cassium proconsulem idem Spartacus oppressum bello interfecit. itaque exter[c]ita civitate non minore propemodum metu, quam sub Hannibale circa portas fremente, trepidaverat. senatus Crassum cum legionibus consulum novoque supplemento militum misit. is mox fugitivorum pugna<m> iniit, sex milia eorum interfecit, nongentos vero cepit. inde priusquam ipsum Spartacum ad capud Salaris fluminis castra metantem bello adgrederetur, Gallos auxiliares eius Germanosque superavit, e quibus triginta milia hominum cum ipsis ducibus occidit. novissime ipsum Spartacum disposita acie congressum maximasque cum eo fugitivorum copias pertulit†; nam sexaginta milia eorum cesa, sex milia capta referuntur, tria milia civium Romanorum recepta sunt. ceteri qui ex hoc bello lapsi oberrabant, per complures duces frequenti indagine adtriti sunt.³²⁷

Odes 3.15 *Uxor pauperis Ibyci* (f. 28vo)

T ad Chloriden

10# tympanum autem est corium extentum quod percussum magnum edit sonitum.³²⁸

Odes 3.16 *Inclusam Danaen* (f. 28vo-29vo)

T ad C. Mecenatem

³²⁴ Remig. 36.14 ad Mart. 1.84 {7 App.

³²⁵ Remig. 26.4 ad Mart. 1.41 {7

³²⁶ Oros. 6.21.21-22 {2.3.1 App.

³²⁷ Oros. 5.24; copias perculit

³²⁸ Remig. 58.10 ad Mart. 2.133 {7 App.

1 Dane filia fuit Acrissii regis Argivorum. qui cum timeret filie ne viciaretur a Iove sicut alie puellae, fecit turrim eneam et adhibuit custodes. tunc Iupiter secundum fabulam in aureum imbrem conversus, secundum veritatem corruptis auro custodibus descendit intro per tegulas et sic viciavit eam. postquam est a Iove viciata, pater eam intra arcam inclusam precipitavit in mare. que delata ad Italia<m> inventa est a piscatore cum Perseo, quem illic enixa erat, et oblata regi, qui eam sibi fecit uxorem.³²⁹

9# unde Lucanus dicit [10.407-8] '*nulla fides pietasque viris qui castra secuntur;/ venalesque manus; ibi fas ubi maxima merces.*'³³⁰

11# Eriphire uxor fuit vatis Amphiarai, que latentem bello Thebano maritum Polinici prodidit, accepto monili, quod ante uxori dederat. cuius filius Alcmeon postea matrem necavit et sicut Orestes furore correptus est.³³¹

14# Emathius qui primus in Emathia accepit principatum, seu quia indago originis eius evo disperi<i>t, seu quia <...> res est, genuinus terre habetur. post hunc Macedonis exortum Emathie nomen perstitit. sed Macedo Deucalionis maternus nepos, qui solus ex domus sue familia morti publice supererat, vertit vocam<en> Macedoniamque a se dixit. Macedonem Caranus insequitur dux Peloponosie† multitudinis, qui iuxta responsum dictum a deo, ubi caprarium pecus residisse† adverterat urbem condidit quam dixit Egas, in qua sepeliri reges mos erat; nec alter excellentium virorum bustis apud Macedonas prisc<os> dabatur locus. successit Carano Perdica, secunda et xxma olimpiade, primus rex nominatus. cui Alexander Aminthe filius* successit dives habitus, nec inmerito: ita enim affluenter successus eius proficiebant, ut ante omnes Apollini Delphos, Iovi Elidem stutuas† aureas dono miserit. voluptati aurium indulgentissime deditus: sicut plurimos qui fid[el]ibus sciebant dum vivit in usum oblectamenti donis teneret liberalibus, in<ter> quos et Pindarum liryum. ab hoc Archelaus regnum accepit, prudens rei bellice navalium etiam com<men>tor preliorum. hic Archelaus in tantum litterarum mire amator fuit, ut Euripidi traic<o> consiliorum summam concrederet; cuius suprema non contentus prosequi sumptu funeris, crinem tonsus est et merorem quem animo conceperat vultu publicavit. post Archelaum Macedonica res dissensione iactata in Amynthe regno stetit, cui tres filii erant, sed Alexander patri successit. quo exempto Perdice primo data copia est amplissime potestatis indupiscunde. qui obiens hereditarium regnum fratri Philippo reliquit. hic Philippus Magnum Alexandrum procreavit, quamlibet Olympias Alexandri mater nobiliorem ei patrem acquirere adfectaverit, cum se coitu draconis pregnantem adfirmaret. ita tamen et ipse se egit ut a deo genitus crederetur. peragravit orbem, rectoribus Aristotile et Calistene usus, subegit Asiam, Armeniam, Albaniam, Capadociam, Syrias, Egiptum; Taurum, Caucasumque montem transgressus est, Bactros damuit†; Mediis et Persis imperavit; cepit Indiam, emensus est omnia que Liber et Hercules accesserant. forma erat supra omnem augustiore, cervice celsa, letis oculis et illustribus, malis ad gratiam rubescentibus, reliquis corporis membris non sine maiestate quadam decoris. victor omnium vino et ira victus: sic quod morbo vinolentie apud Babilonem humiliore quam vixerat fortuna exemptus est.³³²

Odes 3.17 Aeli vetusto nobilis (f. 29vo)

³²⁹ Sch. Ter. *Eun.* 585; Serv. *Aen.* 7.372 {9

³³⁰ Luc. 10.407-8 {4

³³¹ Serv. *Aen.* 6.445

³³² Sol. 9.10-20

T ad Helium Lamiorum
 1IL [LAMO] proprium nomen
 7IL [MARICAE] dea littoris
 7# est autem Marica dea littoris Minturnensium iuxta Lyrin fluvium; hinc Virgilius ait [Aen. 7.47] ‘*hunc Fauno et Nympha genitum Laurente Marica*’.³³³
 9# TYRANNUS Grece dixit, idest rex. nam apud eos regis et tyranni nulla discretio est: licet apud nos incubator imperii tyrannus dicatur.³³⁴
 14# genium pro corpore posuit.* nam cum nascimur, duos genios sortimur: unus est qui hortatur ad bona, alter qui depravat ad mala. quibus assistentibus post mortem aut deferimur† in meliorem vitam aut condemnamur in deteriore; per quos aut vacationem meremur aut reditum in corpora.³³⁵

Odes 3.18 Faune, Nympharum (f. 29vo-30ro)

T ad Faunum deum
 G Pilosi qui Grece Panite, Latine Incubi appellantur sive Inui ab ineundo passim cum animalibus, unde et Incubi ab incumbendo, hoc est stuprando. sepe enim inprobi existunt etiam mulieribus et earum peragunt concubitus: quos demones Galli Dusios vocant, quia assidue peragunt hanc inmundiciam. quem autem vulgus† Incubonem vocant, hunc Romani Faunum vicarium† dicunt. ad quem Oracius dicit [Odes 3.18.1-3] ‘*Faune Nympharum fugientem† amator/ per meos fines et aprica rura/ lenis incedas...*’³³⁶

4# alumnus est et qui nutrit et qui nutritur.³³⁷
 7IL [CRATERAE] vel Bacho
 7# hic cratera posuit pro Bacho, nam libido vel instabilitas ebriosorum est; hinc Terentius ait [Ter. Eun. 732] ‘*sine Cerere et Bacho friget Venus*’.³³⁸

Odes 3.19 Quantum distet (f. 30ro-vo)

T ad Telephum sodalem
 1# Inachus rex fuit Argivorum, cuius filiam Ionem Iuppiter amavit et dum cum ea esset Iuno super<ve>nit. timens ille ne deprehenderetur, Io mutavit in vaccam et poscenti dedit Iunoni, ne pelicem confiteretur. cui Iuno Argum occulatum omnibus membris Aristod<is> filium custodem posuit. quem cum Iuppiter per Mercurium interemisset, Iuno in pavonem mutavit. Ioni vero inmisit eostrum, quo diu vexata ad Egiptum venit, et Iovis voluntate humanam speciem recipiens nubsit Bosiridi regi Egiptorum. quem frater Typhon clam occiderat. cuius membra Isis diu quesita cum sepelire vellet, elegit vicine paludis tutissimum locum, quam [a] transitu constat esse difficilem; limosa enim est et papyris referta. ultra hanc est brevis insula, inaccessa hominibus, unde Abatos appellata est; Lucanus [10.323] ‘*hinc Abatos quam monstra vocant veneranda vetustas*’. hec palus Styx vocatur, quod tristitiam transeuntibus gignit. sane ad illam insulam ab his qui sacris imbuti sunt, certis transitur diebus. lectum est etiam quod vicini populi cadavera suorum

³³³ Serv. Aen. 7.47

³³⁴ Serv. Aen. 7.266

³³⁵ Serv. Aen. 6.743; aut *adserimur*

³³⁶ Isid. Et. 8.103-4; faunum *ficarium*{5

³³⁷ Remig. 37.3 ad Mart. 1.86 {7 App.

³³⁸ The Terence line is quoted in Horace scholia: PsA, λφψ and U *ad loc.*, PsA and Porph. at Odes 1.18.

ad alteram regionem transferunt; sed si qui<s> forte in fluvio pereat nec eius inveniatur
cadaver, post centum ei annos ultima persolvuntur officia. hinc est tractum [*Aen.* 6.329]
“centum errant annos, volitantque hec littora circum.”³³⁹

2IL [CODRUS] dux fuit

3IL [EACI] proprium nomen

2# Codrus dux fuit Atheniensium, qui orto bello inter Laconas et Athenienses, cum
respondisset oraculum illos posse vincere quorum dux perisset, habitu humili profectus
est ad hostium vicina tentoria et illic eos iurgio in suam cedem instigavit,³⁴⁰ sic eo
perempto Athenienses victoriam adepti sunt.

13# novem muse sunt quia humane vocis officia viii sunt. omnis enim sermo his viii
rebus formatur: primo appulsu iiii dentium, percussione duorum labiorum, plectro
lingue, cava† gutturis, adiutorio pulmonum. si enim ex his aliquid defuerit, vox perfecta
non erit.³⁴¹

16 tres Gracie Iovis filie, que et Cari[n]the dicuntur, unius nominis et unius
pulchritudinis. que pinguntur nude quia gratia non debet esse simulata et ficta, sed pura et
sincera. pinguntur etiam una aversa due nos respicientes, quia gratia simpla a nobis
profecta duplex solet reverti.³⁴²

19 tibi dicuntur quod ex tibiis gruis maxime dextris fieri soleant.³⁴³

Odes 3.20 Non vides quanto (f. 30vo)

T ad Pyrrum

16IL [IDA] monte

16# Tantalus rex Prygiorum Ganimedem Troii Dardaniorum regis filium in Yda
monte venationibus intentum cum flagiciosissime rapuisset, maiore conserti certaminis
feditate detinuit, sicut Fanocles poeta confirmat qui maximum bellum excitatum ob hoc
fuisse commemorat, sive quia hunc ipsum Tantalum utpote assecclam deorum videri vult
raptum puerum ad libidinem Iovis familiari lenocinio preparasse.³⁴⁴

Odes 3.21 O nata mecum (f. 30vo-31ro)

T ad testam suam

16IL [LYGEO†] vino

21 Liber ipse est Dionisius repertor vitis. liber dicitur quia servi ebrii liberi sibi
videntur. Oratius ait [*Ovid A. A.* 1.239:] “*tunc pauper cornua sumit*”, idest audaciam et
confidentiam. sive ut alii dicunt Liber vocatur quia liberat mares missis seminibus, nam
per Iunonem femine per Liberum mares liberari et propagari† dicuntur.³⁴⁵

21# due sunt Veneres: una casta et pudica, que preest honestis amoribus, que etiam
fertur uxor Vulcani, altera voluptuaria libidinum dea, cuius filius est Ermafroditus. sic
etiam sunt duo Amores: bonus et pudicus, quo virtutes et sapientia amantur, alter
impudicus et malus, quem ad distinctionem boni amoris pluraliter amores dicimus.³⁴⁶

³³⁹ Serv. *Aen.* 7.790, 6.154 {6 App.

³⁴⁰ Serv. *Ecl.* 5.11 (= VM 2.216); the ending apparently paraphrases Servius.

³⁴¹ Remig. 19.11 ad Mart. 1.27 {7 App.

³⁴² Remig. 4.2 ad Mart. 1.1 {7 App.

³⁴³ Remig. 49.9 ad Mart. 2.117 {7

³⁴⁴ Oros. 1.12.4-5

³⁴⁵ Remig. 28.15 ad Mart. 1.51; liberari et purgari {7

³⁴⁶ Remig. 62.11 ad Mart. 2.144

22# tres Gratie sunt: que et Karithe dicuntur, que sertis illigate sunt, quia Gracie sibi coherent.³⁴⁷

22IL [GRATIAE] Karithe

23# a lychno autem lucerna est dicta, unde et brevis est 'ly', ut Iuvenalis dicit [Pers. 5.181] '*disposite pinguem nebulam vomuere lucerne*', Oratius [cf. *Serm.* 1.6.123-4] '*ungor olivo, / non quo furatis inmundus Natta lucernis*'. si enim a luce diceretur, lu longa esset et non staret versus.³⁴⁸

23IL nota hic brevem syllabam 'lu'

f. 31ro

G sciendum est quia philosophi dicunt unum esse deum celi et terre et rerum omnium creatorem, qui pro multiplici dispositione qua mundum variis modis regit diversis appellatur vocabulis. dicitur enim Vitumnus quod vitam prestat, Sentinus quod sensum ministrat, vocatur Iovis in ethere, Iuno in aere, Diana in terra. plerumque etiam unus idemque non solum diversis nominibus sed ex vario sexu appellatur. iuxta illum verum Valerii Sorani "*Iuppiter omnipotens rerum regumque repertor / progenitor, genetrix<...> d<eu>m, deus unus et idem*". in magnis ergo dispositionibus quasi masculino genere effertur, in minoribus femine quodam modo nomen accipit. nam et Varro dicit quia cum unus idemque sit homo, a corpore dicitur homo, ab anima sapiens; ita etiam deus cum unus idemque sit, multis tamen pro dispensacionis sue diversitate censetur vocabulis.³⁴⁹

Odes 3.22 Montium custos (f. 31ro)

T ad Dianam luciferam

Odes 3.23 Caelo supinas (f. 31ro-vo)

T ad Phidilen rusticam

4# generaliter fruges omnes vocantur, et errant qui discernunt frumenta a frugibus. nam Cicero [in *Verr.* 3.7.18] ait 'olei et frugum minutarum' cum de leguminibus diceret ut ostenderet etiam frumenta fruges vocari. frugum autem nomen tractum est a frumine, idest ab eminente sub mento gutturis parte.³⁵⁰

4# Lares sunt dii ignis qui omnibus hominibus esse feruntur, ipsi etiam sunt genii, idest naturales dii. nam cum quis hominum genitus fuerit mox eidem copulantur ad tutelam sui. sciendum est vero, quia est bonus qui animam ad virtutes impellit, alter malus qui ad vicia stimulat. hi enim dii dicuntur cum ipsis corporibus morari quamdiu aliquid superest de corpore. unde et quibusdam mos est gentibus ut cadavera mortuorum aromatibus condiant, quatinus multo tempore conserventur corpora et possint anime morari cum suis corporibus. neque enim verum est quod quidam putant animam deserere corpora, cum potius corpus animam deserat. hoc ostendit scisse se Symonides poeta dicens [Stat. *Theb.* 8.739] "*odi artus fragilesque hunc corporis usum / desertorem anime*".³⁵¹

³⁴⁷ Remig. 57.22 ad Mart. 2.132

³⁴⁸ Serv. *Aen.* 1.726

³⁴⁹ Remig. 26.4 ad Mart. 1.41

³⁵⁰ Serv. *Aen.* 1.178

³⁵¹ Remig. 27.10, 28.12 ad Mart. 1.46; Mart. 2.152; Remig. 66.4 ad Mart. 2.155; Remig. 68.5 ad Mart. 2.162

4IL [PORCA] sue

Odes 3.24 *Intactis opulentior* (f. 31vo-32vo) (outer margin)

T ad divites avaros

2# ultra Pelusiaceum ostium Arabia est, ad Rubrum pertinens mare, quod Errithreum ab Errythro rege Persei et Andromede filio, non solum a calore† appellatum Varro dicit. qui adfirmat in litore maris istius fontem esse, quem si biberint oves mutant vellerum qualitatem, et antea candide amittunt quod fuerit usque ad haustum, ac furuo postmodum nigrescunt colore. verum hec Arabia procedit ad usque illam odoriferam terram quam Catabyani et Scenite tenent Arabes, nobiles monte Cassio. qui Scenite causas nominis inde ducunt, quod tentoriis succedunt nec alias habent domos. ipsa autem tentoria ‘cilicia’ sunt: ita nominant velamenta c[r]aparum pylis texta. preterea suillis carnibus prorsus abstinent. sane hoc animalis genus si invectum illo fuerit ilico moritur. hanc Arabiam Greci Eudemonem, nostri Beatam nominaverunt. habitatur colle manu facto in<ter> flumen Tygrim et flumen Euleum, quod ortum a Medis tam puro fluore inclytum est, ut omnes reges non alias quam eius bibant aquas. illius regionis populi longe lateque diffusi diversis et moribus vivunt et cultibus. plurimis crinis intonsus, mitrata capita, redimitu pari rasa in cutim† barba. commercii student, aliena non emunt, vendunt sua, quippe et silvis et mari divites. umbre que nobis dextre sunt, illis sunt sinistre. pars eorum quibus asper victus est angues edunt. nulla est illis vel animi vel corporis cura ac propterea nullus ibi habendi amor: a divitiis paupertate se abdicaverunt voluntaria. tantum lapide uno gloriantur, qu exequantur nominamus, tam diversis notis sparsum ut lx gemmarum colores in parvo orbiculo eius deprehendantur. homines isti carnibus vivunt serpentium ignarique sermonis stridunt potius quam locuntur. solos colunt inferos. feminas suas primis noctibus nuptiarum adulteriis cogunt patere mox ad per<p>etuum puditiciam† legibus stringunt severissimis.³⁵²

13# Ceres alumna et cultrix est terrarum et nutrix mortalium propter ostensas fruges. hinc et Ceres dicta quasi creres a creando, quam antiqui Bonam Deam vocabant, hinc Iuvenalis ait [Sat. 2.86] “*adque bonam tenere placant abdomine porce.*”³⁵³

Odes 3.25 *Quo me, Bacche* (f. 32vo-33ro)

T hymnus ad Liberum patrem

2 [SPECUS] hoc nomen apud maiores trium generum fuit. Ennius femineo posuit, Oracius masculino ut in hoc loco [Odes 3.25.2] ‘*que nemora aut quos agor in specus*’, Virgilius neutro posuit. quod hodie in numero singulari tribus tantum utimur casibus, hoc specus <...> et o specus. nam pluralem tantum a genere masculino habemus in omnibus casibus, hinc est [Virg. Georg. 3.376] ‘*ipsi in defossis specubus.*’³⁵⁴

19 ‘pater’ licet generale sit omnium deorum, tamen proprie Libero semper coheret, nam Liber pater vocatur. Leneus autem ΑΠΟΝΤΕΚΑΝΟΥ dicitur, id est a lacu; nam quod Donatus dicit ab eo dici Bachum Leneum quod mentem deliniat† non procedit, nec enim potest Grecum nomen Latinam ethimologyam recipere.³⁵⁵

³⁵² Sol. 31.3-4, 33.1-4, 33.16-17; a colore appellatum {3 App.

³⁵³ Remig. 37.3 ad Mart. 1.86

³⁵⁴ Serv. Aen. 7.568 (Like Harley, Servius manuscripts Carlsruhe 116 and St Gall 861-2 omit *huius specus*.)

³⁵⁵ Serv. Georg. 2.4

19# Leneus dicitur Bachus quia oculis preest, qui et Grece leneai dicuntur. nam cum sit Grecum, amantium delenimentum non potest accipi.³⁵⁶

Odes 3.26 Vixi puellis (f. 33ro)

T ad Venerem tetracos

5# Celus pater fuit Saturni. cui cum iratus filius falce virilia amputavit, elapsa in mare sunt, de quorum cruore et maris spuma nata dicitur Venus, unde et Afrodite dicitur $\alpha\pi\omega\ \tau\upsilon\ \alpha\phi\rho\omega\gamma$. sed hoc ratio habet: omnes vires usu venerio debilitantur, qui sine corporis damno non geritur, unde fingitur Venus nata per damnum; de mari autem ideo, quia dicunt fysici sudorem salsum esse quem semper elicit coitus. unde etiam mirtus est ei consecrata que litoribus gaudet ut [cf. *Georg.* 2.112] ‘*litora myrtoris† letissima*’.³⁵⁷

7# funalia sunt que intra ceram sunt, dicta a funibus, quos ante usum papyri cora† circumdatus† habuere maiores. unde et funera dicuntur, quod funes incensos mortuis preferebant.³⁵⁸

Odes 3.27 Impios parrae (f. 33ro-34vo)

T ad Galatheam ypothetice

4# sciendum est autem fetam dici et gravidam et partu liberatam, ut [*Aen.* 8.630] ‘*fecerat et viridi fetam Mavortis in antro*’: enixam autem eam fuisse lac quod pueris praebebatur ostendit. item fetam gravidam in hoc loco ostenditur [*Ecl.* 1.49] ‘*non insueta grave<s> temptabunt pabula fetus*’. ergo feta medius sermo est ut bonum facinus et malum facinus, bonum venenum et malum venenum.³⁵⁹

11# aves aut oscines sunt aut prepites; oscines, quasi ore canentes, futura vocibus predicunt; prepetes volatu auguria premonstrant. sed prepetes aut superiora tenent et prepetes vocantur, aut inferiora et dicuntur inferre; praepetes aut ideo quia omnes aves priora volantes petant.³⁶⁰

11# corvus auguralis est ales, idest aptus ad auguria captanda, ideo quod est Apollini consecratus, quia vim quandam presagiendi et divinandi habere dicitur.³⁶¹

19# Adria interpretatur petrosa sive dura, nam adra Grece petra dicitur, hinc Adriaticum mare est dictum quod sit saxorum† et periculosissimum.³⁶²

18# Oenopion rex cum liberos non haberet a Iove Mercurio Neptunoque quos hospicio susceperat hortantibus, ut ab his aliquid postularet, petiit ut sibi concederent liberos. illi, intra corium immolati sibi bovis urina facta, preceperunt ut obrutum terra completis maternis mensibus solveretur. quo facto inventus est puer, cui nomen ab urina inpositum est, ut Orion diceretur. qui postea factus venator dum vellet cum Diana concumbere, ut Oracius dicit [*Odes* 3.4.71], eius sagittis occisus, ut Lucanus ait [9.836], inmisso scorpione periit et deorum miseratione relatus in sidera signum famosum tempestatibus fecit. veri similis autem est a scorpione interemptum quo oriente occidit.

³⁵⁶ Serv. *Aen.* 4.207; *loculis* replaces *torculis* in several Servius manuscripts; *a* delenimento

³⁵⁷ Serv. *Aen.* 5.801

³⁵⁸ Serv. *Aen.* 1.727

³⁵⁹ Serv. *Aen.* 1.51

³⁶⁰ Unknown, cf. Serv. *Aen.* 3.361 {9

³⁶¹ Remig. 19.2 ad Mart.1.26

³⁶² Remig. 30.3 ad Mart. 1.64; *saxosum*

sane magnitudine sua multis oritur diebus, et ideo eius etiam apud peritos est incerta tempestas.³⁶³

20# Iapi<gi>a est Apulia, unde Virgilius ait [*Georg.* 3.475] ‘*et Iapidis unda timavi*’ appellatus est autem ventus Iapis quia de Iapia flat, id est de Apulia.*³⁶⁴

41 sunt autem gemine apud inferos somniorum porte: una eburnea, altera cornea. per eburneam falsa, per corneam vera emittunt inferi somnia. physi<o>logia vero hoc habet per portam corneam oculi significantur. qui et cornei sunt coloris et duriores ceteris membris, nam frigus non sentiunt, sicut et Cicero dicit in libris de deorum natura. per eburneam vero portam os significa[n]tur a dentibus, et scimus quia que loquimur falsa esse possunt, ea vero que videmus sine dubio vera sunt. ideo Eneas per eburneam emittitur portam, ut ita intellegamus falsa esse omnia que dixit Virgilius de eius ascensu ad inferos. est et alter sensus: Somnum novimus cum cornu pingi. et qui de somni<i>s scripserunt dicunt ea que secundum fortunam et persone possibilitatem videntur habere effectum. et hec vicina cornu, unde cornea porta fingitur vera. ea vero que supra fortunam sunt et nimium habent ornatum vanamque iactantiam dicunt falsa esse, unde eburnea, quasi ornacior porta, fingitur.³⁶⁵

41 siquis querere forte velit cur porta ex ebore falsis et cornu veris sit deputata, instruetur auctore Porfirio, qui in commentariis suis <hae>c in eundem locum dicit ab Humero† sub eadem divisione descriptum: latet, inquit, omne verum. hoc tamen anima, cum ab officiis corporis somno eius paululum libera est, int<er>dum aspicit, non numquam tendit aciem nec tamen pervenit, et cum aspicit tamen non libero et directo lumine videt sed interiecto velamine, quod nexus naturae caliga<n>tis obducit. et hoc in natura esse idem Virgilius asserit dicens [*Aen.* 2.604-6] “*aspice, namque omnem que nunc obducta tuenti/ mortales hebetat visus tibi et humida circum/ caligat nubem eripiam...*” hoc vilamen† cum in qui<ete> ad verum usque aciem anime introspectientes† admittit, de cornu creditur, cuius ista natura est ut tenuatum uisui peruium sit; cum autem a vero hebetat ac repellit obtutum, ebur putatur, cuius corpus ita <d>ensetum fit ut ad quamvis extremitatem tenuitatis erassum nullo viso ad ulteriora tendente penetretur.³⁶⁶

50# Orcus ipse est Pluto. orco Grece est iuro, hinc Orcus est dictus, quasi enim iurat et affirmat nullam se ani<m>arum sine supplicio dimissurum.³⁶⁷

62 procella est vis venti cum pluvia³⁶⁸

76# tertia pars mundi Europa dicitur, ab Europa Aggenoris filia quam Iuppiter mutatus in taurum raptam secum supra mare Oretam† avexit. hec Europa incipit sub plaga septentrionis, a flumine Tanai, in qua Riphei montes Sarmatico auersi oceano Tanaim fluvium fundunt, qui preteriens aras ac terminos Alexandri Magni in Robasorum finibus sitas† Meotidas auget paludes, quarum immensa exundatio iuxta Theodisiam urbem Euxinum Pontum late ingreditur. inde iuxta Constantinopolim longe emittuntur angustie, donec eas mare hoc quod dicimus Nostrum accipiat. Europe in Hispania occidentalis Oceanus termino est, maxime ubi apud Gades insulas Herculis colonne visuntur et Terreni maris faucibus Oceani estus inmittitur.³⁶⁹

³⁶³ Serv. *Aen.* 1.535 {6

³⁶⁴ Unknown; Porphyrio *ad locum* contains the same information, but lacks the citation. {6

³⁶⁵ Serv. *Aen.* 6.893 {6 App.

³⁶⁶ Macr. *In Somn.* 1.3.17-20

³⁶⁷ Remig. 29.7 ad Mart. 1.59

³⁶⁸ Serv. *Aen.* 1.85

³⁶⁹ Unknown (cf. Isid. *Etym.* 14.4.1); Oros. 1.2.4-7

Odes 3.28 Festo quid potius die (f. 34vo)

T ad Liden paranetice de Neptunalibus

2 Neptunus deus maris gestare dicitur fuscina idest tridentem propter triplicem aque naturam: est autem cita, idest mobilis et velox, est potabilis, est liquida. sertum candidum gestare dicitur instar albidis salis propter colorem maris, sui videlicet elementi. cuius Neptuni Styx est uxor, que nutrix et hospita deorum dicitur, quia omnes dii de terris, per purgationem, quam Styx significat, celeste meruerunt consortium. Neptunus pingitur nudus et renudatus idest spoliatus et †propter pauper† molem et elacionem corporis: moles ad magnitudinem maris refertur, elati<o> vero ad tumorem et <in>undantiam fluctuum. nihil mare retinet, sed quidquid acceperit estu et elacione sua reicit.³⁷⁰

14# Cyclades vero non ideo dicuntur, quia in rotunditate sunt, sed cum longo ordine eas circumire necesse est, vel propter promuntoria, vel quia naturale est ut concitiora sint maria vicinitate terrarum quas constat anhelitum quendam ex se mittere.³⁷¹

14 Cycladas autumant inde dictas quod, licet spaciis longioribus a Delo proiecte, in orbem tamen circa Delum site sunt; et orbem cyclon Gragii† locuntur.³⁷²

16 proprie autem sunt nenia carmina funebria que mortuis canuntur.

f. 34vo

?# Andromedam Cepheo regi Cephendorum Casiope nimpha genuit. que Casiope forma preluxit cunctis inter quas habitaverat puellis, at quam mater ceteris mulieribus tam matri filia prenitebat pulchitudinis dotibus. sed Fortuna nulla alicui permittit commoda nisi aliquo infortunio intermixta, nam [cf. Ov. *Fasti* 1.419] ‘*factus† inest pulchris, sequiturque superbia formam*’.³⁷³ unde mater spernendo reppulit amorem Iovis; multominus eundem dignata est nata recipere thalamis. spretus vero Iuppiter a filia et matre, contemptum solis penis vindicabat nate. hanc exposuit marinis bestiis vorandam, auxilio Nereidum mediis fluctibus [Ov. *Met.* 4.672] ‘*ad duras cantas† religatam*’.³⁷⁴ hoc malum parentes cum cognatis frustra inspexerant, nam prohibiti numine auxilium ferre non potuerant, hoc tu proterve Phineu vidisti nec [Met. 5.23] ‘*opem patruus sponsusve tulisti*’. forte sub hoc tempore Perseus, quem Acrisio Danae [cf. Met. 4.611] ‘*pluviani ceperat auro*’, Gorgonea cede reversus vinctam indignis catenis virginem conspexit, conspecteque amoribus concaluit, utque sua esset si sua virtute servaretur a mestis parentibus pepigit. accepta igitur coniugii pactione [Met. 7.353] ‘*elatus in aera pennis*’³⁷⁵ venientem beluam falcato ense perculit, solutamque Andromeden [Met. 4.739] ‘*precium et causam laboris*’ secum ad littora perduxit. gaudebant [Met. 4.358] ‘*Casiope Cepheusque pater*’ pro recepta prole. simul excellentis generi oblato honore placatisque numinibus merito munere, convivia festaque iugalia regio paratu inire. mediis ecce sub nuptiis Bacheo munere animis dila<e>tatis audax Phineus pro raptu pacte coniugis seuiens domum convivii armato milite inrupit repentinus, incendium dolentis animi

³⁷⁰ Remig. 31.3 ad Mart. 1.66; Remig. 35.17 ad Mart. 1.80; Remig. 35.22 ad Mart. 1.80-81; Remig. 36.2 ad Mart. 1.81; pauper propter molem {7

³⁷¹ Serv. *Aen.* 3.126, 127

³⁷² Isid. *Et.* 14.6.19

³⁷³ Ov. *Fasti* 1.419 *fastus*...

³⁷⁴ Met. 4.672 *ad duras religatam* bracchia cautes

³⁷⁵ Met. 7.353 sublatus in aera pennis

Perseo sanguine extincturus. memor igitur Daneus heros innati vigoris, prosiluit inpiger quibus recubuit toris, acclinatoque dorso saxee columnne, vim incursantem versus in omnes partes reppulit pretenta cuspide, ut aper quem circumsonat turba canuum in girum actus se ab hostibus defendit dentium fulmine. sanguineis poculis mensas madescere, altaria cesis corporibus videres pinguescere; [Met. 5.154] ‘*sonus armorum gemitusque*’ in mortem cadentum³⁷⁶ vicit et +protrium+ oblectamina dulce hymineon canentium. sed ubi occisis plures successerant nec vires unius viri tot milibus suffecerant, a vulnificis quibus pugnabat armis ad saxifica arma confugerat iuvenis. nec mora quod absconsum habebat retextit et terrificos vultus Gorgonei monstri erexit. mira res, [Met. 5.632] ‘*citius quam tibi facta renarro*’, omnia corpora inpugnantium riguerunt saxo, ipse etiam Phineus [Met. 5.8] ‘*auctor belli temerarius*’ in monimenta sceleris Cepheia donio† per omne evum spectabitur saxeus.³⁷⁷

Odes 3.29 Turrhena regum (f. 35ro-36ro)

T ad Mecenatem paranetice

8 Ulixes eversa Troya territus crebris adversisque somniis omnes undique regionis eius interpretandi somnia peritissimos conducit. hisque refert inter cetera visum sibi sepius simulacrum quoddam inter humanum divinumque vultum forme perlaudabilis et eodem loco repente edi: quod complecti summo desiderio cupienti sibi porrigentique manus responsum ab eo humana voce, sceleratam huiusmodi coniunctionem, quippe eiusdem sanguinis atque originis, namque ex eo alterum alterius opera interitu<rum>. dein versanti sibi vehementius, cupientique causam eius rei perdiscere, signum quoddam mari editum, intervenisse visum, idque secundum inperium eius in se iactum utrumque di<i>unxisse. quam rem cuncti qui aderant uno ore exitialem ei pronuntiant adduntque, caveret ab insidiis filii. casu[s] suspe<c>tus parentis animo Telemachus agris, qui in Cephalinia erant, relegatur additis ei quam fidissimis custodibus. preterea Ulixes secedens <...> alia loca abdita remotaque quantum poterat somniorum vim evitare nitebatur. per idem tempus Telegonus, quem Cyrce editum ex Ulixē apud Eam insulam educaverat, [i]<u>bi adolevit, ad inquisitionem patris profectus, Itacham venit gerens manibus quoddam hastile, cui summitas marine turturis osse armabatur, scilicet insigne insule eius in qua genitus erat. dein edoctus ubi Ulixes ageret, ad eum venit. ibi per custodes agri patrio aditu prohibitus, ubi vehementius perstat et e diverso repellitur, clamare cepit indignum facinus prohiberi se a patris complexu. ita credito Telemachum ad inferendum† vim regi adventare, acrius resistitur, nulli quippe compertum est alterum esse Ulixi filium. dein iuvenis, ubi se vehementius et per vim repelli videt, dolore elatus multos custodum interficit aut graviter vulneratos debilitat. que postquam Ulixi cognita sunt, existimans iuvenem a Telemacho inmissum egressus lanceam, quam ob tutelam sui genere† consueverat, adversum Telegonum iaculatur. sed postquam huiusmodi ictum iuvenis casu quodam intercipit, ipse in parentem insigne iaculum emittit, infelicissimum casum vulnere contemplatus. at ubi ictu[m] eo Ulixes concidit, gratulari cum fortuna, confiterique optime secum actum, quod per vim externi hominis interemptus parricidii scelere Telemachum carissimum sibi liberavisset. dein reliquum adhuc retentans spiritum iuvenem percontari, quisnam et ex quo loco se domi belloque inclytum Ulixem interficere ausus esset. tunc Telegonus cognito parentem esse utraque delanians caput

³⁷⁶ Met. 5.154 *sed sonus armorum superat gemitusque cadentum*

³⁷⁷ Unknown based on Met. 4.668-5.241; *scilicet* Cepheia domo {4

fletum edit quam miserabilem, maxime discruciatu ob illatam per se patri necem. itaque Ulixi, uti voluerat, nomen suum atque matris, et insulam in qua ortus erat, et ad postremum insigne iaculi ostendit. ita Ulixes ubi vim ingruentium somniorum animo recordatus est, ab eo vulneratus, quem minime crediderat, triduo post mortem obiit, senior iam, provectae etatis, nec tamen invalidus virium. tunc Telegonus propter necem parentis patrium solum habominatus ad Italiam venit ibique Tusculum oppidum condidit.³⁷⁸

33# [FLUMINIS] fluvius est perennis aquarum decursus, a fluendo perpetim dictus. proprie autem flumen aqua ipsa. prius autem flumen quam fluvius, id est prior aqua quam decursus. duo autem sunt fluminum genera: unum torrens, alterum vivum. de quo Virgilius [Aen. 2.719] ‘donec me flumine vivo abluero’. torrens est aqua veniens cum impetu.³⁷⁹

37# Servius dicit Horacium contra regulam niti dicendo [Odes 3.29.37] ‘styrpesque raptas et pecus et domos’, nam secundum regulam styrps genere feminino originem significat, ut [Aen. 7.293] ‘heus stirpem invisam’, masculino arborem, ut [Aen. 12.770] ‘sed stirpem Teucris nullo discrimine sacrum.’³⁸⁰

41# amnis fluvius est nemore ac frondibus redimitus, et ex ipsa amoenitate amnis vocatus.³⁸¹

55IL [PROBAMQUE] idest probatam*

62IL [TUNC] dum

62# scapha est navicula levis ex vimine facta crudoque corio contexta, dicta autem est scapha a contemplando quod tali naute vel pyrate navigio terras et litora perspicere† soleant.³⁸²

64# a Iove et Leda nati sunt Pollux et Helena, de Tyntaro et Leda natus est Castor, qui et solus fuit mortalis. unde Virgilius ait [Aen. 6.121] ‘si fratrum† Pollux alterna morte redemit’, qui immortalitatem suam cum fratre partitus est. tradit<ur> namque quod permiserit se Pollux occidi qua parte mortalis erat, ut Castor immortalitatem me<re>retur.³⁸³

Odes 3.30 Exegi monumentum (f. 36ro)

T ad Moelpomenem musam

2# pyramides dicte sunt ab igni quia pyr ignis dicitur qui semper alta petit. sunt enim pyramides turres fastigate ultra et celsitatem† omnem que fieri manu hominum possit.³⁸⁴

10# Aufidus Apulie fluvius est cadens in Adriaticum mare.³⁸⁵

16# Melpomene interpretatur meditationem faciens meloto† Grecum meditor, poye† facio.³⁸⁶

Odes 4.1 Intermissa, Venus (f. 36ro-37ro)

³⁷⁸ Dict. 6.14-15; Hor. Sch. ad loc.; Dict. gerere consueverat {2.1

³⁷⁹ Isid. Et. 13.21.1-2

³⁸⁰ Serv. Aen. 3.94

³⁸¹ Isid. Et. 13.21.3

³⁸² Bede Exp. act. ap. 27.24 {4

³⁸³ Serv. Aen. 2.601 (traditur ... mereretur Servius Leipz. rep. I n. 36b, Clm 6394, Clm 18059)

³⁸⁴ Unknown (cf. Amm. 22. 15.28-9, Isid. Et. 3.12, John ad Mart 361.6.); Sol. 32.44 {3

³⁸⁵ Serv. Aen. 11.405

³⁸⁶ Remig. 19.20 ad Mart. 1.28 {7 App.

T ad Venerem eutice dycolos

G tria sunt quibus amatores possunt placere: divitiis, pulchritudine et sapientia.³⁸⁷

1 Martianus dicit Venerem habere sertatam, idest in modum serti inplexam contexionem conpositis et colligatis rosis, decusatim idest honorabiliter et ornatè. quam nitentem et fulgentem: hoc ad voluptatem oculorum pertinet. fantem, idest loquentem dulces illecebras, hoc est voluptuosa et letifica verba: hoc pertinet ad aurium voluptatem. redolentem alatibus fragrantissimi spiritus: hoc ad voluptatem olfactus. osculis lambere, idest demulcere: hoc pertinet ad illecebram tactus. que Venus licet crederetur mater omnium amorum et voluptatum, tamen deferebant ei principatum pudicie†. due namque sunt Veneres, una voluptuaria et libidinum mater, que fertur Ermofroditum† genuisse, altera casta que preest honestis et licitis amoribus. duo enim sunt amores: est enim amor castus, est et incestus, quem ad differentiam illius casti pluraliter se<m>per amores dicimus.³⁸⁸

6# lustrum quinquennium dictum est, eo quod post quinquennium unaqueque civitas lustrabatur.³⁸⁹

28# Salii Martis et Herculis sacerdotes sunt. dicti sunt Salii a saliendo, quia tripudiantes circu<m>ibant aras.³⁹⁰

37# somnum et somnium et insomnium ita discernit Virgilius, ut Somnum ipsum deum dicat, somnium quod dormimus, insomnium quod videmus in somniis, ut [Aen. 6.896] ‘sed falsa ad celum mittunt insomnia manes’.³⁹¹

Odes 4.2 Pindarum quiquis (f. 37ro-38ro)

T ad Iulum

2# indicato a Sole adulterio Martis et Veneris Vulcanus minutissimis catenis lectum cinxit, quibus Mars et Venus ignorantes implicati sunt et cum ingenti turpitudine resoluti sub testimonio cunctorum deorum. quod factum Venus vehementer dolens styrypem omnem Solis persequi infandis amoribus cepit. igitur Passive, filia Solis, Minoys regis Crete uxor, tauri amore flagrabat et arte Dedali inclusa intra vaccam ligneam, septam corio pulcherrime iuvencae, cum tauro concubuit; unde natus est Mynotaurus, qui intra laborintum† inclusus humanis carnibus vescebatur. sed Minos de Pavisse plures habuit liberos: Androgeum, Arriannem, Fredram. sed Androgeus cum esset atleta fortissimus et superaret in agonibus cunctas apud Athenas, Atheniensibus et vicinis Megarensibus coniuratis occisus est. quod Minos dolens collectis navibus bella commovit et victis Atheniensibus poenam hanc statuit, ut singulis quibusque annis vii de filiis et vii de filiabus suis edendos Mynotauro mitterent. sed tertio anno Egei filius Theseus missus est, potens [es] <...> virtute quam forma. qui cum <...> Arriane regis filia amatus fuisset, Dedali consilio filo iter rexit et negato† Mynotauro cum rpto† Arianne victor aufugit. que cum omnia factione Dedali Mynos deprehendisset effecta, eum cum Icaro filio suo servandum in laboryntum trusit. sed Dedalus corruptis custodibus sub faciendi muneris specie, quo simulabat posse regem placare, ceram accepit et pennas, unde tam sibi quam

³⁸⁷ Remig. 58.7 ad Mart. 2.132

³⁸⁸ Remig. 36.18-37.1 ad Mart. 1.85 {7

³⁸⁹ Serv. Aen. 1.283

³⁹⁰ The verb *tripudio* features in Horace scholia from Porphyrio onwards, but the turn of phrase *tripudiantes circumibant aras* may have been imported by the Harley scholiast from Servius (Aen. 8.285).

³⁹¹ Serv. Aen. 5.840

filia† alis impositis evolavit. Icarus alciora petens pennis solis calore resolutis mari quo cecidit nomen inposuit. Dedalus vero primo Sardiniam, post delatus est <...> et templo Apollini condito in foribus hec universa depinxit.³⁹²

36# Sycambri fortissimi populi relicta Germania cum mulieribus et natis Italiam invaserunt. quos Cesar pariter uno bello sed etiam suis aspero superavit. quorum ex eo considerari virtus ac feritas potest, quod mulieres quoque eorum, siquando preventu Romanorum inter plaustra sua concludebantur, deficientibus telis vel qualibet re, qua velut telo uti furor possit, parvos filios collisos humi in hostium ora iacebant in singulis filiorum necibus bis parricide.³⁹³

49 omne regnum seculi huius bellis queritur, victoriis propagatur. victoria dicta quod ui, id est virtute, adipiscatur. hoc est enim ius gentium, vi vim expellere. nam turpis est dolo quesita victoria. certa autem victoria est vel occisio hostis vel expoliatio vel utrumque. non est autem iocunda victoria que per inmensa [a] detrimenta contingit: et hoc est, quod laudat Salustius [*Hist.* 3.29 Maur.] ducis victoria<m> incruento exercitu deportasse. tropeum dictum apo <te>s tropheis, id est a convers[at]ione hostis et fuga. nam ab eo quod hostem qui<s> fugasset merebatur tropheum; qui occidisset, triumphum, qui dictus est apo tes triambes, id est ab exultatione. plene enim victorie triumphus debetur, semiplene tropheum, quia nondum plenam victoriam est consequutus: non enim obtinuit, sed fugavit exercitum. hec tamen nomina scriptores confundunt. Tranquillus [*Prat.* 109 Reiff.] autem triumphum Latine dicit potius appellatum, quod is, qui triumphans urbem ingrederetur tripertito iudicio honoraretur: nam primum de triumpho duci concedendo exercitum iudicare solitum erat, secundo senatum, tertio populum. erat autem Romanorum mos ut triumphantes quadrigis veherentur, ex illo quod soliti sint priores duces hoc habitu bella inire. <...>cumque autem in conflictu vicisset, palma aurea coronabatur, quia palma stimulos habet; qui vero sine conflictu fugientem prostrasset laurea, eo quod hec arbor sine spinis est. nam et purpuream et palmatam togam triumphantes induebantur, et scipionem cum sceptro in manu gerebant ad imitationem victorie Scipionis; licet, et scipio baculus† sit quo homines innituntur. unde et ille primus Cornelius Scipio appellatus est, quia in foro pater ei<us> cecus innixus eo ambulabat. super scipionem autem aquila supersedebat, ob indicium quod per victoriam quasi ad supe<r>nam magnitudinem accederent. inde et colore rufo perlineba<n>tur, quasi imitarent divini ignis effigiem. quod vero a carnifice contingebantur, id esse indicium ut ad tantum fastigium evecti mediocritatis humane commonerentur.³⁹⁴

49# inter tropheum et triumphum differentia est. tropheum dictum est apo toy τεπεσθαι, id est ad† hostium conversione: <u>nde qui hostem fugasset, merebatur tropheum, qui autem occidisset hostem, triumpho gavisus est. triumphus dictus <apo toy pia>μβeyein, id est ab exultatione.³⁹⁵

58# luna est triformis et discolor, id est varia. est autem monoides, id est cornicularis, quando est prima; est et diatome, id est media sectio, cum est octava. est et pleroselenos, id est et plenilunium, cum est xiiii, quando et amphicirtos dicitur. prima ergo forma lune est ab ortu eius usque ad octavam, quando dicitur cornicularis et habet versa cornua ad orientem; secunda ab octava ad xv, in quo spacio aut plena aut prope plena est; tertia

³⁹² Serv. *Aen.* 6.14; *necato* Mynotauro

³⁹³ Oros. 6.21.16-17 {2.3.1 App.

³⁹⁴ Isid. *Et.* 18.2.1, 3-6 {5 App.

³⁹⁵ Serv. *Aen.* 10.775 (?) {6 App.

forma euis est a vicesima secunda usque ad tricesimam, quando est item cornicularis, sed versis cornibus ad ocasum. sive trifomis est luna quia aut cum sole est, aut ex latere eius, aut ex adverso solis. ‘cum sole’ cum est in coitu, ‘ex latere’ cum est octava vel vicesima secunda, ‘adversa’ vero, idest e regione solis, cum est xiiii vel quindecima, idest plena.³⁹⁶

Odes 4.3 *Quem tu, Melpomene* (f. 38ro-vo)

T ad Musam Melpomenen

3# Hystmos terra est in longum porrecta, que Ionium ab Egeo dividit. Ovidius [cf. *Fasti* 6.495-6] ‘et spacio concreta brevi freta bina rebelli<t>†,/ unaque pulsatur terra duabus aquis.’ apud Corinthum mons est iuxta quem certamina celebrantur in honorem Palemonis et Leucatee marinorum deorum. que certamina Stymia vocabantur, cuius victores appio coronabantur.³⁹⁷

5# prima ergo certaminum hec fuerunt: Olympia in honorem Pelopis apud Achiam, cuius victores oleastro coronantur. Pitthia in honorem Apollinis apud Delphos, cuius victores lauro coronantur. Stimia in honorem Palemonis, cuius victore<s> appio coronantur apud Thebas.³⁹⁸

20 Plinius dicit in naturali historia, cignos ideo suavius canere, quia colla longa et inflexa habent, et necesse est eluctantem vocem per longum et flexuosum spacium varias reddere modulationes.³⁹⁹

Odes 4.4 *Qualem ministrum* (f. 38vo-39vo)

4# Ganimedes regis Troyanorum filius fuit, quem in Yda monte venationibus intentum Iuppiter rapuit per aquilam armigerum suum et Hebe filia Iunonis de ministerio poculorum remota ipsum constituit esse pincernam deorum. Virgilius ait [*Aen.* 1.28] ‘rapti Ganimedidis honores’.⁴⁰⁰

18# Claudius Drusus, privignus Cesaris, Galliam Retiamque sortitus, maximas fortissimasque gentes Germanie armis subegit. nam tunc, velut ad constitutum pacis diem festinarent, ita omnes gentes ad experimenta belli decisionemque federis undatim commovebantur, aut suscepture pacis condiciones, si vincerentur, aut usure quieta libertate, si vincerent.⁴⁰¹

26f.? Octavius Cesar cum de Oriente victor regressus esset Urbemque triplici triumpho ingrederetur, tum primum Augustus, eo quod rem publicam auxerit, consalutatus est atque ex tunc summam rerum potestatem, quam Greci monarchiam vocant, ade[m]ptus est. erga cives clementissime versatus est. in amicos fidus extitit. quorum principui† erant ob tauturnitatem† Mecenas, ob patientiam laboris modestiamque Agrippa. preterea diligebat Virgilium Flaccumque poetas. rarus quidem ad recipiendas amicitias, ad retinendum constantissimus. liberalibus studiis, presertim eloquentie, in tantum incumbens, ut nullus ne in procinctu quidem laberetur dies, quin legeret scriberet declamaret. auxit ornavitque Romam edificiis multis, isto glorians dicto: “Urbem latericiam repperi, relinquo marmoream.” fuit homo mitis gratus civilis animi et lepidi

³⁹⁶ Remig. 70.10 ad Mart. 2.170

³⁹⁷ Sch. *Theb.* 6.13-14 {8}

³⁹⁸ Sch. *Theb.* 6.5-6 {8}

³⁹⁹ Serv. *Aen.* 7.700 {6.13}

⁴⁰⁰ Serv. *Aen.* 1.28; Unknown (cf. λφψ *Odes* 3.20.16, cf. Theod. *Ecl.* 77-80, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 5.252-5?) {9}

⁴⁰¹ Oros. 6.21.12-13

corpore toto pulcher, sed oculis magis, quorum acies clarissimorum siderum modo vibrans libenter accipiebat cedi ab intendentibus tamquam solis radiis aspectui suo. a cuius facie dum quidam miles averteret oculos et interrogaretur ab eo, cur ita faceret, respo<n>dit “quia fulmen oculorum tuorum ferre non possum”. nec tamen vir tantus viciis caruit. fuit enim paululum impaciens, leniter iracundus, occulte invidus, palam factiosus; porro autem dominandi supra quam estimari potest cupidissimus, studiosus lusor alee. cumque esset cibi vinique multus†, aliquatenus tamen somni abstinens, serviebat libidini usque ad probrium vulgaris fame. nam inter xv catamitos totidemque puellas accubare solitus erat. abiecit quoque uxorem Scriboniam, possessus amore alienae coniugis, Libiam quasi marito concedente sibi coniunxit. cuius Libie iam erant filii Tyberius Nero, Drusus Nero. cumque esset luxurie serviens, erat tamen eiusdem viui† severissimus ultor, more hominum, qui in ulciscendis viciis, quibus ipsi vehementer indulgent, acres sunt. annos vii et lxx ingressus Nole morbo interiit. igitur mortuum seu necatum multis honoribus senatus censuit decorandum. cunctis vulgo iactantibus: “utinam aut non nasceretur aut non moreretur!”⁴⁰²

38# Claudio Nerone et Marco Livio Salinatore consulibus cum Hastrubal Hannibalis frater ab Hispaniis per Gallias ad Italiam veniret iussusque a Kartaginensibus†, ut fratri cum copiis iungeretur, magna secum auxilia Hyspanorum Gallorumque deduceret, cum maturato adventu descendisse iam ex Alpibus consulibus proditus fuisset, ab exercitu Romano ignorante Hannibale preventus cum omni exercitu interfectus est. diu quidem incertus belli eventus fuit elephantis maxime Romanorum infestantibus aciem. <...> quos a volitando velites vocant. (quod genus milicie paulo ante repertum fuerat, ut lecti† agilitate invenes cum armis suis pos<t> terga equitum sederent et mox, cum ad hostem ventum esset, equis desilirent et continuo pedites ipsi, ex alia parte equitibus per quos advecti fuerant dimicantibus, hostem proturbarent). ab his ergo velitibus elefanti retroacti cum regi iam a suis non possint, fabрили s<c>alpro inter aures adacto necabantur. id genus occidende cum opus esset belvae idem dux Hastrubal invenerat. fuit hoc prelium Poenis Metaurum flumen, ubi Hastrubal victus est, quasi Trasumennus lacus et a Cesena Peni civitas ut vicus ille Canensis; nam quinquaginta et octo milia ab exercitu Hastrubalis ibi occisa sunt, capta sunt v milia cccc, iiii milia autem civium Romanorum inter eos reperta sunt: quod victoribus consulibus solacio fuit. nam et ab exercitu eorum viii milia cecider<unt>. Hannibali caput fratris sui Hastrubalis ante castra proiectum est. quo viso et simul clade Penorum cognita, anno tertio decimo quam in Italiam venerat refugit in Brutios. post hoc iussus in Africam redire, ut fessis Carthaginensibus subveniret, flens Italiam relinquit om<n>ibus Italici generis qui sequi nollent interfectis.⁴⁰³

61# secundum fabulas ydra monstrum fuit iacens in Lerna Argivorum palude. sed Latine etcetera† dicitur, quod uno ceso capita tria crescebant. sed constat ydram locum esse vomentem aquas, vastantes vicinam civitatem, in quo uno meatu clauso multi erumpebant: quod Hercules videns loca ipsa exussit et sic clausit aque meatus; nam ydra dicta est ab aqua.⁴⁰⁴

Odes 4.5 Divis orte bonis (f. 39vo-40vo)

T ad Augustum proseutice tetracolos

⁴⁰² Paul 7.8-10; praecipui erant ob taciturnitatem, eiusdem vitii {2.1

⁴⁰³ Oros. 4.18.9-15, 4.19.1; lecti agilitate iuvenes

⁴⁰⁴ Serv. *Aen.* 6.287; excetra dicitur {6

1# Cesar Augustus ab oriente in occidentem, a septentrione in meridiem ac per totum Oceani circulum cunctis gentibus una pace compositis, Iani portas tercio ipse tunc clausit. quas ex eo per xii fere annos quietissimo semper obseratas otio ipsa etiam rubigo† signabit†, nec prius umquam nisi sub extrema senectute Augusti pulsate Athenium sedicione et Dagorum commotione patuerunt. clausis igitur Iani portis rempublicam, quam bello quesiverat, pace enutrire atque amplificare studens leges plurimas statuit, per qua<s> humanum genus libera reverentia discipline morem gereret. domini appellationem ut homo declinavit. nam cum eodem spectante ludos pronuntiatum esset in mimo ‘o dominum equum et bonum’, universique, quasi de ipso dictum esset, exultantes adprobavissent, statim manu vultuque indecoras adulationes repressit et insequenti die gravissimo cor<ri>puit edicto dominumque se posthac appellari nec a liberis aut nepotibus vel serio vel ioco passus est. igitur eo tempore, id est eo anno quo firmissimam verissimamque pacem ordinacione Dei et Cesar composuit, natus est Χρ<ιστο>ς, cuius adventui pax ista famulata est, in cuius ortu audientibus hominibus exultantes angeli cecinerunt: “Gloria in excelsis Deo et in terra pax hominibus bone voluntatis.”⁴⁰⁵

2# [CUSTOS GENTIS] terre pri<n>ceps Greco eloquio basileus dicitur. leos enim populus interpretatur, basileus igitur quasi basislau vocatur, quod Latina videlicet lingua basis populi, idest sustentatio populi, dicitur; quia videlicet ipse super se populum sustinet, qui motus illius potestatis pondere fixus regit. quo enim subiectorum suorum onera tolerat, eo quasi superpositus basi columnam portat.⁴⁰⁶

10# Carpacium mare inter Egiptum et Rodum ab insula illic posita.⁴⁰⁷

25# Parthi quasi toto orbe terrarum vel domito vel pacato omnium oculis signarentur, atque in se solus† omnis vigor Romani imperii uertendus esset, quippe quos pristina ulciscende Gractiane† cedis conscientia mordebat, ultro signa, que Crasso interfecto abstulerant, ad Cesarem miserunt regiisque obsidibus traditis firmum fedus fidei supplicatione meruerunt.⁴⁰⁸

25 Scythe Hispani et Parthi magis quam cetera gentes contra Romanos rebellabant.

25# Scythe sunt gentes septentrionis pro simulacris enses colentes, homines victimas offerentes, sacrificia adholentes hominum ossibus pro ture. andropophagi Scythe, hi etiam humana viscera cibo habent. Chalibes et Dahe ab his nihil discrepant. in Scythia sunt et Albani; hi populi alba† crine nascuntur capitisque color genti nomen dedit.⁴⁰⁹

26# Germania in qua nos sumus a monte Suevo incipit, caputque eius Danubio, finis eius Reno perfunditur. dives est virorum, frequens est populis bellico<si>ssimis. ex ea precipitantur in Oceanum latissimi amnes: Alba, Guthalus, Iscla. in Germania est arbor quedam pinei generis que autumnali tempore sucinum lacrimat. huius sucini quatuordecim librarum milia rogatus rex Germanie transmisit Neroni, quo ipse omnem apparatus suum inornavit.⁴¹⁰

28# Hispania ulterior habet ferocissimas gentes Vacceos, Celtiperos et Horitanos,

⁴⁰⁵ Oros. 6.22.1-5 {2.1 App.

⁴⁰⁶ = Greg. *Mor.* 9.16 {9

⁴⁰⁷ Serv. *Aen.* 5.595 = Isid. *Et.* 13.16.5 {5.0

⁴⁰⁸ Oros. 6.21.29; in se solos, Crassianae caedis

⁴⁰⁹ Sol. 15.3-5 {3

⁴¹⁰ Sol. 20.1-2, 9, 11 {3

contra quos Cesar Augustus per v annos dimicavit. totaque Hispania in eternam pacem cum quadam respiracione lassitudinis reclinata <ac> reposita victor Romam rediit.⁴¹¹

Odes 4.6 Dive, quem proles Niobe (f. 40vo-41ro)

T Apollinem laudat

1# Niobe Tantali filia et Penelopes fuit, que, septeni partus utriusque sexus fecunditate prelata[m] Latonam coli vetabat, in se cupiens transferre honorem numinis, quod se iactabat in utroque sexu liberarum† illam fetibus anteire. quo matris contemptu Apollo et Diana furore arrepto Nyobes filios sagittis extinxerunt. Apollo filios, Diana filias cum matre peremit. hec sunt nomina filiorum: Achemorus, Antogorus, Tantulus, Phadimos, Sypilos, Xenarchus, Epynicos; hec nomina filiarum: Astycracia, Pelopia, Cheloris, Cheodoxe, Oigyne, Phatia, Neera.⁴¹²

2# Tycion Terre fuit filius. hic amare voluit Latonam propter quod Apollinis confixus est sagittis et damnatus hac lege apud inferos ut eius iecur vultur exedat.⁴¹³

4# Achilles a matre Thetide in Stygiem† paludem tinctus, toto corpore invulnerabilis fuit, excepta parte qua tentus est. qui cum circa muros Troye bellum gereret, Polyxenam visam adamavit et condicione pacis in matrimonium postulavit. quam cum Troyani fra<u>de promisissent, Paris frater Polyxene post Trimb<r>ei Apollinis symulacrum latuit et venientem Achillem ad fedus missa[m] occidit sagitta. unde fingitur quod tenente Apolline Paris direxerit tela in Achillem. tunc moriens Achilles petit ut evicta Troya ad eius sepulchrum Polyxena immolaretur, quod postea filius eius Pyrus inplevit.⁴¹⁴

13# de hoc equo varia in hostoriis† lecta sunt: ut Hyginus dicit [*Frag. Inc.* GRF p. 536 (21) Fun.] machinamentum bellicum fuit, unde est [*Aen.* 2.46] ‘aut hec in nostros fabricata est machina muros’: ut alii, porta[m], quam eis Antenor aperuit, equum pictum habuisse memoratur, vel certe domus Antenoris, quo posset agnosci. aut equestri prelio victa est Troya. aut a monte Hippius, post quem se absconderant Greci, unde et adludit Virgilius [*Aen.* 2.15] ‘instar montis equum’. aut re vera hoc fuit, quod Virgilius sequitur.⁴¹⁵

20# uterus proprie est mulierum quo fetus portantur. alvus est quo defluunt sordes, ut Salustius ait [*Hist.* 1.52 Maur.] ‘simulans sibi aluum purgari’. venter est qui videtur, ut Iuvenalis [*Sat.* 4.107] ‘Montani quoque venter adest abdomine tardus’.⁴¹⁶

25# Thalia dicta est quasi thetonlia, id est ponens germina.⁴¹⁷

38# Marcianus dicit globum lunarem compactum ex levitate superni roris et veluti speculum ex rore constare, unde et humoribus preest. in corpore lunari videntur systra Nyliaca. systrum genus est organi vel tube quo tantum Egiptii utuntur, quod etiam in simulacro Ysidis [et] depingitur. in luna ergo systrum dicit fuisse propter primum to<n>um qui est a terra usque ad lunam. lampas Eleusina: Eleusis civitas est Grecie, in qua regnavit Salmoneus, qui volens arrogare sibi divinos honores fecit pontem eneam

⁴¹¹ Oros. 1.2.74; 6.21.21 {2.3.1 App.

⁴¹² Sch. *Theb.* 4.576, 3.191-3, 7.351? {8

⁴¹³ Serv. *Aen.* 6.595

⁴¹⁴ Serv. *Aen.* 6.57 (= VM 1.36), 3.321; Harley shares the addition of *filius eius*, but not of *postea*, with VM 1.137. {6

⁴¹⁵ Serv. *Aen.* 2.15

⁴¹⁶ Serv. *Aen.* 2.20 (?) {6 App.

⁴¹⁷ Remig. 20.5 ad Mart. 1.28

super Alfeum fluvium, per quem currus agitando videretur imitari tonitrua et super quemcumque facem iecisset iubebat eum occidi, volens imitari flumen†. ergo lampadem Eleusinam ibi dicit fuisse propter facem quam ex sole suscipit luna, sive etiam facem dicit ibi fuisse quia luna preest seminibus, que in terra ex rore proveniunt qui de corpore lune cadit. apud hanc enim civitatem primum Ceres Celeo regi usum serendarum frugum ostendit, et ideo per lampadem Eleusinam fertilitatem vult ostendere frugum, cuius causa in luna est. Dictynna dicitur Diana a Greco quod est dictis, id est rete. est enim Diana dea venationum arcum autem habet quia dea est venatorum, vel quia venationes arcu utuntur, vel etiam quia venatio maxime noctibus ad Lunam pabulatur.⁴¹⁸

Odes 4.7 Diffugere nives (f. 41ro-vo)

T ad Manlium Torquatum de mortalitate paranetice tetracos

5# tres sunt Gratie Iovis filie, que et Karythe dicuntur, unius nominis et unius pulchritudinis. que pinguntur nude quia gratia non debet esse simulata et ficta, sed pura et sincera. pinguntur etiam una aversa due nos respicientes, quia gratia simpla a nobis profecta duplex† solet reverti.⁴¹⁹

11# autumnali enim tempore est omnium rerum fertilitas, unde et autumnus vocatur, autumnare enim est maturescere vel colligere, et tunc est maturitas et collectio omnium frugum.⁴²⁰

15# Ancus autem dictus από τοῦ ἀκὺNoc, id est a cubito, quem incurvum habuisse dicitur.⁴²¹

21IL [MINOS] filius Iovis

21 Rodomantus Minos Eacus, filii Iovis et Europe fuerunt, qui postea facti sunt apud inferos iudices.⁴²²

26# Theseus mortua Hypolite Phedram, Minois et Passive filiam, superduxit Hyppolyto. qui cum de stupro illam interpellantem contempsisset, falso delatus est ad patrem, quod ei vim voluisset inferre. ille, hoc est Theseus, Egeum patrem rogavit ut se ulcisceretur. qui agitati currum Hyppolyto inmisit focam in littore, qua eum equi territi traxerunt. tunc Diana eius castitate commota revocavit eum in vitam per Esculapium, filium Apollinis et Coronidis. qui natus erat exsecto matris utero, ideo quod <...> Apollo audisset a coruo, eius custode, eam adulterium commisisse, iratus Coronidem maturo iam partu confixit sagittis – corvum vero nigrum fecit ex albo – et exsecto ventre Coronidis produxit Esculapium, qui factus est medicine peritus. hunc postea Iuppiter propter revocatum Hyppolytum interimit: unde iratus Apollo Cyclopes fabricatores fulminum confixit sagittis: ob quam rem a Iove iussus Ad[a]meti regis novem annis armenta pascebat divinitate deposita. sed Diana Hippolitum, revocatum ab inferis in Aricia nymphe commendavit Egerye et eum Virbium, quasi bis virum, iussit vocari.⁴²³

28# Theseus et Pyriouthus ad inferos ad rapiendam Proserpinam ibant et illic detenti luunt penas.⁴²⁴

⁴¹⁸ Remig. 70.4-8 ad Mart. 2.169-170; imitari fulmen{7 App.

⁴¹⁹ Remig. 4.2 ad Mart. 1.1 {7 App.

⁴²⁰ Remig. 14.16 ad Mart. 1.17

⁴²¹ Serv. Aen. 6.815

⁴²² Serv. Aen. 6.566 {6 App.

⁴²³ Serv. Aen. 7.761; the addition of Theseus' name and the phrase *in litore* in the third sentence are shared by VM 1.46, which does not match other Harley readings and contains its own variants. {6 App.

⁴²⁴ Serv. Aen. 6.122

Odes 4.8 Donarem pateras (f. 41vo)

T ad Marcium Censurinum, encom<i>astice monocolos

Odes 4.9 Ne forte credas (f. 42ro)

T consecrari ait carmina sua <...>

Odes 4.10 O credulis adhuc (f. 43ro)

T ad Ligurinum puerum speciosum et arrogantem adversum maiores erotice monocolos

Odes 4.11 Est mihi nonum (f. 43vo)

T ad Philliden de die natalis sui et Mecenatis qui erat idibus April<is>, erotice tetracolo[co]s

Odes 4.12 Iam veris comites (f. 44ro)

T ad Virgilium; descriptio veris; paranetice tetracolos

Odes 4.13 Audivere, Lyce (f. 44vo)

T paranetice tetracolos ad Licen

Odes 4.14 Quae cura patrum (f. 45ro)

T de salute Augusti ad plebem hortatur patres sollicitos esse; encom<i>astice tetracolos

Odes 4.15 Phoebus volentem (f. 46ro)

T ad tium† Augustum tetracolos

55ro

? <e>phos Grece laus inde epycum carmen dicitur laudabilibus pedibus compositum; laudabiles vero pedes sunt spondeus, iambus, trocheus, dactilus et anapestus*⁴²⁵

Epode 1 Ibis Liburnis (f. 55ro-vo)

T ad Mecenatem

G liber iste epodon appel<la>tur. quereturque† de nomine ipsius; solvitur sic: quia in itinere posito Mecenati haec dicit. aut quoniam ita versus ordinati sunt, ut singule† quibus<que> clausule sue recinant. clausulam vero dicitur† lubrici† poete precisos et non integros versus. precedit semper trimet<ur> iambicus et sequitur dimetur†. trimetur† autem dicitur, <qui> habet sex iambos; dimetur, <qui> habet quatuor. iambicus trimetur tra<g>icus, recipit pedes dexteros spondeum primum [et] tertium quintum, sinistros iambos secundum, quartum, sextum. [trag. Lat. fr. 241, p. 354 Klotz] “*divi potentes, f<er>te †ius satis† opem.*” comicus <erit,> qui frequentes trib<r>achos <hab>et, ut

⁴²⁵ This note seems to arise from a confusion between *epicum* and *epodicum*. The opening part resembles one item of a glossary found at the back of the manuscript (131vo): *epos Grece <...> vel laus, inde epicus –ca – cum est laudabilis.*

[com. Lat. fr. inc. 26 Ribb.]: “*agite quid dubitatis hilares dare choros?*”. satiricus medius, ut “*Muse Iovem laudate <...> hilares d. c.*”⁴²⁶

G duo sunt genera huiusmodi stili: epodon et proedon. epodon dicitur quasi p[l]<ostc>antacio, ut quod dicit primus versus, ordo sequentis explanat; proedon per contrarium quasi antecantatio. hoc ipsum epodon quasi post edon, hoc est post vocem, post cantilenam; proedon quasi ante odon, ante uocem, ante cantilenam.

1IL [IBIS] pro vadis^{RU VX}

1# hac autem ode alloquitur Mecenatem querulose, quare ipse in prelium pergens iusserit eum domi remanere et otium sectare. simulque ostendit naumachie, navali prelio, tunc temporis interesse Mecenatem.

1 idest naviculis Libicis, quibus utuntur negotiatores Libie; et hi etiam, qui prelium navale ordinant, cum his naviculis discurrent inter maiores naves, ordinantes milites per singulas naves, quod Mecenat tunc egit, sicut quilibet dux in equestri car<ta>mine†.

2# quod dicit ‘amice’ non est referendum ad Horatium sed ad Cesarem, quia inconueniens est ut quaelibet minor persona maiorem amicum vocet, sed potius clientem se illius dicat. amice Cesaris, paratus subire periculum Cesaris.

2# quidam reprehendunt quod patronum suum amicum dixit.^{UX427}

2# propugnacula dicuntur loca in navibus in quibus milites stantes pugnant.^{mUVX428}

4IL [TUO] periculo

5IL [QUID NOS] agimus^V, id est quid nos faciemus^{UWZ429}; [NOS] quibus vita iucunda est [esse] <te> superstite

6IL [CONTRA] idest mortuo^{UV}; [GRAVIS] subaudi est^{UV}

7IL [IUSSI] aut a te aut a Cesare

7# [UTRUMNE] IUSSI a te an† Cesare. dicitur enim Cesar Augustus Horatio milicie dedisse vacationem, cum id aliis denegasset. nam totam urbem adlectum vocavit, valde enim timuit.^{*430}

10IL [QUA FERRE] vel quem laborem^{δmUV431}

12# [CAUCASUM] quia hospiciis non patet^R ubi nemo habitat, propter feritatem montis;^{V432} Scithie montem, ut [cf. *Aen.* 4 366f.] ‘*duris genui <t> te cautibus horrens/ Caucas<us>*’.

15IL [ROGES] sed forte dicis ‘quid labor tuus potest meum laborem adiuuare?’^{mRU433}

17-18IL [COMES] tecum positus^m amplius timore† non possum^{UV}; hoc dico non quidem – s<cilicet?> dicam – iuvo laborem tuum meo commitatu, sed minuo sollicitudinem meam.^{UX434}

18f. [ABSENTIS] notandum quod <a> singulari ad pluralem transiit.

⁴²⁶ Keller singulis quibusque; dicunt lirici poetae; lassatis opem

⁴²⁷ X quia† reprehendunt Horatium quod...

⁴²⁸ m propugnacula autem sunt...

⁴²⁹ WZ faciemus (only); cf. mX scilicet facturi sumus (only)

⁴³⁰ All but the final sentence resembles Porphyrio. For the final sentence cf. U (15vo, *Odes* 1.35.31): [EXAMEN] omnibus enim militibus per civilia bella consumptis, habito imperio ab Augusto, dilectus novus fuerat. collectus exercitus quem bene examen vocavit; m (18vo, *ibid.*): omnibus militibus per civilia bella consumptis, iterum novus fuerat collectus exercitus, quem examen vocat. {1.4

⁴³¹ U vel quem s. laborem; δmV s. laborem (only)

⁴³² R qui...; V [INHOSPITALEM] ab hospitibus, non patet ubi nemo habitat propter feritatem montis

⁴³³ R ...fortasse dicis ...; U ...si forte dicit(?); m possit; mRU iuvare...

⁴³⁴ U incipit non quidem iuvo... X incipit hoc quidem iuvo...

19IL [ASSIDENS] nutriens^{RUV}; [INPLUMIBUS] sine plumibus† vel plumis^{mRUVX435}
 19 non ‘pro illis timet’, sed ‘illis’, ut Terentius [cf. *Heaut.* III 2, 20] ‘*Syre, timui valde*’. ordo: allatura sit, et deest ‘si’; item sensus: non amplius aux<ilii> presentibus sit allatura <si> assit.

19f.# sicut, inquit, avis fovens implumes pullos magis timet superventum serpentium absens, qui† si esset presens in nido, licet non possit eos defendere sua presentia, ita ego plus timeo absente te quam si tecum essem in prelio.

20IL [AD LAPSUS] ad imp[et]us^{V436}; incursiones^{RUV}

21IL ordo: magis timet^{RUV}; [AD SIT] scilicet si^{UV}; [UT AD SIT AUXILII] ut possit^{UV437}

22IL [LATURA] prestatura^{UV438}

23# [LIBENTER] cum per absentiam tuam animo sin† laboraturos†, eum magis laborem subeam qui corpor<orum firmorum> est et virorum fortium.⁴³⁹

23# libenter et hoc et omne bellum tecum milit<ab>o, tuam ut me<re>am gratiam, non ut habeam multa, aut ut pecus meum de Galabria transeat ad Lucaniam incipiente estate, neque ut <in> uilla Tusculana possessionibus meis <...>tis extendatur usque ad Cirreum montem; [PLURIBUS/ ARATRA] [*Aen.* 7.539] ut ‘terra<m> centum vertebat aratris’.

24IL [GRATIE] scilicet consequende*

25IL [NON UT] ideo^{δmRUVy}

25 ΥΠΟΛΛ<ΑΓ>Η^{VX}; iste sensus est: non illigati taur<i>[a] sub aratris^V nutantur†.⁴⁴⁰

27 [ANTE SIDUS FERVIDUM] hoc est ante caniculare sidus, quia propter frigus pastores p<etunt> Galabriam et propter estatem Lucaniam.^{mU441} non ut habeam u<i>llam tam opulentam <...> moenia quo que ipsa contingat.*

27IL [CALABRIS] cum*

28IL [LUCANA] pascua^{δCmRUVXy}

29IL [SUPERNI] in monte superni siti^{δCmUVXy442}; [CANDENS] ornata^{CUVy}

29# Tusculum intelligendum, quia Telegonus Cyrces et Ulixes† filius hoc oppidum condidit. est autem sensus: neque in Tusculano possidens, villarum mearum edificia usque ad ipsam porrigam Romam.

30# [CIRCEA] in qua† Cyrce filia solis diu mansit.^{δmU443}

31IL [SATIS SUPERQUE] abunde^{δCUVX444}; donatum sibi in Sabinis fundum a Mecenate Horatius sepe <...> est.

31# id est nolo tantum habere quantum dives avarus, ut in terra abscondam divitias meas aut quasi dissolutus luxuria perdam.^{C445}

⁴³⁵ U sic; **mRV** sine plumis (only); **X** vel implumibus, idest sine plumis

⁴³⁶ V impetus (only)

⁴³⁷ V posuit†

⁴³⁸ V prestitura†

⁴³⁹ scilicet sim laboraturus; cf. **Holder** ad l. 9

⁴⁴⁰ V non ut illigati tauri sub aratris (only); ut mittantur? cf. **Z** trahantur

⁴⁴¹ m nam pastores in frigore petunt Calabriam, et in estate Lucaniam.

⁴⁴² UV in monte positi; δCmXy in monte siti

⁴⁴³ U in quibus...; δm oppidum est in quo Circe Solis filia mansit (δ ...in qua†...) {1.4

⁴⁴⁴ δ abunda† est; cf. m habundanter

⁴⁴⁵ C ...meus†...

33IL [CREMES] comicus dives^{CUVX}; [PREMAM] abscondam^{CU}

33# Cremes senex; in comediis quem Terrentius avarissimum introducit. potest etiam intellegi pater fuisse <C>roesi regis ditissimi. et ostendit congregata summo studio duobus modis male uti, videlicet per nimiam tenacitatem ut Chremes, aut per nimiam expensionem ut Nepos, quo nomine appellabantur antiquitus luxuriosi et prodigi. solent enim nepotes in domibus avorum deliciose nutriti lasciviose postea bona patris expendere.

34IL [DISCINCTUS] dissolutus; et liberius agens^{CU}; luxuriosus

Epode 2 Beatus ille (f. 55vo-56vo)

T laudatio vite rustice exornate summa tranquillitate rerum

MIL metrum quod supra

G# hac autem ode laudatio vite rustice continetur; negotiorum autem molestias et urbane vite incommoda sub hac specie vult probare.^{CV446}

1 Maro [Georg. II 458-9] 'o fortunatos nimium sua si bona norint/ agricolas'. mire ostendit incommoda vite quibus rustici carent.

2IL [1 PROCUL NEGOCIIS] quia separatus est a strepitu[m], a negotiis*

3IL [EXERCET] colit

4IL [SOLUTUS] liber omni debito

4# <...> aut omni equisitione†^{CV447}; aut qui nec foeneretur, qui nec ipse rusticus fenus accipiat.^{C448}

5IL [CLASSICO TRUCI] sevo sono tube^{CRV}

6IL [IRATUM] sebum^{CV}

7IL proprie forum vocatur publicus conventus ubi diiudicantur lites, ponitur <...>

8 [LIMINA] pulsatur; salutationem† officia^{CV449}; ut Maro [cf. Georg. 2.462] 'mane salutantem† totis vomat edibus unda'

8IL [POTENTIORUM LIMINA] qui non salutat potentes^{CRX450}

9IL [ADULTA] matura^{CmRUV}; [VITIUM PROPAGINE] magnis vitibus^{CmRVX}

9# propago autem si genus significet 'pro' brevis est, ut [Aen.12.827] 'sit Romana potens Itala virtute propago', si de arbore dicas producit, ut [Georg. 2.26] 'flexos propaginis artus...', et verbum dic<itur> propago propagas.*⁴⁵¹

10IL [MARITAT] coniungit; [POPULOS] arbores sunt^C

10# speciem pro specie posuit, non enim populos sed ulmos vitibus maritare rustici consuerunt.

11IL [MUGIENTIUM] boum^{δCmRUXy}

12IL [GREGES] pro armentis positum^{CVX452}

13IL [INUTILES] steriles, infructuosos

14IL [FELICIORES] fertiles

15IL [PRESSA] separata [ut] cera^{CRVX453}; de favis^{δmUy} expressa^{CRX}; eliquata; [PURIS] desecatis aut mundis^R

⁴⁴⁶ C ...aut...

⁴⁴⁷ V [SOLUTUS] liber omni debito, aut omni acquisitione

⁴⁴⁸ C ...aut qui nec ipse...

⁴⁴⁹ CV salutationum pulsatur officia

⁴⁵⁰ RX quia non ...

⁴⁵¹ Serv. Aen. 4.231; the note on the verb is perhaps a Horace scholion.

⁴⁵² X ...posuit

- 16IL [INFIRMAS] epitheton^{δCmNRUXy}; quia semper infirme sunt^{δCmNUXyZ}
 16# [INFIRMAS] onustas velleribus^{CmRUV454}; qui<a> tunc gravate infirme fiunt^{CR455};
 aut qui<a> infirmiores dicuntur oves fieri cum aut tonse fuerint^C; aut naturaliter delicatas
 quod est melius.^{CR456}
 17IL-18IL [DECORUM] ornatum^{mUy} pomis, qui<a> sic pingitur^X aut vernus[†].^{CRV457}
 poetica fantasia fingit autem autumnum quasi corporalem deum pomis coronatum.
 19IL [UT GAUDET] quemadmodum^{NX} gaudet^U qui ipse inseruit^{δRy} legens^{CV458}
 19# [UT GAUDET] admiratur quomodo rusticus gaudens decerpit pira a se insita aut
 uvam contendentem cum purpura suo colore. quod autem duo participia simul posuit
 unum resolvendum est per verbum; gaudens vel gaudet, decerpens vel decerpit.^{UXy459}
 20IL [UVAM] subaudi decerpens^{mV}; [PURPURE] ad colorem retulit^{CV}
 21IL [MUNERETUR] †numero et muneror† recte dicitur <...> significatione⁴⁶⁰
 22IL SILVANUS est deus terminorum
 23IL beatus ille <...> libet iacere sub ilice.^{CV461}
 24IL [TENACI GRAMINE] quod terra stringit spissa herba^{δCmRUVXy462}
 24# ad huc erant voluptates ac potius commoditates quas agricola consequitur.^{CX463}
 25IL [INTERIM] pro interea; dum iacet^{δCmRUVXy464}
 26# veteres omnium animalium voces preterquam hominum querelas vocabant.
 Maro [*Georg.* III 328] querulas cycadas et [*Georg.* I 378] ranas querelam referre dicit.
 26IL [QUERUNTUR] garriunt^{CV}
 27# [OBSTREPUNT] pro ‘strepunt’ posuit; nam obstrepere proprie qui strepitu suo
 alterum impedit aut qui alterum strepit.^{CR465}
 28IL [QUOD] quae res^{CRV}; [LEVIS] iocundos^{CmU}
 29IL [ANNUS HIBERNUS] pro hibernum tempus anni; hiemps^{CRUV}
 30IL [COMPARAT] vicissim parat^{δCmRUXy}
 31IL [TRUDIT] cogit^{CUV}; [HINC ET HINC] ex omni parte^{CmRUV}; [MULTA CANE]
 multitudine canum^{CRUV}
 32IL [OBSTANTES] contrapositos; [PLAGAS] retia maiora
 33IL [AMITE LEVI] conto raso, levigato^{CU466}
 33# amites dicuntur conti in quibus ligantur recia, quibus aves maxime capiuntur. ideo
 ‘levi’, quia asperitas lignorum tollitur, quando ad usum vocantur; et a genitivo incipit hoc
 nomen declinari quemadmodum ‘pecudis’.

⁴⁵³ **CRV** separata a cera (**R** a c. s.), **X** separata cera...

⁴⁵⁴ **U** idest onustae, que est velleribus premanur; **m** idest onustas lanis, cum est et velleribus presse
vesicas† habent

⁴⁵⁵ **R** ...sunt infirme

⁴⁵⁶ **R** ...meuus†

⁴⁵⁷ **ceteri** ...autumnus

⁴⁵⁸ **U** quemadmodum gaudio sint; **R** pro quemadmodum, quia...; **V** quemadmodum qui ipse...; **δy**
 quemadmodum, (y idest) qui inseruit; cf. **m** [INSITIVA] que prius inseruit

⁴⁵⁹ **UXy** decerpit (only)

⁴⁶⁰ **Holder** munero et muneror

⁴⁶¹ **CV** ille cui libet

⁴⁶² **δmRUXy** in spissa herba (only), **m** in spisso†

⁴⁶³ **X** ad huc enumerat...

⁴⁶⁴ **mRy** dum illi iacent; **δU(?)** dum ille iacet; **X** dum rusticus iacet

⁴⁶⁵ **CR** pro strepunt posu<it>, nam...; **R** ...obstrepere dicitur proprie; **CR** aut qui contra alterum (**C** alteram†)

⁴⁶⁶ **C** cano†...

34IL [EDACIBUS] aut que† prebent edacibus cibum, aut quos edimus, aut quia fructum olive edendo consumunt, ut in Sermonibus [cf. *Sat.* 2.4.43] ‘*vinea consumit† capreas non semper edullis*’.

35# de Tracia enim venire dicuntur grues, quarum foetus difficile invenitur. advenam autem, quia per singulos annos novi veniunt grues.

35# Solinus: manifestum sane est in septemtrionalem plagam hieme grues frequentissimas convolare. que sub quodam milicie eunt signo, et ne pergentibus ad destinata vis flatuum renitatur, harenas devorant. sublatisque lapillulis ad moderatum gravitate suburantur. tunc contendunt in altissima, ut de excelsiori specula metentur quas petunt terras. fidens sibi meatu praeit catervas, volatus desidiam castigat voce que cogit agmen, ea ubi obraucata est succedit alia. pontum transire angustias captant, equidem eas (nam promptum est oculis deprehendere) que inter Tauricam sunt et Paphlagoniam dum ad medium alveum adventasse se sciunt, scrupulorum sarcina pedes liberant. ita navite perdiderunt† se conplutos sepe ex illo casu imbre saxatili. harenas non prius revomunt quam secure sedis sue fuerint. concors cura omnium pro fatigatis, adeo ut si que defecerint congruant universe lassatasque sustollant usque dum vires ocio recuperentur. nec in terra cura segnior. excubias nocte dividunt ut exsomnia sit decima queque. vigiles ponduscula digitis amplectuntur, que si forte exciderint somnum coarguant. quod cavendum erit clangor indicat. aetatem <i>n illis prodit color: nigrescunt senectute.⁴⁶⁷

36IL IUCUNDA premia sunt lepus et grus

37IL [MALARUM] curarum^{CmRVWxy}

38IL [HEC INTER] inter opera rustica^{RUVX468}

39IL [IN PARTEM] subaudi laboris

41IL subaudi talis*; [PERUSTA] exercitata^{CUV}

42IL [PERNICIS] agilis, ut [*Aen.* 4.180] ‘*pernitibus alis*’; scilicet qualem^{RUy469}

43IL [VETUSTIS] repositis^{CUV}; [EXSTRUAT] inpleat^{CRV}

45IL [TEXTIS CRATIBUS] c<a>ulis^{CV470} septi[bu]s

46IL [DISTENTA SICCET] plena mulserit^{δCRUVxy471}

47IL [HORNA VINA] huius anni, quod plebe<i> dicunt <hoc>anni[v]um

47# non ‘dulci dolia†’, sed vina dulcia, quod autem horna dixit hoc ad idioma rustice simplicitatis pertinet hornum vinum bibere.

48IL [INEMPTAS] non emptas^{δCVxy}; viles^V; si appar<a>uerit^{CV472}; idest preparet viro^{δRUWX473}; inemptas, proprio labore acquisitas, non emptas [*bis*]

49IL [LUCRINA] de lacu Lucrino; [IUVERINT] plus^{δCmUVy}

49# non[ne] <me> magis delectant conchilia et pisces, quia† pingues olive et hedus et agna.^{CRU474}

49# Lucrinus lacus est in Baiano mari ubi habundant conchilia.^{CUX475}

⁴⁶⁷ Sol. 12.10-16 {3 App.

⁴⁶⁸ U inter hec rustica opera; X opera (only)

⁴⁶⁹ ceteri qualis; R at 41

⁴⁷⁰ V caudis†

⁴⁷¹ δRUVy plena mulgeat, X mulgeat (only)

⁴⁷² V apparuerit†

⁴⁷³ U suo labore adquisitas preparet suo viro; W preparat (only)

⁴⁷⁴ ceteri non me... quam...; U ...dulces olive...; C ...hedi...

⁴⁷⁵ {1.4

50IL [MAGISVE] figura anastrophe^{CmUV476}; [ROBUS†] ro<m>bus nomen piscis est^{CV477}

50# [SCARI] pisces qui ruminant^{*478}; intelligi vult scaros in orientali mari esse et difficile evenire ut circa[m] Italiam capiantur, nisi quod† inde violentia tempestatis adduxerit.⁴⁷⁹

50# Optamus prefectus classis sciens scarum adeo Italicis littoribus ignotum ut nec nomen Latinum eius piscis habeamus, incredibilem scarorum multitudinem in <vi>variis navibus huc advectam inter Hostiam et Campanie litus in mare sparsit. miroque ac novo exemplo pisces in mari tamquam in terra fruges aliquas seminavit, idemque tamquam summa in hoc utilitatis publice verteretur, quinquennio dedit operam ut, siquis inter alios pisces scarum forte cepisset, incolumem confestim et inviolatum mari redderet.⁴⁸⁰

51IL [INTONATA FLUCTIBUS] concitata^{mV} in tempestate^{δCRUXy481}

52IL [HIEMPS] tempestas

53# [AFRA AVIS] strucio; alii dicunt gallinam Numidicam, quam quidam Garamantinam vocant, sive perdix.

53IL [AFRA AVIS] gallina Numidica

55IL [IUCUNDIOR] iucundus^{CVX482}

54IL [ATTAGEN IONICUS] quia in Ionica regione abundant attagenes†

54# notandum masculini generis attagen[um]; cum feminino genere attaginas dicimus. Ionicus autem ab Ion<i>a, idest Asia, in qua est Εφεσος. attagen[a] autem avis est Asiatica inter nobilissimas habita.

57IL [PRATA AMANTIS] que in pratis nascitur^{CmRUVX483}; [GRAVI/ CORPORI] egrotanti^{CRUX}

57# [PRATA AMANTIS] que in pratis nascitur: hec in cibo sumpta stomachum confortat, ventrem reprimit, urinam provocat, ructum excitat, voluntatem edendi reparat,^m nascitur locis sabulosis.^{δRUXy484}

58IL [SALUBRES] quam† salutem prebent^{CRUVX485}

59# Terminalia dicuntur festi dies, qui celebrantur pro finibus agrorum. item Terminalia festa diei†^C Termini^{δUX}; idest Silvani [cf. *Ep.* 2.22].^{δmUX486}

60IL [EREPTUS LUPO] quia cariora sunt, que de periculo liberantur^{CRU487}

⁴⁷⁶ **V** anastrophe (only); **m** anastrophe quia non dixit ‘Rhombusve’

⁴⁷⁷ **C** rombus ue† nomen...

⁴⁷⁸ Several sources describe scaurus as a ruminating fish (Ovid dub. *Hal.* 118-119; Plin. *NH* 9.62; Ambr. *Exam.* 5.5.12; Isid. *Etym.* 12.6.30; Sedulius Scot. *Coll. Misc.* 70.111 (37)). Among these only Isidore was used in Harley scholia. Yet Isidore cannot be our scholiast’s source because he names the fish *escarus*, etymologised through *esca* (*escarus dictus, eo quod solus escam ruminare perhibetur: denique alii pisces non ruminant*).

⁴⁷⁹ **Holder** nisi quos

⁴⁸⁰ Macr. *Sat.* 3.16.10 {4

⁴⁸¹ **CU** concitata tempestate, **V** concitata (only), **δy** (y idest) in tempestatem concitata

⁴⁸² **X** at MEUM 53

⁴⁸³ **C** qui...; **V** ...pascitur†

⁴⁸⁴ **δ** genus herbe...; **m** Malva genus herbe est...; **mR** ...cibo[s]...; **R** ... minctum excitat..., voluptatem edendi...; **U** ...ventrem inprimit; **y** genus herbe... irascitur† iocis† fabulosus; **X**(?) ...venerem reprimit...

⁴⁸⁵ **ceteri** que salutem...; **C** qui†...

⁴⁸⁶ **C** Terminalia dicuntur dies festi; **U** idest in die dei Termini...; **δ** dei Termini (only); **X** occisa die Termini, idest Silvani, idest dies Terminati† {1.4

⁴⁸⁷ **R** aptissime rusticorum frugalitatem expressit, quia ...; **C** ap[er]tissime ru<...>galitatem expressit, q<uia> cario<...> de...; **U** ... a periculo

- 60 ostendit frugalitatem rusticorum qui[a] non aliis diebus pecora mactantur.
 60# apertissime rusticorum fragilitatem† expressit.⁴⁸⁸ non hic suadet luxuriam agricolae, sed si quando hedem occiderit, ita debet habere quasi eum lupo abstulerit.
 62IL [VIDERE] subaudi iuvat^U
 63IL subaudi iuvat^{CU}; [INVERSUM] in iugo positum recedentibus bovis†^{CRV489}
 63 morem revertentium de agro honeste exprimit. hinc utique domino voluptas est cogitanti, quantum agro exaratione contulerint.
 64IL [LANGUIDO] lasso; et hinc utique domino voluptas est cogitanti, quantum utilitatis agro exaratione contulerit [bis].
 65IL [DITIS EXAMEN DOMUS] pueros natos domi; [DITIS] magne^R; [EXAMEN] incrementum^{CmRUV}
 65# multum inquit iuvat rusticum vernas, idest servos, suos quasi examen ditis domus, idest multitudo famulose domus; RENIDENTES ipsas† vernas circum lares
 66IL iuvat videre^{RV490}; [RENIDENTES] flamma relucentes^{RUVX491}
 67 urbanissime in postremo finxit hec non ex sua persona dicta esse, sed de fen<er>atoris; nisi quod vult intellegi scire omnes quid iocunditatis habeat vita rustica, nec tamen quemquam ab ea, in qua consueverat, posse discedere.
 67# Alfium inducit, quendam feneratorum, laudantem rusticam vitam et parantem iam sese ad eam, et denuo se convertentem ad studium foenerandi. omnem redigit idibus pecuniam.^{C492}
 69IL [PECUNIAM] usurar[i]um, quia ante per Idus exi<g>ebantur usure, ut Cicero [cf. in Cat. I 6, 4] pretermittit ‘ruinas fortunarum, quas omnes impendere tibi proximis Idibus sentis†’.
 70 exegit, inquit, a debitoribus pecuniam comparatur<us> prodia†, cogitans scilicet incunditatem† vite illius, quam in rusticis laudat. sed rursus stimulatus cupiditate usurarum querit foenori dare.
 70IL [PONERE] s. iterum^U

Epode 3 Parentis olim (f. 56vo-57ro)

- T ad [Augustinum] Mecenatem ternarius iambicus binarius iambice podicos†
 T execratur quod apud Mecenatem allium ederat et estuabat. allium execratur Horatius et hoc multis rebus ostendit incommodum.^U hortante Mecenate allium comedit[ur] Oratius idque inprecatur et dicit hoc se cibo incendi.^{U493}
 2IL ideo ‘senile’^V addidit quasi maius fit parricidium in sene patre perimendo.^{RX}
 3IL [EDIT] pro ‘edit’†⁴⁹⁴; futurum tempus optativi sic dicebant antequam ut<inam> edim -is -it.
 4# sicut Virgilius [Ecl. 2.10-11]: ‘Testilis et rapido fessis messoribus estu/ allia serpillumque <...>’
 5IL [HOC VENENI] malum^{RV}
 7IL [INCOCTUS] inmixtus; non enim coctum allium manducavit^{CRV495}

⁴⁸⁸ Botsch. frugalitatem rusticorum

⁴⁸⁹ RV bobus, C bovis

⁴⁹⁰ R videre (only)

⁴⁹¹ U relucentes (only)

⁴⁹² C <...> inducit... iam ad <...>, ... ferandi†...

⁴⁹³ U hortante ... Horatius, quod execratur et dicit ... incendi et multis ... incommodum.

⁴⁹⁴ Keller pro ‘edat’

- 7 sub hoc nomine Canidie Gratidia[e]m Neapolitanam ung<u>entariam intelligi vult, quam ut veneficam† Horacius semper insequitur. sed quoniam non licet probrosum carmen in que<m>piam scribere, idcirco poete similia sepe confingunt. sicut Maro in Bucolicis pro Cytheride Licoriden appellat.
- 8# [CANIDIA] Romana matrona est quam notat alio loco quasi maleficam.
- 9IL [CANDIDUM] pulchrum, ut [Aen. 8.138] ‘*candida Maia*’, [Ecl. 5.56-57] ‘*candidus Daphnis*’, [Aen. 5.571] ‘*candida Dido*’⁴⁹⁶
- 9IL [UT] quemadmodum^U
- 9 ‘ut’ pro ‘postquam’, et erit sensus talis: postquam mirata est Medea Iasonem, hoc eum perunxit medicamine ut illum thauri non manderent.
- 9 ut eum muniret adversus vim thaurorum flammis vomentium qui iugo subiciendi erant si vellent pellem auream accipere; alii suco eum perunxit.^X
- 9 statim ut mirata est Medea Iasonem preter omnes Argonautas hoc illum veneno unxit, idest alio, ligaturum iuga insolita tauris^R indomitis.^{U497}
- 9# Argo vocata est navis qua Iason vectus est Cholchis, unde naute illius Argonaute sunt dicti.
- 12 Iason dum responso Apollinis Cholchos peteret ad rapiendum vellus aureum, eo scilicet obtentu, ut tauros qui apud Colchos erant indomabiles primum sub iura† mitteret, Medea summa veneficarum pulchritudinem ammirata egit suo veneficio, <...> tauros subiugaret et vellus raperet; quam postea Iason uxorem habuit. sed cum induceret pelicem nomine Claucen filiam Creontis, Medea dedit tunicam pelici sue infectam venenis, ut dicitur alio, quod cum indu[c]eret, cepit cremari incendio. tunc Medea animum Iasonis sevientis contra se non sustinens alato serpente aufugit.
- 13IL [HOC] alio^{δCmRUVX}; [DELIBUTA] unctis^{δCmVX498}; [DONIS] coronis^{CV}
- 13# idest vindicans se de pelice donis; idest vestibus^{δmRUX}
- 14IL [FUGIT] de<fugit>*; [SERPENTE ALITE] dracontibus pennatis^{CU499}
- 15IL [INSEdit] invasit^{mV}; [VAPOR] calor^{δRVX}
- 16IL in† tanto ardore syderum siccata est^{CUV500}
- 17IL [EFFICACIS] viri fortis,^{mV} hoc perpetuum epitheton est Herculis.^{CRU501}
- 17# Nessus centaurus vulneratus ab Hercule in raptu Deianire et avidus ulciscendi eius, tinctam lenam† sanguine suo qua se cruentum terfit dedit Deianire docens enim† ab Hercule nimium posse diligi si ex ea convectam† tunicam Herculi daret induere. que precepta Nessi servaret, Herculi confectam obtulit tunicam. qui mox ut eam indutus est tanto ardore correptus <...> ut ipse sibi suos artus dilaniaret et ad p<ost>remum dolore victus pura constructa in Ceta monte sese igni dedit. quo purgatus corpore dicitur in vestro† deo<rum> receptus.⁵⁰²

⁴⁹⁵ **CRV** inmixtus... (**R** inmixtum?); **V** non enim <...> alliu<m>...; **R** ...manducas

⁴⁹⁶ {1.3}

⁴⁹⁷ **U** ... illigaturum...; **U** ...tauris insolitis†

⁴⁹⁸ **δVX** perunctis

⁴⁹⁹ **CU** draconibus...

⁵⁰⁰ **C** idest non tanto ardore side<rum> siccata est Apulia, quanto teneor, **U** non tanto ardore solis siccari Apuliam dicit, quanto allia comedentium viscera puniuntur; **V** in tantum ardore scilicet (only)

⁵⁰¹ **m** fortis (only); **R** epitheton Herculis (only); **U** epiteton fortis viri, idest Herculis

⁵⁰² The two abbreviation errors – *preum* for *postremum*, *vestro deo* for *numero deorum* – are absent from the second Harley note (*Ep.* 17.31). Readings shared by the two Harley notes are asterisked below. **lenam]** Harl. 2724 *Ep.* 17.3, CU lenam; R lanam; X tunicam; **docens]** CRU docens; Harl. 2724 *Ep.* 17.31, X dicens;

- 19IL [TALE] idest allium^{δmCRUVXy503}
 20IL bene iocosum Mecenatem appellavit^{CRUV504}
 21IL [SAVIO] scilicet ut osculo labris^{CUV}; idest non te permittat osculari, ne odore
 <...>^{CRUX505}
 22IL [EXTREMA ET IN SPONDA] in extrema parte lecti

Epode 4 Lupis et agnis (f. 57ro-vo)

- T in Sextum Pompeium Sex<ti> lib<e>r[i]<tum> Menam iambice[i]†
 MIL metrum quod supra
 G in Sicilia Sextus Pompeius Minor Pompei filius reparavit civile bellum contra Antonium. hi enim qui superfuerant ex partibus Bruti et Cassii ad eum undique confluxerant. cum quibus Siciliam pervadens commeatus inpedivit, Romam fame afflixit. bellatum per Cesarem Octavianum et M. Antonium contra illum est. postremo tamen pax convenit sed Sextus pacem continuo rupit servos et fugitivos contra pactum legens. quo circa ab Augusto et Agrippa multis navalibus preliis victus fugit in Asiam ubi vivus captus est et a Furnio post paululum interfectus.⁵⁰⁶
 G(T) ad Sextum Menam libertinum Vedium Rufum ex servitute miratur usurpasse equestrem dignitatem ad tribuendum†⁵⁰⁷
 G Mena hic libertus fuit Pompei Magni, Sexti vero Pompei prefectus classis adversis† Angustum† bellum gerentis. hic cum classe ad Cesarem trans<i>e<r>at, deinde ad Sextum rediit, rursus ad Cesarem refugit.
 1IL [SORTITO] adverbium est qualitatis, hoc est ex sorte; per sortem^{δmVXy}; deesse† ‘tanta’^{emUVXy508}; quasi naturaliter^{UV}; sorte permissa†^U
 3IL [HIBERICIS FUNIBUS] quoniam in Hiberia, idest in Hispania, plurimum sparti nascitur; unde funes fiunt^{RU}
 4# <v>ult enim† sepe signif<icare> perustum, idest valde cesum restibus more Hispanorum, ubi habundant sparte† unde restes contexuntur. simulque crura illius vincta dura compede, ac per hoc malum servu[u]m.⁵⁰⁹
 5IL quamvis habeas maximam pecuniam,^V attamen nobilis esse non poteris.^{RUX510}
 7# vides quo modo omnes vertant ora sua,^V cum togatus incedis per Sacram Viam, incedis autem cum toga que habet sex ulnas.^{U511}

***enim**] *ceteri* eam; ***convectam tunicam**] CUR confecta tunica; X confectam tunicam; ***servaret**] CUR cum... servasset; ***correptus**] *ceteri* correptus est. In addition to the above, U has *cruorem* in place of *se cruentem* and omits *mox ut* before *eam indutus*; X contains three further variants (*ulciscendi se*, *tinctam tunicam*, *confectam veneno*) and three errors (*raptus* for *receptus*, *Deianmire* (line 1), *dilaniret*); C offers an interesting variant *nescia* (*servasset*) in place of (*precepta*) *Nessi*, as well as *tradidit* for *dedit*, *purgato* for *purgatus*, *deputatus* for *receptus*, and the slip *visciscendi*.

⁵⁰³ **m** *simile* allium

⁵⁰⁴ **CRV** ... appellat (**CRU** *pergunt* ... *ut futuri sui ioci lacerationem vitet* (**C** *deest* sui; **U** lacerationes; **R** *vit[iorum]†*); **R** *pergit vel cui iocos suos voluit commendare*

⁵⁰⁵ **R** ...putescat; **CU** ...putrescat; **X** ...permittas† ... ne odore putescat† (Both *putesco* and *putresco* are attested; the latter is post-classical.)

⁵⁰⁶ Eutr. 7.4; Oros. 6.18.19-20, 6.19.2 {2.2.2 App.

⁵⁰⁷ **λ** ad *tribunatum*

⁵⁰⁸ **m** at 2

⁵⁰⁹ **Botsch.** vult *eum*...

⁵¹⁰ **R** ...habes..., tamen...non poteris; **U** ... non *potes*

10# est autem liberrima indinatio, est et tacens. liberrima est aperta, tacens ut de Crysogono, servo Sylle, quem poten<ti>simum fecerat, indignabantur homines, sed non aud[i]ebant palam loqui.

10IL [LIBERRIMA] iustissima

11IL [SECTUS] cesus; quasi hec populi indignantis sint verba^{UV512}; [TRIUMVIRALIBUS] iudicialibus^{δCmVX}

11# triumviri capitales erant qui et verberabant et necabant a consulibus damnatos.^{UX513} TRIUMVIRALIBUS autem pro[pin]quorum<libet> iudicium, qui<bus> omnibus potestatibus licet <...> cedere.^{UX514}

12IL [AD FASTIDIUM] ad voluntatem^{VU}; ad sacietatem preconis usque^m; quia ad vocem flagellabantur^{δmU515}

13IL qui permisit^U agrum Falernum^{UV516}; ideo subiunxit Appiam quia per hanc ad eum itur.

15IL [PRIMIS] principalibus^{δmUVXy}

15 hoc est sedibus primis equitum sedet contempto Othone^{U517}; qui lege sua iussit ex infimo genere hominum equitem fieri non licere.^{UX518}

15# nam iussit +exercitum ordinibus homines venire ad summos gradus equitum+. ^{UX519} iste cum esset libertinus data maxima pecunia pervenit ad primum gradum honoris.^{UX}

16# Otho tribunus plebis quatuordecim gradus in theatro senatu<i> separat[†], ex quibus duo primi ordines tribuniciis vacabant.^{U520}

17# QUID ATTINET cum ingenti indignatione dictum est. idest quid prodest armari classem ab Augusto contra servos ac fugitivos quos armavit Sextus Pompeius,^V <...> servuus tribunus est militum in Augusti exercitu.^{mU521} indignatur hunc tribunum classem contra hostem belli[†] fugitivorum ducere.^U

17IL [ATTINET] quid profuit^{UV522}

18# Servius: Sextus Pompeius Pompei filius in Siciia piratica<m> exercuit. contra quem primo cum Agrippa dimicavit Augustus, postea Agrippe cura data est, qui eum delevit. ob quod ei Augustus rostratam dedit coronam quia vicerat navali certamine.⁵²³

⁵¹¹ U [BIS TRIUM ULNARUM?] proverbium. videsne ut omnes vertant ora, cum togatus incedis per Sacram viam cum toga sex ulnarum longa?

⁵¹² U verba populis indignantis (only)

⁵¹³ X qui verberabant et necabant (only?)

⁵¹⁴ U ...aut per[†] quorumlibet..., X ...quorumlibet iudicium...; ...U qui[†] omnibus..., X ...quia[†] omnibus prestantibus[†]; UX ...servos cedere...

⁵¹⁵ U quia ad voluntatem vel ad vocem preconis flagellabantur; m usque ad miserationem preconis, quia preconis ad vocem rei flagellabantur; δ usque ad nauseam, quia ad vocem preconis flagellabantur

⁵¹⁶ U qui[a] promisit...; V qui premiserat...

⁵¹⁷ U...sedibus in primis...

⁵¹⁸ X idest iussit lege sua...

⁵¹⁹ U Otho iussit exercitum ordinibus <...> homines vera re ad summos gradus equitum; X Otho tribunus plebis iussit...

⁵²⁰ Contrast Porphyrio *ad locum*: ex quattuordecim autem ordinibus, quos lege Roscia Otho tribunus plebis in theatro equestri ordini dedit, duo primi ordines tribuniciis uacabant.

⁵²¹ mUV(?) profuit; mU ..., si Menas servus...

⁵²² cf. δmXy prodest

⁵²³ Serv. Aen. 8.684

Epode 5 At o deorum quidquid (f. 57vo-59ro)

- T puerum pretextatum defossum inducit a Canidia <...>, quo necato Alfio Varo daret potionem deliramentorum⁵²⁴
- 1IL ab exclamacione cepit et postea narravit.^{V525}
- 1# 'at' copulativa particula est ad ornatum solum pertinens, ut hoc loco [Ep. 5.1f.] 'at o deorum quidquid in celo regit/ terras et humanum genus'. 'at' metrum non sensum ornat vel iuvat.*⁵²⁶
- 2IL id quodcumque est quod regit celum et terras et humanum genus^{UX}
- 3IL [FERT] vult^{δCUXy}
- 3# OMNIUM vultus earum dicit, que cum Canidia conscie et ministre sceleris fuerant.
- 3? dicitur enim Canidia subposuisse pueris† sibi, quoniam contempnebatur a marito quasi sterilis.^{UX527}
- 4IL [QUID] deest volunt^{mUVX528}; [TRUCES] severi^V
- 4# [VULTUS] ministrorum† scilicet*; tumultum autem dicit rapinas quas passus est^{δ529}; id est raptum suum*
- 5IL [TE] scilicet o Canidia^U
- 6# quo magis oneret atrocitatem sceleris huius pretextatum, ac per hoc honestum ac delicatum facit hunc puerum esse. INANE ergo DECUS PURPURE apud illam inane, que respectu eius non moveatur ut tamquam in quemlibet seuiat.
- 7IL [PURPURE DECUS] p<re>tex<te>,^e qua idem puer uteba[n]tur^{UV530}
- 8IL [IMPROBATURUM] damnaturum^{eUV}; ui<n>dicaturum
- 9# coniuracio pretextati ad Canidiam, quid esset quod tam torvo vultu eum inspiceret; miser qui nesciebat tormentum mortis sibi parari ab ea.
- 11IL [UT] postquam^{mUV}; [12 INSIGNIBUS] pretexti† puerili^m et bulle quibus pueri utebantur^{VX531}
- 12# quod dicit 'insignibus raptis': hec sunt pretexta et bulla, que erat instar bullarum que fiunt in stillicidio et sunt ornamenta puerorum.
- 13IL etiam Traccum, ut [cf. Aen. 2.6-7] 'quas talia fando/ Mirmidonum Dono<...>†'
- 13# pubes pubis iuventus; pubis puberis, pubes puberis, puber puberis puer pubescens dicitur. ex hoc tamen compositum invenitur similem habens nominativum genitivo hic impubis huius impubis. Virgilius in V-o 'impubis Iuli', ab eo neutrum 'impube' Horacius protulit in Epodo [5.11-13] 'ut hec trementi questus ore constitit/ <...> puer/ impube corpus'.⁵³²
- 14IL [THRACUM] ut fit etiam Mirmid<o>num^U
- 15IL [BREVIBUS VIPERIS] epitheton viperarum

⁵²⁴ Botsch. (λ) ... potionem delinimentorum

⁵²⁵ V ...narrat

⁵²⁶ Serv. Aen. 2.363; note on metrical function = Horace scholion?

⁵²⁷ U dicitur ergo...; UX ista Canidia supposuisse puerum...; X marito suo...

⁵²⁸ mU s. volunt (only), V voluit† (only)

⁵²⁹ δ rapina quam passus sum a Canidia

⁵³⁰ U pretepte qua utebatur puer

⁵³¹ VX pretexta puerili et bulla quibus pueri nobiles utebantur

⁵³² Unknown 'differentia'; = Prisc. 6.249.18-23 {9

15# quia nulla de serpentibus brevior est, que non sit et peior, aut brevibus qui<a> non multum vipere crescunt. quasi hoc e<x>igeret† ars maleficiorum ut implicaret suos serpentibus crines^{U533}; vel etiam brevibus, que brevis vite sunt.^U

17IL [SEPULCHRIS CAPRIFICOS ERUTAS] non undelibet sed de <se>pulch<r>is; que in sepulchris nascuntur^{UV534}

17# caprificus appellata eo quod parietes quibus innascitur carpit; rumpit enim et fodit† ex latebris quibus concepta est. alii caprificum putant dictam quod ficus arbor eius remedio fecundetur.⁵³⁵

18IL [CUPRESSOS FUNEBRES] qui infernis sacrificia <...>*; qui infernis consecrantur^{UX}

18# cupressus adhibetur ad funera vel quod cesa non repullulat vel quod per eam funesta<ta> ostenditur domus, sicut letam frondes indicant feste. Varro tamen dicit pyras ideo cupresso circumdari propter gravem ustrine odorem ne[c] offendatur populi circumstantis corona que tam diu stabat respondens fletibus prefice, idest principi planctuum, quam diu consumpto cadavere et collectis cineribus diceretur novissimum verbum ‘ilicet’ quod ire licet significat.⁵³⁶

19IL [TURPIS] deformis^{UVX}

20IL [NOCTURNE] <q>ue per noctem sonat^{UVX}

21# Hiberia vero non† quod† in Ponto sit intellegenda, ut Virgilius [*Ecl.* 8.36] ‘nascuntur plurima Ponto’.⁵³⁷

21IL [HIOLCOS] regio est Thessalie; Thessalia autem venenorum ferax est.

21ff. Argo in Tesalia ad Actii Apollinis templum in loco qui Pegase vocatur fabricata est. Peleus enim rex Thessalie habuit fratrem nomine Efonem cui erat filius Iason virtute prestans: et qui sub regno eius erant, omnes hospites habebat, et ab eis validissime amabatur. Peleus rex ut vidit Iasonem acceptum omni homini, veritus est ne sibi iniurias facerent. dicit Iasoni Cholchis pellem inauratam arietis esse, dignam eius virtute ut eam inde auferet, omnia se ei daturum pollic<itus>. Iason ubi audivit, ut erat animi fortissimus, dicit Peleo se eo velle ire. Peleus rex architectum nomine Tiphin vocari iussit, et ei imperat ut navim edificaret ad voluntatem Iasonis. mox autem per totam Greciam rumor cucurrit navim edificari Iasoni. amici et hospites ad Iasonem venerunt, et pollicentur se una ituris†. Iason illis gratias egit et rogavit ut parati essent, cum tempus veniret. Iason litteras ad eos misit, qui erant polliciti sese una ituros, et ilico convenerunt ad navem cuius nomen erat Argo. demonstrare eos qui cum Iasone profecti sunt optimum est. [l]<f>uit cum eo Telamon rex Salamine Inceus filius Ligurgii regis Ifitus gigas Hercules Meleager rex Etolie Ida et Talaus Castor et Pollux filii Atheniensium Admetus rex et Orfeus musicus. hi lecti duces cum Iasone Colchos profecti pellem abstulerunt.⁵³⁸

⁵³³ U ...exgeneret†...

⁵³⁴ U que in nascuntur nascuntur† [bis]

⁵³⁵ Isid. *Et.* 17.7.18; Harley *fodit* is not recorded in the Isidore tradition and appears to be a graphic error. Isidore editors Lindsay (1911) and André (1981) do not comment on the unexpected genre shift in *dictum*.

⁵³⁶ Serv. *Aen.* 6.216

⁵³⁷ Holder *nunc quae* in Ponto

⁵³⁸ Hyg. *de Astr.* 2.37?; Dar. 1; *Theb.* 5.379-435

- 23# non vere† petat† <...> dentis ab ore tollere canis, sed ad animum malefic[i]orum retulit, que† ex impossibilibus effectum sibi promittunt.^{UX539}
- 23IL [24 FLAMMIS ADURI CHOLCHICIS] hoc est magico ritu preparatis^X incendiis^{UV540}; per veneficia accensis^U; et hoc propter Medeam, quod Cholchis fuisse narratur^{U541}
- 25IL [EXPEDITA] cincta, ut nullo† fluxio vestimentorum se impediret
- 25# Saganam et† consciis unam et ministris intellegere debemus, expeditam aut succinctam. Sagana autem <...> agenda†^{UX542}; Saganam autem ipsam Canidiam, dicit aut ministram eius.^{UXZ543}
- 26IL [AVERNALES AQUAS] quasi Avernales, ut [cf. *Aen.* 4.512] ‘*sparserat et latices simulatos fontes† Averni*’
- 28IL [ECHINUS] marinum^δ monstrum^V; [27? HORRET CAPILLIS] rigidas habens setas^{U544}
- 29IL [ABACTA] maleficiis nulla conscientia separata^{mUVXy545}; [CONSCIENTIA] scilicet mala
- 29# a nulla sceleris conscientia[m] summota, que in omnibus malis sibi consci[enti]a videbatur, que nullam a se abegit conscientiam, que omnium malorum conscientia premebatur, que nullius mali sibi non conscia fuit.^{X546} Veia enim nomen est proprium eius, quam vult esse sociam Canidie.^{UX}
- 30IL [LIGONIBUS] rastris, dicti autem a raritate dentium
- 33# [LONGO DIE] aut estivo,^V aut longo his qui sunt in meroribus constituti^{UX}
- 33# ideo mutabuntur† dapes, ut desiderio mutate dapis mo<re>retur et cor eius et fibre amatorium facerent.
- 34IL [INEMORI] valde^{VX}; ante oculos defessi† pueri cibos positos per momenta mutabat, ut desiderio tabesceret.⁵⁴⁷
- 35# QUANTUM EXTANT cum mento corpora suspensa <...> aqua^{UX548}
- 37IL [EXSUCTA†] sublata^{UWX}; post mortem scilicet^U
- 38IL reddit causam facinoris: <ut> potionem temperaret^{UX549}
- 39# [INTERMINATO CIBO] non semel permissio uti^{UX550}; a quo cum minis arcerent^{UX551}; non ‘semel fixe’, sed ‘cum semel intabuisse<n>t fixe^X cibo’^{mUW552}
- 40IL [INTABUISSENT] consumpte sunt^{mUV553}; [PUPULE] pupille, pupillas quas dicimus oculorum

⁵³⁹ U non vero poterat ossa dentis ab ore tollere canis, sed ad animum malefic[i]orum(?) retulit, que† ex <...>possibilibus effectum sibi promittunt; X non vere† poterat tollere ab ore canis, sed et† animum retulit maleficorum, que† ex impossibilibus effectum promittunt†

⁵⁴⁰ U [bis] magiis artibus preparatis..., magica arte preparatis...

⁵⁴¹ U vel propter...Medeam, que...

⁵⁴² U Sagana aut† a satis agendo; X Sagana a satis agendo

⁵⁴³ Z ministra eius (only)

⁵⁴⁴ U horrida apparet fetis

⁵⁴⁵ U ...ulla conscientia...; X separata, maleficiis (only); m separata ab aliis? (only); y separata (only)

⁵⁴⁶ X ...quo† nullam a se... nullius mali sibi conscia fuit.

⁵⁴⁷ Keller defossi pueri

⁵⁴⁸ U ordo...; UX...mento corpora suspensa in aqua

⁵⁴⁹ X ...ut Varo potionem...; U ... ut arido(?) potionem...

⁵⁵⁰ X non permissio uti (only)

⁵⁵¹ X ...nimis†...

⁵⁵² m ...fixe pupule cibo...; W ...intabuisent <...> cibo

- 40# ex pupul<a> illius semel confixa cultello; cum tamen putrefieret cibum Varo prepararet.
- 41# [MASCULAE LIBIDINIS] dicuntur quedam mulieres habere naturam monstruose libidinis coeundi cum feminis, quo crimine etiam Saffo male audit. huiusmodi aut femine hermafro[n]dite dicuntur.
- 43 [OTIOSA] minus curiosa^m; quieta^{δmVX}; sicut Virgilius [*Georg.* 4.564] ‘*studiis florentem ignobilis oti*’
- 43# apud Neapolim factum fedus† vult intellegi, qu<i>a et C[r]an<i>dia Neapolitana est. ‘ociosa<m>’ autem ‘quieta[i]m’ ait, et quod aptissimum† esset secessus quietis in ea.⁵⁵⁴
- 44IL [VICINUM OPPIDUM] Puteolana civitas
- 45IL [QUE] Folia sciliet; [EXCANTATA] cantibus superata^{UV555}; [THESSALA] magica
- 47IL [HIC] tunc^{δUXy}; [DENTE LIVIDO] tugro†^{δmUXy556}; deformi^{UV}
- 48IL [POLLICEM] pro ungue posuit^{UVX}
- 49IL que scelera non dixit aut quid silentio potuit preterire⁵⁵⁷
- 49# ordo: quid tacuit aut quid non dixit? per quod intellegitur dixisse multa et nefaria; REBUS i[n]<dest> factis^U
- 50# [ARBITRE] conscie aut presentes, sicut Salustius [*Cat.* 20.1] ‘*arbitris... amotis*’
- 51IL [DIANA] pro luna
- 52IL [ARCHANA] malefica^{VW558}; [SACRA] veneficiorum scilicet^{VX}
- 54IL [IRAM ATQUE NUMEN] subaudimus iratum†^{eUX559}; potentiam^{UV}; vestram^{δmVX560}
- 55IL [FORMIDULOSE] non ‘formidolosis† silvis’ sed ‘formidolose† fere’^U; formidolose^V aut timide^{mU561}
- 56IL [LANGUIDE] fesse^{mUVX}
- 57IL [RIDEANT] propter senectutem^{UVX562}; [QUOD] vel ‘quo’ pro ‘ut’^{mV563}
- 58# quod subustione plaudita† illic siccata sint, Subura dicitur⁵⁶⁴
- 58IL [SUBURANE CANES] meretrices de Sabura†^{UVXy565}
- 59IL [QUALE] pro ‘quo’ posuit, ‘quo’ idest nardo
- 59# [QUALE] nam melius dixisset ‘quo non perfectius’^{UX566}; ostendit autem se ung<u>entariam fuisse.^{U567}

⁵⁵³ mUV consumpte essent

⁵⁵⁴ Holder videtur significare scelus hoc Neapoli factum

⁵⁵⁵ U idest incantatione superata

⁵⁵⁶ ceteri nigro

⁵⁵⁷ Holder nunc dixit

⁵⁵⁸ W maleficia

⁵⁵⁹ U [NUMEN] s. iratum, e iratum numen, X scilicet vestrum iratum

⁵⁶⁰ X(?) vestrum

⁵⁶¹ m timide (only); U ...sed formidolose fere, idest timide

⁵⁶² X ob senectutem

⁵⁶³ mV [QUO] ut (only)

⁵⁶⁴ Keller paludeta illic siccata

⁵⁶⁵ U meretrices a civitate vel oppido Subura, V meretrices <...> Subura

⁵⁶⁶ X ...non per<...>

⁵⁶⁷ U ostendit ungentariam fuisse (only)

59# NARDO unguentum generis neutri, herbam generis feminini comprobabimus, licet a poetis sint ista mutata.

61IL [QUID ACCIDIT] quid Varus non venit?^{emUVWX568}; idest que res impedimento est?^{UVX569}

61# cur minus mea venena valent Medee venenis, ut ex superioribus subaudiatur,^X quod ait venena, quibus ven[i]en<i>s illa ulta pelicem Glaucem.

62IL [VENENA] mea^U

63IL [QUIBUS] venenis^{δy} potens^{mUVX570}; Medea^W

62# Medea †quo modo† relictis Colchis Iasonem secuta est, dicitur ad Italiam pervenisse, et populos quosdam circa Fucinum ingentem lacum habitantes, qui Marrubii appellantur quasi circa mare habitantes, propter paludis magnitudinem, docuit remedia contra serpentes. quamquam alii Marrubios a rege dictos velint. hi ergo populi Medeam Anguiciam nominaverunt ab eo quod eius carminibus serpentes angerent. sunt autem isti Marsorum populi.⁵⁷¹

65IL [PALLA...MUNUS] effexigesis est; [PALLA] nominativus^U casus; [IMBUTUM] s. quod est infectum^{mUV572}

65# palla munus significat, figura est εφεξεceοιc†. tabo autem hic venenum, alibi sanguinem corruptum intellegimus, ut [Verg. Aen. III 29] ‘*terram tabo maculant*’. et est monoptotum nomen.

67IL [ATQUI] pro certe^{δmUVXyZ}

68IL [LOCIS] montibus^{UVX}

69# obscura elocutio sic autem ordinanda est: indormit unctis cubilibus oblivione omnium pelicum. sensus: nescio quae sententia† venefica cubile eius ungit medicaminibus, per que medicamina oblivionem ei dat omnium.⁵⁷³ pellices autem Canidia pro se sola dicit. ostendit ergo quod per alia carmina Varus eius inmemor fuit.^{X574}

70# id est in cubilibus pelicum mearum sopore tenetur.^{UV} que cubilia uncta sunt oblivione, hoc est ut mei obliviscatur.^{UX575}

71IL SOLUTUS liber^{UX}

71# [SOLUTUS] liber et inviolabilis venenis meis^{UX}; hoc est altera inventa est malefica que me vicit.^X

72IL [PERITIORIS] scientioris

73IL novis ad me, Vare, potionibus venies^{VX576}

74IL [MULTA] multum^{δmUVXy}; [FLETURUM CAPUT] s. qui geris*

75IL [VOCATA] invocata sive revocata^{UVX577}

76IL [VOCIBUS] incantationibus

⁵⁶⁸ W cur...?

⁵⁶⁹ X idest que res inpedimento est, quia Varus non venit

⁵⁷⁰ X potens (only)

⁵⁷¹ Serv. Aen. 7.750; Medea quando

⁵⁷² m infectum (only); V [INFECTUM] imbutum

⁵⁷³ cf. Porph.: nescio cuius sunt praesentiora ueneficia...

⁵⁷⁴ X ...sit

⁵⁷⁵ U ... oblivisca[n]tur; X ...sopore <...>[n]tur. ... oblivione, qu[i]a mei obliviscatur.

⁵⁷⁶ V ...a† me...

⁵⁷⁷ X revocata (only)

- 76# ordo est: nec Marsis vocibus mens redabit†, hoc est defixis† a me numquam mentem recipies.^{U578} [MARSIS VOCIBUS] pre† cantationibus Marsorum^{UV}; quam† soliti sunt Marsi morsus curare serpentium^{UVX579}
- 76# gentem Marsorum serpentibus inlesam esse nihil mirum; a Circe filio hi genus ducunt et de avita potentia deberi sibi sciunt servitium venenorum; ideo venena contempnunt. C. Celi Aete tres filias dicit Anguiciam Medeam Circen; Circen Circeios insedissemontes, carminum maleficiis varias imaginum facies mentientem; Anguiciam vicina Fucino occupavisse ibique salubri scientia adversus morbos resistantem, cum desisset† homine<s> vivere, deam habitam; Medeam ab Iasone Buthrotri sepultam filiumque eius Marsis imperasse. sed quamvis Italia habeat hoc presidium familiare, a serpentibus non penitus libera est.⁵⁸⁰
- 77IL [INFUNDAM] conficiam^{UVX}
- 78IL [FASTIDIENTI] contempnenti me^{δm} scilicet^{UVy581}
- 79IL [SIDET] subsidet^{δX}
- 82# bitumen in Iudee lacu Asfalti<te> emergit, cuius glebas supernatantes naute scafis adpropinquantes colligunt. in Siria limus est passim a terra estuans. spissa<n>tur[a] autem utraque et densitate coeunt, et utraque Greci spiss[a] asfalti vocant. natura eius ardens et ignium cognata, et neque aqua neque ferro rumpitur, nisi solis muliebribus inquinamentis: utilis ad compages navium.⁵⁸²
- 83# puer qui videbat se interficiendum diutius silere non potuit.^{UVX583} dubium† unde principium sumeret exclamandi, unde inciperet loqui [bis]^{UV}
- 84IL [LENIRE] idest leniebat^{mVyX584}
- 85IL dubius unde principium sumeret exclamandi, unde inciperet loqui^{UV}
- 86IL [THIESTIAS PRECES] graves et noxias execrationes^{mUVX585}
- 86 id est imprecari illis, quemadmodum Atreo Thyestis post membro<rum> epulas filiorum^{W586}
- 86 fabula quidem hoc habet: Atreum et Thiestem germanos, cum in dissensione[m] sibi nocere non possent, in simulatam gratiam redisse, qua occasione Thyestes cum fratris uxore concubuit. Atreus vero ei filium epulandum apposuit, que Sol ne pollueretur aufugit. sed veritatis hoc est: Atreum apud Micenas primum solis eclipsen invenisse, cui invidens frater ex urbe discessit, tempore quo eius probata sunt dicta.⁵⁸⁷
- 87IL ut ex innocente fit nocens non possunt facere venena.^{U588}
- 87# hoc est venena non possunt convertere quod decretum est nec facere ut quod iustum est videatur vel iniustum.^{UV589}

⁵⁷⁸ U ... tua mens redibit. hoc est numquam a me <...> mentem recipies...

⁵⁷⁹ U qui Marsi...; V ... quia soliti sunt Marsi...; X deest quam

⁵⁸⁰ Sol. 2.27-31; dedisset homines vivere

⁵⁸¹ V condempni† scilicet; δy s. me (only)

⁵⁸² Isid. Et. 16.2.1; *spissa asfalti* and *spissatura* occur in Isidore manuscripts.

⁵⁸³ X videbat <...> intercidendum...

⁵⁸⁴ ceteri leniebat†

⁵⁸⁵ m diras execrationes (only); X noxias execrationes (only)

⁵⁸⁶ W idest cepit imprecari ... post <...> epulas filiorum (cf. e scilicet quales Atreus in Tiestem vel Tiestes in Atreum post membrorum epulas filiorum infundebat)

⁵⁸⁷ Serv. Aen. 1.568

⁵⁸⁸ U ...fit [in]nocens

⁵⁸⁹ V ... videatur iniustum

- 88 VICEM hic pro veneno posuit^{UV}; et est sensus: quam<vis> venena multum possint, non tamen valent merita in contrarium vertere, ut liberentur poena qui male mare<a>ntur†. vices autem appellantur poene que sceleratis ingeruntur.
- 89IL [DIRIS] Furiis^{UVe}; execrationibus^{mUVXy}; [AGA M] prosequar^{CmUVXy}; [DETESTATIO] execrabile factum^{eUVX}
- 89# DIRIS idest Furiis.^{eV} et dicte Dare†, quod non nisi ante iratum Iovem videntur, ut [cf. *Aen.* 12.849] ‘*seviq[ue] ad limina regis apparent*’. et videntur presto esse ad obsequium nocendi, unde etiam apparatores† constat esse nominatos.⁵⁹⁰
- 90IL [EXPIRAVERO] morior*
- 92IL [FUROR] quasi^V
- 93IL [PETAMQUE] imperium† faciam in vultus vestros^{CmUVX591}
- 94IL [QUE] umbra^{UX}; [MANIUM] inferorum^V
- 95IL [INQUIETIS ADSIDENS] inherens et faciens inquieta, aut non habentibus quietam†^{UV592}
- 97IL [VICATIM] per singulos vicos^{Cy593}; [TURBA] manium^U
- 98IL [CONTUNDET] feriet^{UVX}; [OBSCENAS] immundas^{UVX}; [ANUS] accusativus casus*
- 98# ut insanos solent fustibus et lapidibus insectari, quo eos a domibus suis fu[i]gent.
- 99IL [DIFFERENT] laniabunt^{mUV}
- 100# Aesquilin[i]a porta dicitur ad Sessorium, in qua certus erat locus sepulcrorum. ibi enim pauperum corpora aut comburi solebant aut proici.
- 101IL parentes mei spectabunt lacerationem cadaverum vestrorum†.^{UV594}

Epode 6 Quid immerentis hospites (f. 59ro-vo)

- T In Cassium Severum, ternarius iambicus binarius iambicus podicus; maledicum poetam in se irritat minat<ur>que si solita rabie fuerit elatus.
- T hac ode alloquitur Cassium Severum, qui cum dicautatis† amaritudine insectaretur quietos, facile poterat placari ingluvie ventris. contra quem invehetur† sub allegoria, comparans se bono cani, illum vero pessimo, dicens quia et si alios poterat latratu suo terrere non tamen illum.⁵⁹⁵
- T item allegoria in eum qui quietos homines, idest sibi cedentes, invehatur nimia dicacitate et inde gloriatur quod lacessita† ei non respondeat<n>t. item Bibaculum modo prosequitur† poeta<m> qui maledica carmina in multos composuit, inimicum suum dic<ens>, qui accepto pretio multa fingeat.
- 1IL [INMERENTES] innocentes^{CUVX}; aut minus fortes^{UVX}; aut miseros^{CUV}
- 2# Italia lupos habet quod animal cum ceteris simile non sit, homo quem prius viderit contices[s]<c>it†, et an<ti>cipatus obtutu aspectus nocentis licet clamandi voluntatem habeat, non habet vocis ministerium. caude animalis huius villus amatori[b]us in[ter]est perexiguus, quem spontivo damno amittit cum capi metuit; nec habet potentiam, nisi viventi detrahatur. coeunt lupi toto anno non amplius dies

⁵⁹⁰ Serv. *Aen.* 12.845, 850

⁵⁹¹ **Cm** vestros (only); **ceteri** impetum/-us

⁵⁹² **ceteri** ...quietem

⁵⁹³ **Cy** per vicos (only)

⁵⁹⁴ **ceteri** sic

⁵⁹⁵ λφψ dicacitatis amaritudine

duodecim. vescuntur in fame terram.⁵⁹⁶

- 3IL [QUIN] quare non*; cur non^{CU}; [VERTIS] pro verte^{mU597}
 3 idest quare si potes non me presentem laceras?^U inanis ergo aut tu aut mine tue.^U
 4IL [REMORSURUM] in vicem morsurum^V; [PETES] pro pete*
 4 [REMORSURUM] idest responsurum cum invectione, idest si <mo>morderis me, remordebo te. comparat se bonis canibus, qui habent[em]<ur> in Moloso oppido Thessalie et Lacone civitate Grece, in quibus atroces habundant canes.
 5IL [MOLOSSUS] proprium nomen*; canis^C
 6IL [VIS] efficatia^V
 7IL [AGAM] hoc est eum sequar qui p<r>ius lesit^{VW598}; [AURE SUBLATA] alacer, letus omni conatu^U
 7# [AURE SUBLATA] erecta, sursum elevata, que specialiter canum est dum se[r]vi[vi]unt, alioquin timentium remise. de se at† Horacius dicit non defuturam sibi lingue amaritudinem si provocetur.⁵⁹⁹
 8IL alegoricos id est quicumque me laccessit
 9IL [TIMENDA VOCE] maledico carmine^{CV}
 9# hoc est: tu cum veheris in aliquem, exspectas ut accepta pecunia desinas maledicere.^{U600}
 10IL desinis maledicere accepta pecunia^W; id est nimium iratus et tumens placaris si inviteris ad prandium.^{UX601}
 13# Archilochus, qui Licambem probrosis carminibus usque adeo sectatus est, ut ille sibi mortem con<s>cisceret. quod [quod] ideo fecit, quoniam ille filiam suam in matrimonium quam ei promiserat denegavit.
 13# Licambes filiam suam promisit Archilochus daturum uxorem, et postea denegavit. qua de causa iratus Archilochus carmina scripsit in Licambem et eius filias, ita ut ex dolore carminum eius filie laqueo vitam finirent.
 14# Ipponax scilicet, qui poeta erat eloquentissimus, feda et vicipsa† facie. hunc Pubalus pictor in Pana[na]thenaeis pictum proposuit, ut risum moveret populo. ille iratus iambis eum ita fatigavit, ut vitam suspensio finiret. etiam iste socerum suum, postquam se fraudavit, <c>armi<nibu>s petiit.
 14IL [HOSTIS BUPALO] Yponacten significant; dativus casus
 15IL [ATRO DENTE] maledicta lingua^{UVWX}
 16IL ut puer invindicatus plorabo

Epode 7 Quo quo scelesti ruitis? (f. 59vo)

T primo civili bello finito ut ab alio abstineat deprecatur, ternarius iambicus
 binarius iambice podicos†
 M metrum quod supra

⁵⁹⁶ Sol. 2.35-36

⁵⁹⁷ m vel <ver>te

⁵⁹⁸ V ...persequar, qui prius...; W ...persequar, qui primus...

⁵⁹⁹ Holder de se hoc poeta dicit...

⁶⁰⁰ U ...inveheris in aliquem...

⁶⁰¹ X ...tumidus placans† si invitens† ad prandium (*post. corr.* ...sed invitans...)

1# civile bellum monstrat, quod Cesar Octavianus apud Philippos Macedonie urbem contra interfectores patris sui gessit. interfecerant autem eum Brutus et Cassius; fug[i]erunt autem ipsi in Greciam, ubi invenientes plures exercitus per totam Macedoniam occupaverunt eos. sed et Herodes de Siria illis in auxilium advenit. ergo Dolabellam ducem, Cesaris mortem ulcisci cupientem, multis bellis in Syria victum ad mortem compulerunt. dein apud Athenas convenientes totam Greciam pene depopulati sunt. Rodios terra marique obpugnatos ad deditionem coegerunt. hisque nihil preter vitam reli[n]querunt.⁶⁰²

1IL in eos dicit qui bella civilia volunt reparare post Cesarem^{VX}

2IL [CONDITI] iam in vagina constituti^{UV603}

3IL [PARUMNE] num quid*; [NEPTUNO] pro mari^{mVW}; idest nivali† certamine^{VWX}

5IL non ex hoc pugnatis*; s. ideo aptantur enses^m dextris^{δUVXy604}

5? ipse sibi respondit: non hoc facitis ad <d>evastandas exteris nationes, ut de eis triumphetis, sed ut vos mutuo perimatis.

7IL [INTACTUS] bellis scilicet, numquid† victus, indomitus†^{UVW605}

9IL extincto Crasso^{UW}

9# Marcus Lucinius† Crassus, collega Gn. Pompei Magni in consulatu secundo, contra Parthos missus est et, cum circa Carras contra omen et auspicia dimicasset, a Sureno, Orodus regis duce, victus. ad postremum interfectus est cum filio, clarissimo et prestantissimo iuvene, et signa ablata sunt. reliquie exercitus per Cassium questorem servate sunt, qui Siriam contra Romanos tumescentem egregia animi virtute ac moderacione pressit; qui et Antiochum† copiasque eius ingentes vicit et interfecit, Parthos ab Orode in Siriam missos iamque ingressos Antiochiam bello expulit ducemque eorum Osangen interfecit.⁶⁰⁶

10IL [SUA/...DEXTERA] idest bellis civilibus^{VWX607}

11# non faciunt fere quod vos, Romani, sanguine in mutuo petentes se, nam fere eiusdem <...> habent inter se pacem, disparem persequuntur.

12# omnia animalia exceptis hominibus cum disparibus pugnant.^{UV608}

13 [VIS ACRIOR] aliud plus quam furor^{mUVX609}; invicta^X; fatalis necessitas^{CeUVX610}

13 tria ponit utrum furore exagitati, an acriore† vi idest fato, an peccatis impedi[m]entibus arma contra se sumerent.

14f. eleganter quasi his verbis convicti stete<rint>, deinde sceleris conscientia pallue<rint>.

14? [ex]<fa>to laboramus et culpa, aut propter scelus <...> modo punimur quod fa[c]to commissum est.^{U611}

15# quia pallore[m] fedamur, quando non habemus prompte quod respondeamus. sic Cicero [Cat.1.8.21] ‘cum tacent clamant’.

⁶⁰² Eutr. 7.3; Oros. 6.18.13 {2.3.1

⁶⁰³ U ...vaginis constitu<ti>

⁶⁰⁴ m non ideo...; δmVX ...aptatis..., y ...aptastis...

⁶⁰⁵ ceteri numquam; W indomitus, numquam bello victus (only)

⁶⁰⁶ Eutr. 6.18; Oros. 6.13.5 {2.3.1 App.

⁶⁰⁷ W civili bello

⁶⁰⁸ V cum disparibus pingunt† (only)

⁶⁰⁹ m idest deorum ira, que est acrior vis quam furor

⁶¹⁰ V fatalis quedam necessitas

⁶¹¹ U scelus necis Remi...

- 15IL [TACENT] quasi convicti
 16IL [MENTES PERCULSE] conscientia
 17IL quasi senserit unde modo penas dant Romani^{UV612}
 17 quasi tandem causam furoris invenerit ita intulit 'sic est'. fato agimus† ad hoc bellum, supplicium pendentes ab[s]† cedem Romuli in fratre<m> admissam.
 19# innoxiam mortem Remi ad memoriam reducit. sicut, inq[i]uens, pro iniusta morte Remi, quem Romulus fratrem occidit, patres nostri Romani pestilentiam incurrerunt, ita nos pro scelere bellorum civilium pacem inter nos habere non possumus.
 19IL [UT] pro postquam^{UVXy}; [REMI] fratris*
 20IL [SACER] aut venerabilis aut execrabilis

Epode 8 Rogare longo putidam (f. 59vo-60ro)

- M metrum quod supra
 T pro<stitutam> putidam anum sectatur vitia cor<poris> eius; in Gratidiam
 1IL [ROGARE] mirum est
 8IL [QUALES] qualia
 17IL [INLITTERATI] indocti
 18IL [FASCINUM] virile membrum
 14 inter honustum et honeratum hoc interest, quod oneratus est qualicumque pressus pondere, honustus vero cui honus ipsum honori est, ut si quis hostium spolia ferat. sed oneratus adspirationem non habet, quia ab onere venit. honustus vero, quia etiam ab honore descendit, retinet adspirationem.⁶¹³

Epode 9 Quando repostum Caecubum (f. 60ro-vo)

- T ad C. Mecenatem ternarius iambicus binarius iambicos podicos†; bello adversus Antonium et Cleopatram designat votis victoriam Caesaris.
 M metrum quod supra

Epode 10 Mala soluta navis (f. 61ro)

- T in Mevium poetam ternarius iambicus, binarius iambicus podicos†

Epode 11 Petti, nihil me sicut antea (f. 61ro-vo)

- T ad Pectum de <In>achia quam diligit; ternarius iambicus quadratus, compositus a dactilo in iamb[ic]um. Pectio amico suo invisam si<bi> poeticen esse in concubitus suos urru<m>pentem†.

Epode 12 Quid tibi vis, mulier (f. 61vo-62ro)

- T in Gratidiam converso nomine senarius epicus quadratus dactilicos podicos†; summe libidinis mulierem et dignam ait esse elephantis.

Epode 13 Horrida tempestas (f. 62ro-vo)

- T ad amicos senarius epicus quadratus comicos ab iambo in dactilon; amicos hortatur ut vim tempestatis de die discumbendo vitent et, dum non sit impedimento senectus, voluptatibus vacent.

⁶¹² V ... senserint...

⁶¹³ Serv. Aen. 1.289 = Isid. Diff. 194 (285)

Epode 14 Mollis inertia (f. 62vo-63ro)

- T ad C. Mecenatem senarius epicus binarius iambice podicos; Mecenati excusat desidiam suam et obiurgat se quod non consummovit† iambica amoribus evocatus.†
- G alloquitur Mecenatem significans frequenter illum de sese querere, cur neglegat carmina sua scribere. deinde quasi interrogationes eius volens effugere amorem causatur.
- 1IL idest cur inertia que molles facit homines tantam nobis oblivionem intulit.^{UX614}
- 1 in honorem Mecenatis g<rationis>ficatur Terentie, Elene eam comparans
- 2 vis scire qui infuderit oblivionem^X; amor qui te sollicitat^{X615}
- 3IL [UT SI DUCENTIA] pro<ducentia>*; quasi afferentia^{VWX616}
- 5IL [CANDIDE] o bone, pure^{eJUVX617}; [ROGANDO] interrogando^{δmUVVWXy618}
- 6IL [IAMBOS] olim inceptos
- 8IL [AD UMBILICUM] ad profectioriem†^{JUVW619}; [BATILLO 9] notandum arsisse Batillo, non Batillum^{UX620}
- 9IL [BATILLO] nomen pueri^{JUVX}
- 10IL [TEIUM] a civitate^{JU}; ut alibi [*Odes* 1.17.18] ‘*fide Theia*’
- 12 dicitur Anacreon amore Batilli sepe carmina sine pedum lege scripsisse, vel quia Anacreon amorem suum scripsit non perfecto pede sed modulatione.^{eJUVX621}
- 12# idest non me[ri]trica arte compositum.^{JUV} lirici enim poete ipsi metra componunt.^U
- 13IL [URERIS] a Terentia^{J622} quam amas^{UV}; [IGNIS] mulier^X
- 13 mire autem ‘ignis’ et propter amorem Paridis et propter incendiam† Troye.^U
- 13 quod si non fuit pulchrior Helena hac, quam tu diligis gloriare.^{JUVX623} Terentiam enim amabat Mecenas.^{UVX624}
- 15IL [GAUDE SORTE TUA] gaude tuo fa[c]to quo na<c>tus es pulchram mulierem^{VWX625}; [LIBERTINA] que sit meretrix^{VX}
- 16IL [PHRYNE] nomen mulieris^{UVX}; [MACERAT] coget amando torqueri^{UVX626}

Epode 15 Nox erat caelo (f. 63ro-vo)

- T Neeram amicam suam alloquitur periuriisque eius se deceptum significat, quod suum amorem in alium transtulisset quem necat† perpetuum futurum.
- 1IL auget culpam periurii^{J627} istius, quod tempus† metuendo est factum.^{UVX628}

⁶¹⁴ U...obtulit; X...obtulerat, (*post corr.*) obtulerit

⁶¹⁵ X...me sollicitat

⁶¹⁶ W tamquam afferentia; X afferentia (only)

⁶¹⁷ J pure (only); U bene...

⁶¹⁸ X interrog<?>

⁶¹⁹ ceteri profectionem

⁶²⁰ U deest notandum

⁶²¹ e...amore occupatus...; X deest quia {1.4

⁶²² J a Terentia puella

⁶²³ U idest si... X idest si...amas; V idest <...> non fuit...

⁶²⁴ VX... amavit Mecenas

⁶²⁵ V fato tuo (only); X quia natus† es pulchram mulierem (only)

⁶²⁶ U...amando languere

⁶²⁷ J culpam auget periurii <...?> cum tempus per noctis silentium memoratur

⁶²⁸ ceteri tempore metuendo

- 1# in hac ode queritur de Neera, quod non servet fidem iuris iurandi, quo se obstrinxerat semper cum Oracio esse victuram. deinde horrendum ipsum iusiurandum vult facere. ‘noctis silentium erat’, inquit, ‘celum serenum, cum astris luna lucebat’.
- 3f.# [NUMEN LAESURA DEORUM] ad eventum refert^U; quam postea fidem rupit^{UX629}; non quod cum iuraret studium fallendi in animo habere<t>.^{U630}
- 4IL [IN VERBA IURABAS MEA] secundum verba que proposueram
- 4# hoc ius iurandum conceptis verbis dicitur cum alter alteri dicet verba que sequantur.^{UX631}
- 5IL [ARTIUS] diligentius; [ATQUE] quam; [HEDERA] cum*
- 5# arcus te mihi coniunctam fore quam ilex cum edera astringatur
- 5 alia res que auget culpam periurii, quod eo tempore peie<ravit>, quo erat diffusa membris Oraci.
- 6IL [LENTIS ADHERENS BRACHIIS] tardis, diutius^V inherentibus^U; tu meis^{δmy}; cum iurares^{JU}
- 6# idest adherens mihi eras, cum iurares, amplexu brachiorum; lentis aut[em] mollibus autem ad hederam referendum est, ut [Georg. 2.12] ‘lenteque geneste†’.
- 7IL [PECORI] scilicet insidiato*
- 8IL [TURBARET HIBERNUM MARE] turbando hibernum faceret
- 9 ordo e<s>t dum au[ro]ra agigaret intonsos capillos Apollinis*
- 9# quasi presto sit semper Apollo, ubi sit poeta, non quia nocte sol esse poterat
- 10IL que me mutuo amore diligit parem^{UVX632}
- 11IL qu<i>a si iratus fuero contempno† te et incipis† dolere; [VIRTUTE] constantia^J animi^{UVW}
- 12IL [FLACCO] Oracio; siquid virile in se habet Oracius
- 13IL [NE FERET] ipse Oracius^{UVX}; [POTIORI] qui tibi po[r]tior videtur
- 13 id est qui tibi po[r]tior videtur quam ego; ceterum Flaccus rivalem suum nunquam sibi ipsi preferret, ut alibi [Odes 1.13.2f.] ‘cerea brachia Telephi et rosam cervicem’ dixit et† animo meretricis.⁶³³
- 15# consta<n>tia amatoris cedit forme mulieris, quando lesus non audet abscedere. hoc est quod dicit: ‘si offensus fuero, non cedam forme tue’, non tibi serviam, non perseverabo iniuriam passus.
- 15 quod solet cadere in amantes. nam post litem et iracundiam solent amatos denuo supplicare. sensus est: non cedet constantia mea <...> tua forma, quominus eam contempnat ac relinquat, si indignationem certa mente concepero.
- 19IL [SIS] pro quam vis*; nova figura: ‘dives illa re’*
- 20IL [FLUAT] scilicet aurum
- 20# et habeas tantas [di] divicias ut tibi vide<a>tur Pactolus fluere. Pactolus autem fluvius est qui harenas aureas trahit, ut Hermus.
- 21IL subaudi quamvis; [ARCANA] philosophia^{eUV634}

⁶²⁹ U ad veniam refert, quoniam postea...

⁶³⁰ contrast Porph. ad loc.: quasi, cum iuraret, iam perfidiam fallendi in animo haberet.

⁶³¹ { 1.4

⁶³² U parem, ...diligat.

⁶³³ Keller ...ex animo...

⁶³⁴ V philoso†

21 quamvis sis philosophus, fuit enim alte doctrine difficilisque; RENATI autem, idest denuo nati, quia dicitur anima Pytagore primum Euforbi Troyam fuisse, post Homeri, et post ad ipsum Pythagoram transisse, deinde ad pavonem.

22IL [NEREA] acc<usativus> Grec<us>^{UV635}

Epode 16 Altera iam teritur (f. 63vo-64vo)

T alterna vice heroico alterna iambico scripta est. verum Oratius rei publicae deflet fortunam.

M primo versu heroicum secundo iambicum trimetrum <c>atalecticum

1# in hac enim ode conqueritur, quod bellis civilibus nullus finis imponitur†. altera autem etas alterum seculum. execratur autem bella civilia, quia post bellum commissum a Cesare et Pompeio alterum parabatur ab Augusto Cesare contra Brutum et Cas<sium> – [Odes 1.15?] rivalem tangit suum* – interfectores Cesaris.

1# [ALTERA... ETAS] idest alterum seculum

2IL Levius†: magnitudine sua laborat; id est in perniciam† suam fortis est Roma.^U

3 Marsi, qui primi moverunt bella civilia. sensus [est non] <ver>sus tenditur in multos, idest quam tot hostes non potuerunt perdere, nos impi<a> etas perdemus.

3# Iulius Cesar Marsorum pugna victus <ce>so fugit exercitu. Rutilius consul Marium propinquum suum legatum sibi legit: quem assidue submonentem moram bello utilem fore et paulisper in castris exercere militem oportere tironem, dolo id eum agere ratus contempsit seseque in insidias Marsorum et universum agmen exercitus sui incautus iniecit; ubi et ipse consul occisus est <et> multi nobiles interfecti et octo milia Romanorum militum cesa sunt. arma et corpora interfectorum in conspectum Marii legati Telonus fluvius pertulit atque in testi<mo>nium cladis evexit. Marius receptis copiis continuo victores insperatos† obpressit, octo milia et ipse Marsorum interfecit. Cepio autem Marsis deductus in insidias, cum exercitu interfectus est.⁶³⁶

4IL [PORSENNE MANUS] pro Tarquiniis, ut Virgilius [cf. *Aen.* 8.646-7]

‘<Por>senna iubebat/ accipere ingentique urbem <...>’

4# Tarquinius Superbus habuit perditos filios, inter quos Arruntem. qui dum in castris esset, patre suo Ardeam obsidente et ortus esset inter eum et Collatinum maritum Lucrecie de uxoribus sermo. eo usque processit contentio ut ad probandos earum mores, arreptis equis statim domos suas simul proficiscerentur. ingressi itaque civitatem Collaciam ubi fuit Lucrecie domus invenerunt eam lanifici[i]<o> opera<m> <...> et tristem propter mariti absentiam. inde Arruntis domum profecti cum uxorem eius invenisset ca<n>tilenis et saltacionibus indulgentem reversi ad castra sunt. quod Arruns dolens cum de expugnanda Lucrecie castitate cogitaret, mariti eius nomine epistolam finxit et dedit Lucrecie, in qua hoc continebatur, ut Arruns susciperetur hospicio. quo facto per noctem stricto gladio eius ingressus cubiculum cum Ethi<o>pe, hac arte egit ut secum coiret dicens ‘nisi mecum concubueris Ethiopem tecum interimo, tamquam in adulterio deprehender<im>.’ timens itaque Lucretia ne famam castitatis amore perderet quippe quam sine purgatione futuram esse cernebat, invita turpibus imperiis

⁶³⁵ V iioit<ivu>s? est Grecus

⁶³⁶ Oros. 5.18.11-14

paruit. et altero die convocatis propinquis marito Collatino patre Tricipitino Bruto avunculo qui tribunus equitum celerum fuit rem indicans petiit ne violatus pudor neve inultus eius esset interitus, et arrepto gladio se interemit. quem Brutus de eius corpore exertum tenens processit ad populum et multa conquestus de Tarquinii superbia et filiorum eius turpitudine egit ne in urbem reciperentur, auctoritate qua plurimum poterat, nam ut diximus Brutus tribunus equitum fuit. sed cum non susciperetur, Tarquinius contulit se ad Porsennam regem Tuscie, qui pro Tarquinio cum ingentibus copiis capto Ianiculo et illic castris positus Romam vehementer obsedit. et cum per Sublicium pontem, hoc est ligneum, transire conaretur, solus Cocles hostilem impetum sustinuit donec a tergo pons solveretur a sociis. quo soluto se cum armis precipitavit in Tiberim, et licet lesus in coxa tamen [in] fluenta superavit. unde est illud ab eo dictum cum ei in comiciis coxe vicium obiceretur, ‘per singulos gradus admoneor triumphi mei’. in tantam autem obsidionis necessitatem populus venerat ut etiam obsides daret, ex quibus Cloelia inventa occasione transnavit fluvium et Romam reversa est, redditaque rursus est pacis lege eam Porsenna repetente, qui ammiratus virtutem puelle dedit ei optionem ut cum quibus vellet rediret. illa elegit virgines, unde Porsenna hoc quoque miratus concessit. et rogavit per literas populum Romanum ut ei aliquid virile decerneretur, cui data est statua equestris quam in Sacra via hodieque conspiciamus.⁶³⁷

1# [5 VIRTUS CAPUE] propter bellum Punicum, quia Capuenses pro Cartaginensibus facieba<n>t

5# Spartacus princeps gladiator<um>; de illis quatuor ex† septuaginta, qui ludo egressi, ut Salustius <...>, grave prelium cum Romano populo gesserunt.

5# Licinio Crasso consule septuaginta et iiii gladiatores ducibus Spartago, Crixo et Incinao effracto Capue vico fugerunt et per Italiam vagantes pene non levius bellum in ea, quam Hannibal movebat, paravere. nam multis ducibus et duobus simul Romanorum consulibus victis lx fere milium armatorum exercitum congregaverunt. hos tandem Grass[i]us in Apulia vicit et post multas calamitates Italie tertio anno bello huic est finis inpositus.⁶³⁸

6IL [NOVISQUE REBUS] coniurationi<bu>s^{JV639}; [INFIDELIS ALLOBRAX†] proprium <nomen>^{Xy}; proditor coniurationis Catilene^{UVX}

8IL [PARENTIBUSQUE ABOMINATUS] maioribus;^V nostris^{δJm}; execracioni habitus^{VX}

8# Hannibal Penorum imperator anno etatis sue xx Saguntum florentissimam Hispanie civitatem, amicam populi Romani, primum bello inpetitam, deinde obsidione cinctam fameque cruciatam, omniaque fortiter contemplatione fidei, quam Romanis devoverant, digna indignaque tolerantem, octavo demum[mum] mense delevit. legatos Romanorum iniuriosissime etiam a conspectu suo prohibuit. exinde odio Romani nominis, quod patri suo Amilcari novem annos agens ante aras fidelissime iuraverat. P. Cornelio Scipione et P. Sempronio Longo consulibus Pyreneos montes transgressus inter ferocissimas Gallorum gentes ferro via aperta atque inviis rupibus ferro ignique rescissis ad plana Italie maximo labore pervenit, habens in exercitu suo c milia peditum et xx m equitum. Scipio consul primus Hannibali occurrit ap<ud> Ticenum. quo prelio ipse Scipio graviter vulneratus per Scipionem filium suum a morte vix est liberatus. deletio ac

⁶³⁷ Serv. *Aen.* 8.646

⁶³⁸ Eutr. 6.7 {2.1

⁶³⁹ V(?) coniurationis†

occiso pene omni Romano exercitu deinde pugnatum est ab eodem consule apud Treviam flumen iterumque Romani pari clade superati sunt. Sempronius alter consul apud eundem fluvium congressus Hannibali amisso exercitu solus pene evasit. in eo tamen bello Hannibal sauciatus est. qui postea, cum in Etruriam primo vere transiret, in summo Appennino nivibus conclusus obrigit. ubi magnus hominum numerus, iumenta complurima, elephanti pene omnes frigoris acerbitate perierunt. Lucius Emilius Paulus et Publius Terentius Varro consules contra Hannibalem missi infelicissime apud Cannas Apulie vicum omnes pene Romane spei vires perdiderunt, nam in ea pugna quadraginta iiii milia Romanorum interfecti sunt. interempto etiam consule Emilio Paulo Varro consul cum L equitibus Venusium fugit. nam non dubium est ultimum illum diem Romani status fuisse, si Hannibal mox post victoriam ad pervadendam urbem contendisset. Hannibal in testimonium sue victoriae tres modios anulorum aureorum Cartaginem misit, quos de manibus equitum senatorumque occisorum detraxerat.⁶⁴⁰

9IL quod illi omnes non potuerunt perdere nos impia <...> perdemus.

9# ingemisco sic desertum urbis locum affuturum, quomodo fuit antequam conderetur.

10IL ante enim quam edificiis ornaretur silva fuit.

11IL [CINERES INSISTET] supra cineres stabit^{eJUVX}

11 [VICTOR] voti compos; [INSISTET] insultavit† ideo quod bellis civilibus urbem inventurus exhaustam, sic, inquit, urbs bellis civilibus affligeretur† ut a quocumque barbaro possit opprimi.^{UV641}

12IL et illa que sepulta sunt dissipavit†

13IL [OSSA QUIRINI] quia semper clausum est templum eius; id est Romuli

13 plerique aiunt in Rostris Romulum esse sepultum et in memoriam huius rei leones duos ibi fuisse, sicut hodieque in sepulchris videmus, atque inde esse, ut pro <Ro>stris mortui laudarentur. que ossa, cum sint sepulta, nefas est palam fieri vel videri. hoc sic dicit quasi Romulus sepultus sit et non sublatus ad celum aut discerptus. nam et Varro dicit pro <Ro>stris fuisse sepulchrum Romuli.

14IL [INSOLENS] s. eque[n]s^{JUWX}

15IL [QUID EXPEDIAT] scilicet queretis† a me omnes aut plures ‘quid experiat’†.^{UX642}

15# ‘melior’ pro ‘maior’, ut ille [Aen. 9.156] ‘*nunc adeo, quoniam melior <...> acta die<i> est.*’ sensus autem est: forte aut omnes aut melior pars hominum consilium a me requirentes, quemadmodum malis his pos<s>itis carere, quid agendum sit, accipite consilium, cum pocior sententia nulla vobis sit, quam ut eatis quocumque <v>os pedes ferunt†, velut Phoeorum civitas profugit execrata agros atque patrios Laros†, fanaque reliquid habitanda apris et rapacibus lupis. etenim relicto patrio solo venerunt in Galliam, Massiliamque urbem, ut lectum est, condiderunt.

16IL [MALIS] duris^{VX}

17IL [NULLA SIT] pro est^{UV}; [SENTENTIA] quam dicturus sum^{eV}

17# sub Philippo rege Macedonum Thebani sane multis preliis contra Focenses dimicantes, tandem victis censum indixerunt, sed cum tantum† pecuniam illis indixissent quantam illi solvere nequaquam possent, iterum ad arma confugere coegerunt. Focenses

⁶⁴⁰ Oros. 4.14.1-3, 4.14.5-8, 4.16.1-5 {2.2.1

⁶⁴¹ UV ... affligetur ... quocumque postea barbaro... {1.3

⁶⁴² ceteri ...expediat; X fortasse...

Philomelum ducem legunt commissa pugna hostes Thebanos fugant, Focenses illorumque castra capiunt. secundo deinde bello inter immensas utriusque populi strages Philomelus occiditur, in cuius locum Focenses Enomaum ducem creant, iterum dimicare parati. Thebani inferiores se esse videntes, Philippum Macedonie regem sibi ducem fore expetivere. Philippus extracto exercitu Focenses bello appetit et usque ad internicionem† pene cicidet†. post hec Thebani denuo Philippum exorant ut Focensibus iterum bellum inferret. at Focenses adhibitis secum Athenensibus et Lacedemoniis vel differri bellum vel auferri precio precibusque laborabant. sed Philippus callide utrisque diversa promisit, Focensibus pacem et veniam se daturum confirmans, Thebanis vero se mox affuturum spondet. bellum tamen ab utrisque parari vetat. itaque instructis copiis Philippus rupta fide spretoque sacramento omnes Focenses dilacerationi dedit, urbemque incendit. exin Focenses patriam exsecrantes ut quam longissime profugerent coniuraverunt atque ita in ultimos Gallie transalpine sinus navibus profecti, Massiliam ibi condiderunt ea<m>que ex nomine ducis nuncupaverunt.⁶⁴³

21# hoc superiori sic iungendum est: nulla sit hac potior sententia[m], quam eatis quocumque vos pedes ferunt.

21IL hoc existimo faciendum^{UV}; hec est melior sententia^{UVX}

23IL [SIC PLACET] interrogaci[on]<v>e†, ^δ aut† melius hortative^{UVXy644}

24IL [SECUNDA/ ALITE] secundo auspicio^{δmUVXy645}; bone† omine^{JU}

25IL [IN HEC] facta*

25IL [SAXA RENARINT] sursum emergerint

23# ergo si nemo suadet aliam sententiam^{UV}

25 idest debemus iurare non ante redire ad patriam, quam saxa nataverint, levata de imis vadis, ut ante quam res impossibiles facte sunt. ex impossibilibus reversionem ponit dicens: cum saxa imo fundo maris levata fuerint, tunc redeamus. per quod intellegitur non redeundum decrevisse Phacenses.†

26IL [NE REDIRE SIT NEFAS] idest ne videatur nobis esse nefas redire ad patriam cum hec facta fuerint^{UV646}; [NE] ut*

27IL [CONVERSA DOMUM] contra urbem Romam versa^{VX}; [LINTEA] vela^{δemUy}

28-IL [LAVERIT] preterf<l>uerit^{VX}; Matinus mons Calabrie

28# ut ille [Verg. *Ecl* 1. 59] ‘ante leves ergo pascentur in ethere cervi’ ac per hoc dicit se hoc vinculo iuris iurandi constringere, ne aliquando redeant: saxa etenim numquam possunt natere, et cum radices quidem Matini montis Padit† contingere non possit, quip[ro]pe cum Padus Italie, Matinus Calabrie mons sit.

29IL [PRECURRERIT] precesserit; ceciderit^X; [APPENNINUS] mons

29# ab Albibus enim oritur Appenninus et usque ad fretum Siculum pervenit. et quasi dorso quodam Italiam mediam scindit inferumque a supero mari dividit. sive, inquit, Appenninus mons promuntorium maris fiet, cum longe a mari sit.

30IL [NOVA LIBIDINI†] novo disederio

⁶⁴³ Oros. 3.12.12-14, 25-28; Isid. *Etym.* 15.1.63 = Sch. Luc. 3.339 {2.3.1

⁶⁴⁴ **ceteri** interrogative; **X** [SIC PLACET] interrogative, [AN MELIUS] hortative; **y** [23] hec interrogative dicuntur..., [24] hoc iam hortative loquitur...; **δ** [15] haec interrogative dicuntur; **UV** [SIC PLACET] interrogative aut melius hortative. *Aut melius* may be a corruption of the Horatian lemma *an melius* rather than part of the original scholion. (UV Horace text reads *an melius*.)

⁶⁴⁵ **U** prospero auspicio; **X** bono auspicio; **δmy** auspicio (only)

⁶⁴⁶ **V** ...ne videatur nefas esse redire...

- 31IL ypallage est. ut delectat† cervas subsidere tigris; discordantia animalia^X per naturam^{UV}
- 32IL ut^J paciatur columba[m] subicere se milvo^{UV}
- 32# Ovidius [*Met.* 2.716] ‘*rapidissima milvus exitii*’; milvus tamen generis feminini dicimus.
- 33IL non semper credula, sed in hoc credula ut leonibus se committant
- 35IL [HEC] verba iuremus^{δJmUWX647}; [DULCES] aliis dulces non nobis
- 36# hoc dicit: aut[em] omnis civitas proficiscamur aut[em] pars que est melior vulgo.
- 36IL [EXSECRATA CIVITAS] cum execrati fuerimus hanc civitatem^{UVWX648}
- 37# idest aut[em] omnes eamus aut pars que est indocili grege melior, idest prudentiores; mollis autem pars et expers rationis loco resistat. ‘expers’ dicitur sine parte, ‘exspe[r]s’ sine spe, ‘ex lege†’ sine lege.
- 37IL sed quorum est maior^{UV649}; [GREGE?] pro populo^{UVX}; [MOLLIS ET EXSPES] que est inhers et sine spe remaneat in civitate
- 38IL [INOMINATA] mali ominis^{VWX650}; [PERPRIMAT CUBILIA] calcet^{emVWX}; mire cubilia subiunxit quia premisera<t> gregem^{JUX651}
- 39IL [VIRTUS] audacia^{JVX}; [TOLLITE] auferte^{JUV}
- 39# [MULIEBREM] epitheton naturale posuit, quia omnis luctus mollis est.
- 40IL [PRETER VOLATE] idest preter navigate^{JUX652}
- 41 ‘beata arva’ dicit Insulas Fortunatas, et mire arva repetivit, ut Maro [cf. *Aen.* 1.553] ‘*fideliter Italiam*’ et iterum [*Aen.* 1.554] ‘*ut Italiam leti Latiumque petamus*’.
- 41IL [MANET] expectet†^{δJmUVXyZ653}; [CIRCUMVAGUS] circumfluens qui est vicinis† Insulis Fortunatarum†
- 42IL [DIVITES] fortunatas^{δUVy}
- 43IL [CEREREM] idest fructum*
- 43# hoc loco descripsit s[u]<it>um amoen[i]um et felicitatem Fortunatarum Insularum, que sunt in Oceano.
- 44IL [IMPUTATA] non purgata^{JUV}; [USQUE] aut semper aut valde
- 45IL [GERMINAT] floret; [NUMQUAM FALLENTIS] semper feracis^{UV}; [TERMES OLIVE] stipis^J olive^{UVX654}
- 46IL [PULLA] nigra vel [n]<m>atura; Virgilius [*Georg.* 3.89f.] ‘*ne maculis infuscet vellera pullis/ nascentum*’
- 48IL limpha sine impetu[m] fluens et limpida; [CREPANTE PEDE] respe[r]<xit> ad pedem nimpharum
- 49IL [INIUSSE] sua sponte^{UVWX}
- 50IL [TENTA] distenta; [GREX AMICUS] comodus suis

Epode 17 Iam iam efficaci (f. 64vo-66ro)

T fingit se Canidie veneficiis superatum allegoricos deprecatur ut sibi parcat

⁶⁴⁷ mW iuremus (only)

⁶⁴⁸ U cum execraverimus hanc civitatem

⁶⁴⁹ V maior (only)

⁶⁵⁰ X male† ominis

⁶⁵¹ J bene cubilia subiunxit postquam ...; JU premisit

⁶⁵² J navigate (only); U pretervolate, idest navigate; X ultra navigate

⁶⁵³ ceteri -at

⁶⁵⁴ ceteri stipes

7# Manlius consul et Quintus Cepio proconsul adversus Cymbros et Tetitonas et Tigorinos et Ambronas, Gallorum Germanorumque gentes, que tunc ut imperium Romanum exting<u>erent conspiraver<ant>, missi provincias sibi Rhodano flumine medio diviserunt. ubi, dum inter se gravissima invidia et contentione discertant, cum magna ignominia et periculo Romani nom[c]inis victi sunt. si quid in ea pugna Marcus Emilius consolaris† captus atque interfectus est, duo filii consulis cesi, octoginta milia Romanorum sociorumque <e>a tempestate trucidata, xl milia calorum atque lixarum interfecta. ita ex omni penitus exercitu x tantummodo homines, qui miserum nuncium ad augendas miseras reportarent, superfuisse referuntur. hostes bonis† castris atque ingenti preda potiti nova quedam atque insolita execratione cuncta que ceperant pessum dederunt; vestis discissa et proiecta est, aurum argentumque in flumen abiectum, lorice virorum concise, falere equorum disperdite, equi ipsi gurgitibus inmersi, homines laqueis collo inditis ex arboribus suspensi sunt, ita ut nihil prede victor, nihil misericordie victus agnosceret. maximus tunc Rome non solum luctus, verum etiam metus fuit, ne confestim Cymbri Alpes transgredierentur Italiamque delerent.⁶⁵⁵

8IL exemplo docet etiam inimicos precibus flecti; [NEPOTEM NEREIUM] Achillem
8# Grecos euntes contra Troianos Telephus rex Mis[i]orum non suscepit hospitio. vulneravit eum Achilles, et cum diu non curaretur responsum est ab eo posse sanari a quo fuerat vulneratus. ita, inquit, tu me que<m> obligasti inprecationibus, sana mutatis carminibus.

8 postquam ad Moesorum regionem universa<s> Grecorum classes uenti appulere, propere omnes signo dato naves litori admovent. dein egredi cupientibus a custodibus loci eius obviam <itum> est. eos namque Telephus, qui tum Messie imperator erat, quo omnis regio ab incursione maritimorum hostium defensaretur, litori prefecerat. igitur ubi descendere prohibentur, neque pri<us> permittitur terram contingere quam regi quinam essent nunciaretur, nostri primo que dicebantur negligere et singuli navibus egredi. dein postquam a custodibus nihil remittebatur et summa vi resisti et prohiberi ceptum, duces omnes iniuriam manu vindicandam rati arreptis armis evolant navibus incensique ira cedere custodes neque versis his atque in fuga parcere, sed uti quisque fugientem comprehenderat obtruncare. interim ad Telephum, qui primi fuga Grecos evaserant, veniunt, inruisse multa milia hostium eosque cesis custodibus litora occupasse et multa preterea singuli pro metu suo aditantes nuntiant. dein re cognita Telephus cum his, quos circum se habebat, aliisque, qui in ea festinatione in unum conduci potuere, propere Grecis obviam ivit ac statim condens[is s]atis utrimque frontibus vi magna concurratur. dein uti quisque in manus venerat, interficitur, cum interim his aut illis ex casu suorum percussis vehementius invicem instaretur. sed in ea pugna Thessandrus Poliniciis congressus cum Telepho, ictusque ab eo cadit multis tamen hostium ante interfectis, in quibus Telephi comitem, quem rex ob industriam virium atque ingenii inter duces habebat, strennue dimicantem interfecit atque ita paulatim elatus secundo belli eventu et ob id meliora viribus aggressus interficitur. atque eius cruentum corpus Diomedes, quod ei iam tum a parentibus ceptum cum eo societatis vis perseverabat, humeris extulit. idque [in] igni crematum, quod superfuerat, patrio more sepeliit. ast ubi animadvertere Achilles et Ajax Telamonius magno suorum detrimento eventum belli trahi, exercitum in duas partes dispertiunt, ac pro tempore cohortati suos, tamquam restauratis viribus acrius hostes incurr<un>t, ipsi duces principes certaminis, cum modo insequerentur fugientes,

⁶⁵⁵ Oros. 5.16.1-7; Oros. binis castris

modo ingruentibus semet instar muri opponerent. atque ita omni modo primi aut inter primos bellantes preclaram iam tum virtutis sue famam apud hostes atque inter suos effecere. interim Teuthranus, Thetanto et Alige genitus, frater Telephi uterinus, ubi animadvertit Aiace tanta adversus suos gloria dimicantem, propere ad eum convertit ibique pugnando ictus telo eius occubuit. eius causa† Telephus non mediocriter percussus ulcionemque fraterne mortis expetens, infestus [Ai]ac<i>em invadit atque ibi, fugatis quos adversum ierat, cum obstinate Ulixem inter vineas que ei loco adiuncte erant insequeretur, prepeditus trunco vitis ruit. id ubi Achilles procul animadvertit, telum iaculatus femur sinistrum regi transfigit. at Telephus impigre resurgens ferrum ex corpore extrahit et protectus concursu suorum ab instanti pernicie liberatus est. iamque diei plerumque processerat, cum utraque acie intenta prelium sine ulla requie iugi certamine ac strenue adversum se ducibus fatigaretur. namque nostros multorum dierum navigio in aliquantum exhaustos, maxime presentia Telephi debilitaverat. is namque Hercule genitus procerus corpore ac pollens viribus, divinis patriis virtutibus propriam gloriam equiperaverat. igitur advenit ante noct cunctis cupientibus requies belli facta ac Mesi ad se domum, nostri ad naves digrediuntur. ceterum in ea pugna <...> exercitus interfecti multi mortales, sed et vulnerati pars maxima, prorsus nullo aut perpauca clade belli eius expertibus. dein secunda die legati invicem de sepeliendis qui in bello [oc]<ce>ciderant mittuntur: atque ita indut<iis> interpositis collecta corpora atque igni cremata sepeliuntur. interim Depolemus, et cum fratre Antipho Phidippus, Thessalo geniti nepotes Herculis, cognito Telephum in his locis inperitare, fiducia cognationis ad eum veniunt eique, quinam essent et quibuscum navigassent, aperuere. dein multa invicem consumpta oratione ad postremum nostri acius incusare, quod tam hostiliter adversum suos versaretur. Agamemnonem namque et Menelaum Pelopidas, non [ad] alienos generis sui, eum exercitum contraxisse. dein que circa dumum† Menelai ab Alexandro commissa essent raptumque Helene docent. atque dicere† eum, cum propter consanguinitatem tum precipue ob scelus violati communis hospitii, Grecis ultro ferre auxilium, in quorum gratiam ipsius etiam Herculis plurima laborum munimenta per totam Greciam existere. ad ea Telephus, etsi dolore vulneris inmodice afflictabatur, benigne tamen respondens, ipsorum potius ait culpa factum, quod amicissimos et iunctos sibi generis affinitate regno suo adpullos† ignoraverit; premittendos etenim fuisse, per quos cognito eorum adventum obviam ire gratulantem oportuerit, atque amice hospitio receptos donatosque muneribus cum commodum ipsius videretur remittere. ceterum militiam adversus Priamum recusare; Astochon enim Priami iunctam sibi matrimonio, ex qua Euripilus artissimum pignus affinitatis intercederet. dein propere popularibus, uti ab incepto desisterent, nunciari iubet atque ita nostris liberam egrediendi navibus potestatem permittit. Depolemus et qui cum eo venerant Euripilo traduntur: hique perfectis que cupierant ad naves pergunt nuntiantes Agamemnoni ac reliquis regibus pacem concordiamque cum Telepho. que ubi ei accepere, apparatus belli leti omittunt. dein <ex> consilii sententia Achilles cum Aiace ad Telephum pervenere eumque iactatum magnis doloribus consolati, ut viriliter incommodum ferret, deprecabantur. ad Telephum, ubi aliquantum requies doloris intercesserat, Grecos incusare, quod ne[c] nuncium quidem adventus sui premisisset. dien percontatur, quinam et quanti Pelopide in ea militia essent doctusque multis precibus orat ut ad se omnes veniant. tunc nostri facturos se que vellet polliciti desiderium regis reliquis nunciare. igitur omnes Pelopide preter Agamemnonem et Menelaum in unum congregati ad Telephum veniunt, multumque

gratulationis atque leticie sua presentia regi obtulere. ac deinde muneribus largiter donati hospicio recipiuntur. n<e>que tamen miles reliquus, qui apud naves erat, munificencie regis expers fuit: namque ex numero navium frumentum aliaque necessaria affatim portabantur. ceterum ubi rex Agamemnonem fratremque eius ab<esse> [eius] animadvertit, multis precibus Ulixem deprecatur, uti ad eos acci[pi]endos pergeret. hi itaque ad Telephum veniunt ac more regio invicem acceptis datisque donis Machaonem et Podalirium, E<s>culapii filios, venire ac vulneri mederi iubent. qui inspecta cura propere apta dolori medicamina inponunt.⁶⁵⁶

11IL [UNXERE] idest sepeli<ve>re^{JUXV657}

12IL [HOMICIDAM] id est virum fortem

13IL [REX] Priamus^{JUV}

16# Circe autem ideo Solis fingitur filia, quia clarissima meretrix fuit, nihil est sole clarius. haec libidine sua et blandimentis homines in ferinam vitam ab humana deducebat, ut libidini et voluptatibus operam darent: unde datus est locus fabulae aperte. hec igitur Circe in insula Meonia delatos ad se in feras mutabat. ad hanc forte delatus Ulixes Euriloquum cum xx et duobus sociis misit, quos ab humana specie mutavit. sed Euriloquus inde fugit Ulixi nunciavit. is solus ad eam proficiscitur, cui in itinere Mercurius remedium dedit, monstravit quomodo Circen deciperet. qui, postquam ad eam venit, ab ea poculo accepto Mercurius remedium miscuit et eduxit ensem eique minatus est ut socios sibi restituisset. tunc Cyrce sensit sine voluntate deorum non esse factum, fideque data socios ei restituit. ipse cum ea concubuit ex qua Thelegonum procreavit.⁶⁵⁸

31# Nessus centaurus vulneratus ab Hercule in raptu Deianere et avidus ulciscendi eius, tinctam lenam† sanguine suo qua[m] se cruentum tersit dedit Deianere dicens enim† ab Hercule nimium posse diligi si ex ea convectam tunicam Herculi daret induere. que cum precepta Nessi servaret Herculi confectam optulit† tunicam. qui mox ut eam indutus est tanto ardore correptus ut ipse sibi suos artus dilaniaret et ad postremum dolore victus pyra constructa in Eta monte sese igni dedit, quo purgatus corpore dicitur in numero deorum receptus.⁶⁵⁹

33# causa huius incendii hec est. sunt terre desudantes sulphur, ut paene totus tractus Campaniae, ubi est Vesuvius et Caurus montes, quod indicat aquarum odor calentium. item novimus ex aque motu ventum creari, esse etiam concavas terras. sed constat ab e[tern]a parte, qua Eurus vel Africus flant, habere speluncas et plenas sulphuris et usque ad mare deductas. he spelunce <...> in se fluctus, ventum creant, qui agitatus ignem gignit ex sulphure: unde est quod videtur incendium. hoc autem verum esse illa conprobat ratio, quia et aliis flantibus ventis nihil ex sese emittit et pro modo flantum Euri vel Africi interdum fumum, interdum favillas, nonnumquam incendia.⁶⁶⁰

48# sciendum quia apud maiores ubiubi quis fuisset extinctus, ad domum suam referebatur, unde est [Aen. 6.152] ‘*sedibus hunc refer ante suis*’, et illic septem erat diebus, octavo incendebatur, nono sepiliebatur†, unde Oracius [Ep. 17.48] ‘*novendiales dissipare pulveres*’. inde etiam ludi qui in honorem mortuorum celebrantur novendiales dicuntur. nam Plinius dicit hanc esse causam ut mortui et calida abluantur et per

⁶⁵⁶ Dict. 2.1-6; eius casu, decere eum

⁶⁵⁷ JU sepeliere; VX sepelire(?)

⁶⁵⁸ Serv. Aen. 7.19; Sch. Theb. 4.550 {7

⁶⁵⁹ See Epode 3.17

⁶⁶⁰ Serv. Aen. 3.571

intervalla conclamentur, quod solet plerumque vitalis spiritus exclusus putari et homines fallere. denique refert quendam superpositum pyre adhibitis ignibus erectum esse nec potuisse liberari. unde et servabantur cadavera vii diebus, et calida abluebantur, et post ultimam conclamationem conburebantur, unde traxit Terentius ‘des<i>ne, iam conclamatum est’.⁶⁶¹

T [ad lin. 53] negat Canidiam sibi reconciliari ideo, [omnia] <quoniam> veneficia eius vulgaverit et ipsam Canidiam introducit loquentem.

60IL [PELIGNAS] Sabinas

66# Tantalus rex Chorchiniorum amicus numinibus fuit. que cum frequenter susciperet et quodam tempore defuissent epule, filium suum Pelopem occidit et diis epulandum apposuit. tunc abstinentibus cunctis, Ceres humanum† eius exedit. et cum dii per Mercurium revocare ad superos vellent, eburneus ei est humerus restitutus. Tantalus autem hac lege damnatus esse dicitur apud inferos, ut in Heridano inferorum stans nec undis presentibus nec vicinis eius pomariis perfruatur.⁶⁶²

67# Prometheus post factos a se homines dicitur auxilio Minerve celum ascendisse et adhibita facula ad rotam Solis ignem furatus, quem hominibus indicavit. ob quam causam irati dii per Mercurium in monte Caucaso Prometheum religaverunt ad saxum, et adhibita est aquila que cor eius exederet.⁶⁶³

68# cum inter duo maria montem positum Sisyphus crudeli latrocinio occupasset – hac poena mortalium pascebatur ut homines pregravans ingenti saxo necaret – tandem ab accolis deorum lege punitus apud inferos saxi quod voluit penas exsolvit pondere.⁶⁶⁴

71IL [NORICO] Noricum pars est Illyrici

Carmen Saeculare (66ro-67ro)

T carmen hoc ideo dicitur saeculare, quod per c et decem annos ludi celebrabantur tribus diebus et tribus noctibus. metrum tres saffici quartus dipodia. dixerunt autem carmen secularibus ludis, quos celebrat Augustus in Capitolio post c et x annos, virgines et pueri permixtati†. hoc carmen saeculare inscribitur. cum enim saeculares ludos celebraret Augustus, secundum ritum prisce religionis a virginibus puerisque pretextatis in Capitolio cantatum est. propter hoc carmen, Augustus divus esse meruit. ita autem cepit, ut Maro in Geor<g>icis [1.5f.] ‘vos, o clarissima mundi/ lumina’ his enim reguntur omnes res terrarum, calore solis per diem, humero† lune per noctem. ergo idem sunt sol et luna qui Apollo et Diana, unde et Diane arcus adsignatur ex similitudine incipientis lune. Valerius Flaccus refert carmen saeculare et sacrificium inter annos c et x Diti et <Pro>serpine constitutum bello Punico primo ex responso xvirorum, cum iussi essent libros Salbinos inspicere ob prodigium, quod eo bello accidit: nam pars murorum urbis fulmine iacta[rent] <ruit>. atqui† ita responderunt bellum adversus Cartaginenses prospere geri posse [se] <si> Diti et Proserpine triduo, idest tribus diebus et tribus noctibus, ludi essent celebrati et carmen cantatum inter sacrificia. hoc accidit consulibus Claudio Pulchro L. <...>

2IL quia idem Sol accipitur, eadem Luna^U <...>

3IL ut semper virgines et pueri dicant dis carmen per c etiam annos

⁶⁶¹ Serv. Aen. 5.64; 6.218

⁶⁶² Serv. Aen. 6.603 {6

⁶⁶³ Serv. Ecl. 6.42

⁶⁶⁴ Sch. ad Theb. 2.380

- 4IL [TEMPORE SACRO] l[a]udis secularibus
 5IL [QUOD] tempus
 7IL [QUIBUS] diis
 9IL [ALME] o
 10IL [PROMIS ET CELAS] recedendo, quia cottidie nasceris; idest† quia non mutaris⁶⁶⁵
 11IL idest nulla res sit po[r]tior ap<ud> te in mundo quam Roma.
 12IL [11] et hic ex <s>uperiore audiendum precamen; [NIHIL/ MAIUS?] colonia*
 13IL [RITE MATUROS] solito tempore; rectos^U; ut bene pariant mulieres recto et statuto tempore^U
 14IL [LENIS] facilis et propitia; [ILITHIA] a nobis genitalis dea, a Grecis Ylithya vocatur; a silva*; invocatur Dianam que et Ilythya; [GENITALIS] que prees gignentibus vel partibus
 17ff. implicata elocutio, que sic ordinanda est: diva producas subolem prolis nove patrumque decreta prosperes super iungendis feminis, quoniam senatusconsultum de matrimoniis propositum fuit. LEGE MARITA que prolis ferax sit, lege marita quasi lex fertilitatem feminis dederit. Legem autem Iuliam dicit. lege marita pro maritali, ut Plautus [*Epid.* 180] ‘*que quidem non marita est†*’, pro maritalis. que de maritandis ordinibus lata est. Cesar enim post bellum legem tulit, ne quis celebs esset aut vidua, quo posset iuvenum iactura refici, que bellis civilibus contingera[n]t. nam prope octoginta milia perierant armatorum.
 18IL [PROSPERES] prospera facias^U; [SUPER] de*; [20 LEGE] idest que habent de iungend<is>† filiabus suis^U
 20IL [LEGE MARITA] qu[i]a nuptie celebrabantur; pro maritali
 21IL [UNDENOS DECIENS] idest c [i] x
 21 securus; precamur ut securus orbis semper hac vicissitudine temporis centum et decem annorum cantus et ludos refera[n]t.^U
 21# ordo: ut cantus referat ludosque. orbem nunc temporum circulum accipe in se scilicet redeuntium. certum autem pro pleno atque perfecto.
 22IL [ORBIS] mundus ac per hoc Roma; aut quia isti ludi ubique celebrabantur^U
 24IL [FREQUENTES] precamur
 25IL [VERACES] quarum statuta vera sunt, que vera dicitis^U; [PARCE] scilicet servate^U
 25# sensus a plurali ad singularitatem: vosque, Parce veraces, servetis quod semel dictum est vos cecinisse, et Terminus servet quod semel dictum est.
 27 ordo est: et vos, feraces† Parce, iungite fata bona peractis <e>que bonis, et similiter ordo servet hec bona.⁶⁶⁶
 27IL [BONA IAM PERACTIS] bona iungite bonis
 28IL [IUNGITE] precamur ut bona transeant et bona sequantur^U
 29IL [FERTILIS] optat ut Tellus habeat fecunditatem et prestet nimiam copiam.^U
 30IL [SPICEA] cum^{mUy}
 31# foetus generaliter omnium rerum accipere debemus, et <in>animalium que ad utilitatem nostram pertinent. salubres autem non tantum aque verum et aure intellegende sunt.

⁶⁶⁵ Keller idem quia non mutaris

⁶⁶⁶ Keller veraces Parcae

33IL [CONDITO] deposito^U; [PLACIDUSQUE] idest exorabilis, benevolus^{U667}

33# Borfirius† dicit in libro quem Solem appellavit, triplicem esse Apollinis potestatem et eundem esse Solem apud superos, Liberum patrem in terris, Apollinem apud inferos. unde etiam tria insignia circa eius simulacrum videmus: lyram, que nobis celestis armonie imaginem monstrat, crypen [eum] que <eum> etiam terrenum numen ostendit, sagittas, quibus infernalis deus et noxius indicatur. unde etiam Apollo dictus est ΑΠΙΟΤΟΥΑΠΙΟΛΙΝ, hinc est quod et Homerus eundem tam pestilentie dicit quam salutis auctorem, et Oracius dicit in hoc loco [C. S. 33f.] ‘condito mitis placitusque† telo/ supplices audi pueros, Apollo’. unde Iohannes dicit in Apocalypsi [9.11] ‘et habent super se regem angelum abyssi cui nomen Hebrayce Abaddon, Grece autem Apollion, et Latine habet nomen Exterminans.’⁶⁶⁸

34# quidam pestilentem deum Apollinem putant. hic ergo petitur ne noceat. OMHROC de eodem similiter sensit, cum eum Grecis pestem inmisisse dicit, et Plautus in Mercatore [678] inducit matrem familias precantem, ut filio suo parcat.

37IL si propter vos facta est Roma, quia oraculo Apollinis Troiani, sicut ait Virgilius, ad Italiam perrexerunt. ideo ait ‘Ilie turme’, nam Eneas auctor est Romani generis.

38IL [37 OPUS] s. vestro munere; [LITUS ETRUSCUM] Tiberinum litus qui<a> ab Etruscis oritur

39IL-41IL mire pars, quia non omnes cum Enea ad Latium pervenerunt, nonnulli enim cum Anteriore.†

40IL [SOSPITE CURSU] integra navigacione^U

41IL idest cui parti Troiane per ardentem Troiam liberum iter muniuit Eneas.

41# non ‘sine fraude ardentem’, sed ‘sine fraude iter mun<i>uit’ Eneas. quidam putant propterea Eneam patrie superstitem fuisse, quod iuxta quorundam opinionem crimine prodicionis sit damnatus.

43IL [LIBERUM] securum, letum, sine periculis iter invenit^U

43 mire liberum <...> appellavit, quo libertatem sunt adepti. [DATURUS/ PLURA RELICTIS] idest facturus maiorem civitatem amissa Troia; hoc est daturus comitibus suis plura quam reliquerunt.^{U669}

44IL [RELICTIS] suis

45IL [DOCILI IUVENTE] aut perite aut qui† facilis est ad docendum

46# [SENECTUTIS† PLACIDE QUIETEM] et senectutem date περιφΡακτικῶς^U; que quiescit, quia labor<um> inpaciens est.

47IL [ROMULE] pro Romulee, ut Dardania Maro dixit; [REMQUE PROLEMQUE] patrimonium divicias filiorum^{JU670}

48IL [ET DECUS OMNE] et omnem honestatem^U

49IL [BOBUS VENERATUR] deest immolans^U; veneranda postulat^U

49IL QUEQUE neutrum plurale est, idest qua<m>cumque rem precatur clarus sanguis Veneris, vos, dii, facite ut impetret.^{mU671}

49 quia albis victimis sacrificant imperatores triumphalibus<ntes>

⁶⁶⁷ U benivolut†

⁶⁶⁸ Serv. Ecl. 5.66

⁶⁶⁹ U hoc est daturus plura quam reliquerunt (only)

⁶⁷⁰ U idest patrimonium, divitias vel imperium; [PROLEM] idest filios; J patrimonium, filios (only)

⁶⁷¹ m subaudi gens que vos veneratur bubus albis impetret, scilicet quamcumque rem precatur...

- 50 hoc ad Cesarem Iulium pertinet, quod Iulia gens ab Iulo ac per hoc <a> Venere et Anchilli† orta existimatur; ideoque Veneri Genetrici templum constitutum est.
- 51IL [BELLANTEM†] scilicet in^{mU}; fortis in bello^U
- 52IL [IACENTEM/ LENIS IN HOSTEM] idest lenis in pace,^{ξU672} Virgilius [*Aen.* 6.853] ‘*parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*’
- 53IL [MANUS POTENTES] Romanam potenciam^{ξU}
- 54IL [MEDUS] populus
- 54 ALBANAS ... SECURE<S> Romanos magistratus ab Albanis descendentes ut [*Aen.* 1.7] ‘*Albanique patres*’
- 55 [IAM SCYTHE RESPONSA PETUNT] precepta Romana^J quasi <...> melioribus aut a diis^{ξU673}; aut SitIAM†^{ξJU674}; SCITHE legatos ad nos mittunt et petunt responsa quasi de roganda pace.^{ξJU675}
- 58IL [NEGLECTA] superiore scilicet tempore
- 59IL [AUDET APPARETQUE] properat, nil iam dubitat; [BEATA] beata copia, plena facunditas†^{U676}
- 60# quasi corporalem deam hic accipe Copiam et per eam utique rerum omnium habundantiam.
- 63# salutari arte, id<est> medicina, cuius Apollo inventor est. inducitur enim apud Ovidium lequens† [*Met.* 1.521] ‘*inventum medicina meum*’. apparet etiam eo tempore ab Augusto dedicatum in Palacio Apollinis templum, ut Maro etiam testatur [*Aen.* 8.720] ‘*ipse sedens niveo candentis lumine Phebi*’.
- 65IL [EQUUS] felix,^ξ equus^U; [ARAS] vel arces
- 65 id est si respicit res Romanas Apollo, felicissima tempora consequuntur [habundantiam].
- 67IL [ALTERUM IN LUSTRUM] pro tempore^U
- 68IL [PROROGET] differat, dilatet
- 68# sensus est: si acceptas aras habet Apollo que ei sunt in Palacio dedicate; hoc est: si propitius Romanos aspicit, melius secundum tribuat <...>
- 69# Algidus mons ab asid[i]uo frigore appellatus, non longe ab urbe. etiam Romani in hoc <...> sacra celebrabant. sensus autem huiusmodo† est: et Diani†, que Aventinum tenet et Algidum, si quindecimvirovum preces curat <...>. ergo hic ex superiore sensu pro† zeugma ‘si’ particula accersenda est, ut sit: si quindecimvirovum preces Diana curat et si votis puerorum amicos† aures applicat.
- 70# constat regnante Tarquinio quandam mulierem, nomine Amaltheam, obtulisse ei novem libros in quibus erant fata et remedia Romana, et pro his poposcisse ccc philippeos, qui aurei tunc preciosi erant. que contempta alia die tribus incensis [cum tribus] reversa est et tantun<dem> poposcit. item tercia† tribus incensis cum tribus reversa est et accepit quantum postulaverat, hac ipsa re commoto rege, quod pretium non mutabat. qui libri in templo Apollinis servabantur. quorum constat primo duos custodes

⁶⁷² U scilicet in pace (only)

⁶⁷³ ξU ...a melioribus...; J Romanorum precepta

⁶⁷⁴ ξU aut sic IAM...

⁶⁷⁵ ξ Scithiae†...; J vel responsa quasi de roganda pace (only)

⁶⁷⁶ U fecunditas

fuisse, inde xi inde xv usque ad tempora Syllana, postea crevit numerus, nam lx fuerunt, sed remansit in his xv virorum vocabulum.⁶⁷⁷

73IL [HEC] que precatus sum^{ξU}

73 ordo: hec Iovem scire† et ceteros deos^J spem bonam et certam domum reporto, et ego <...> chorus doctus laudes dicere Phebi et Diane.^{U678} id est hec velle Iovem et ceteros deos satis credo.

75IL [DOCTUS ET CHORUS] ego scilicet et chorus^{ξJU}

⁶⁷⁷ Serv. *Aen.* 6.72-3

⁶⁷⁸ **J** hec velle Iovem et ceteros deos satis credo (only); **U** ...Iovem sentire...; ...et chorus...

1. Sigla in bold are those previously used by other editors.

2. Dates of annotations relative to the manuscript are drawn from Buonocore (1992; = B.) and Noske (1969, pp. xviii-xxii) citing Bischoff for C-E.

3. ‘Σ strands’ identifies the main component(s), in some cases noting further elements (‘some’ Porph., ‘some’ PsA). In the case of Vat. Lat. 1590 (W) and Barb. Lat. 65 (e), containing annotations from different periods, I report those closest in date of the manuscript.

4. My ‘Σ quantity’ descriptions are occasionally at variance with Munk Olsen’s catalogue; an asterisk* indicates some Σ too faint to read.

5 ‘Σ coverage’ survey excludes the *Carmen Saeculare*; m. = marginalia, IL = interlinear. In the case of Vat. Lat. 1590 and Barb. Lat. 65, I report readings for *Epodes* Σ only.

	1.	2. annot. date	3. Σ strands	4. Σ quantity	5. Σ coverage
Vat. Reg. 1703 s. ix, ca 830, Germ., Alsace?	R	B: s. x? mix		abundant	<i>O.</i> 1.1-2.8; little <i>O.</i> 2.10- <i>Epode</i> 3
BL Harley 2724 s. x/xi, Germ., Tegernsee?		H contemp.	mix	abundant	<i>O.</i> 1.1-2.2, 2.13; <i>Ep.</i> 1-7, 14-16
Vat. Lat. 3866 s. xi 2/4 Germ., Tegernsee?	U	B: contemp.	mix	abundant	throughout
Vat. Reg. 1701-I s. xi 2/3, Germ., Freising?	Y	B: contemp.	Φ, other, some Porph.	many	<i>O.</i> 1.1-3.3; few IL from <i>O.</i> 1.22
Vat. Chigi H.V. 165 s. xi 2/3 Germ., St Gall?	y	B: by scribe	Φ	many	throughout
BL Harley 2725 s. ix/x France?	δ		Φ	many*	throughout
Vat. Reg. 1918 s. x/xi France	N	B: contemp.	Φ, some PsA	many	<i>O.</i> 1.1-4.2 sporadically; little <i>Ep.</i> 1-3, 5
Vat. Lat. 1590 s. x/xi Italy	W		PsA?	many*	[<i>O.</i> 1.32-3.29(?), 4.6-4.15;] <i>Epodes</i>
Vat. Reg. 1672 s xi, France?	X	B: a little later	mix	abundant	throughout
Vat. Reg. 1675 s xi France	Z	B: contemp.	mix	many	<i>O.</i> 1.1-1.12; less <i>O.</i> 1.13-2.5, 4.1-2; <i>Epodes</i> marg. 5, 8-10, IL 1-5?, 16
Vat. Lat. 3257 s. xi ½ Italy?/France?	V	B: by scribe	PsA, (Φ ¹)	abundant*	throughout, from <i>Odes</i> 1.23
Vat. Barb. Lat. 65 xii, France	e		other	many*	throughout, exc. <i>O.</i> 1.1
Mun. Clm 17320 s. x, south German, Freising?	ξ		PsA	many(*)	fragments ² of <i>Odes</i> 1-4, <i>CS</i>
Mun. Clm 375 s. xii, German, Augsburg	m	(by scribe?)	mix	many	throughout, little marg. <i>Epodes</i> 12-17
Mun. Clm 14685-II + III s. xi, south German	C-E ³	Bisch.: late xi	PsA, Porph.	some	<i>O.</i> 1.2-3.17 sporad., 3.27-4.4.20; <i>Ep.</i> 1.28-9.31
Mun. Clm 14498-II s xii, south German	J		PsA, Φ, (Porph.)	many	<i>Odes</i> 3.15.12-4.1.5; <i>Epodes</i> 12-17; <i>CS</i> few

¹ For λφψ interpolation in V, see Endt (1904-5, pp. 15, 19-20) and Noske (1969, p. 96).

² *Epodes* lack annotations. For comparison with Harley *Odes* 1.1-2.1 and *CS*, the following fragments : *Odes* 1.1.1-1.9.11; 1.10.2-1.11.1; 1.12.6-26; *Odes* 1.21-2, 1.24 marginalia only; *Odes* 1.25.1-1.26.8; 1.27.5-1.28.4; 1.35.21-1.36.5; 1.36.14-1.37.18; 1.37.22-2.1.18; 2.1.19-2.2.14; *CS* 51-6, 60-5, 69-76.

³ If my understanding of these sigla is correct (cf. Noske, 1969, p. xviii, note 5), C applies to the *Epodes* and E to *Odes* 1.1-2.1.

CATALOGUE OF PASSAGES

Within each chapter, passages matching the source under discussion are numbered in Arabic numerals in order of their appearance in the manuscript (e.g. ‘Historian text 1’). Extracts from the Trojan histories of Dares and Dictys are numbered separately from the other Historians: their sequence is distinguished by a T (e.g. T5).

a. in chapter order

* = combined with non-historian sources [= in Appendix 2.1]

1. Identification of the sources

13	Octavius Cesar	(Paul 7.8-10)	<i>Odes</i> 4.4.27?
[15	Cesar Augustus	(Oros. 6.22.1-5)	<i>Odes</i> 4.5.1
20	Licinio Crasso consule	(Eutr. 6.7)	<i>Epode</i> 16.5
*T6	Servius dicit Troyli	(Serv. <i>Aen.</i> 1.474 + Dares 33)	<i>Odes</i> 2.9.16
*T9	Ulixes eversa Troia	(Dictys 6.14-15 + Hor. Sch. <i>Epode</i> 1.29)	<i>Odes</i> 3.29.8
T1a, b	Meriones frater	(Dares 14.17, 19.24? + Dictys <i>Prol.</i> 2?)	<i>Odes</i> 1.6.15; 1.15.26

2. Editing of glossing material**2.1 Omission of source material**

3b	Hannibal Penorum	(Oros. 4.14.1-8, 4.16.1-5 + Eutr. 3.7?)	<i>O.</i> 2.12.2; <i>E.</i> 16.8
*3a	Lucius Emilius Paulus	(Oros. 4.16.1-3 + ?)	<i>Odes</i> 1.12.383

2.2 Compiling for the lemma; interweaving

*T5	Nestorem dicit	(Sch. <i>Theb.</i> 4.126-7 + Dar. 34 + Dic. 4.6 + Harl. <i>O.</i> 1.15.22)	<i>Odes.</i> 2.9.14
[17	in Sicilia Sextus	(Oros. 6.18.19-20 + Eutr. /Paul 7.4)	<i>Epode</i> 4
*2	Cato comes	(Oros. 6.16.3-4 + Eutr./Paul 6.23 + Sch. <i>Odes</i> 1.12)	<i>Odes</i> 1.12.35; 2.1.24

3. Interpretation**3.1 Blunders and misunderstandings**

[11	Sycambri fortissimi	(Oros. 6.21.16-17)	<i>Odes</i> 4.2.36
[7a	Cantabrico bello	(Oros. 1.2.74; 6.21.21)	<i>Odes</i> 3.14.3
[7b	Hispania ulterior	(Oros. 6.21.21-22)	<i>Odes</i> 4.5.28
*21	sub Philippo rege	(Oros. 3.12.12-14, 25-8 + Isid. <i>Etym.</i> 15.1.63?)	<i>Epode</i> 16.17
5	civile bellum	(Oros. 6.18.13-16 + Eutr./Paul 7.3)	<i>Odes</i> 2.7; <i>Epode</i> 7
[18	Marcus Lucinius† Crassus	(Oros. 6.13.5 + Eutr./Paul 6.18)	<i>Epode</i> 7.9

3.2 Interpreting history and Horace

*T3	eversi Ilii hec est	(Serv. <i>Aen.</i> 1.619, 10.91-2 + Dares 4.6)	<i>Odes</i> 1.15
[T2	Alexander patrem	(Dares 7.1-12)	<i>Odes</i> 1.15
1a	Cesar bellis civilibus	(Oros. 6.17.1-2 + Eutr. 6.25)	<i>Odes</i> 1.2.44
*1b	Iulium Cesarem	(O. 6.17.1-2 + E. 6.25 + Serv. <i>Ecl.</i> 9.46 + Virg. <i>Ecl.</i> 9.46)	<i>Odes</i> 1.12.47

b. by Horace line**Roman history**

		Section
1a	Cesar bellis (OE) <i>O.</i> 1.2.44	3.2
*2	Cato comes (OE) <i>O.</i> 1.12.34	2.2
*1b	Iulium C. (OE) <i>O.</i> 1.12.47	3.2
*3a	L. Emilius (O) <i>O.</i> 1.12.38	2.1
4	Antonius (O) <i>O.</i> 1.37	
*2	Cato comes (OE) <i>O.</i> 2.1.24	2.2
5a	civile bellum (OE) <i>O.</i> 2.7	3.1
6	Numancia (O) <i>O.</i> 2.12.1	
3b	Hannibal (O) <i>O.</i> 2.12.2	2.1
7a	Cantabrico (O) <i>O.</i> 3.14.3	[3.1]
8	Lucullo et (O) <i>O.</i> 3.14.19	
9	Tantalus rex (O) <i>O.</i> 3.20.16	
*10	tertia pars (O) <i>O.</i> 3.27.76	
11	Sycambri (O) <i>O.</i> 4.2.36	[3.1]
12	Claudius D. (O) <i>O.</i> 4.4.18	
13	Octavius (P) <i>O.</i> 4.4.27?	1
14	Claudio N. (O) <i>O.</i> 4.4.38	
15	Cesar A. (O) <i>O.</i> 4.5.1	[1]
16	Parthi quasi (O) <i>O.</i> 4.5.25	

7b	Hispania (O) <i>O.</i> 4.5.28	[3.1]
17	in Sicilia (OE) <i>E.</i> 4	[2.2]
5b	civile bellum (OE) <i>Ep.</i> 7	3.1
18	Marcus L. (EO) <i>E.</i> 7.9	[3.1]
19	Iulius C. (O) <i>E.</i> 16.3	
20	Licinio C. (E) <i>E.</i> 16.5	1
3c	Hannibal (O) <i>E.</i> 16.8	2.1
*21	sub Philippo (O) <i>E.</i> 16.17	3.1
22	Manlius (O) <i>E.</i> 16.6f.?	

Trojan War history

T1a	Meriones (DrDt?) <i>O.</i> 1.6.15	1
T2	Alexander (Dr) <i>O.</i> 1.15	[3.2]
*T3	eversi Ilii (Dr) <i>O.</i> 1.15	3.2
T1b	Meriones (Dt?) <i>O.</i> 1.15.26	1
T4	obsidentibus (Dt) <i>O.</i> 2.4	
*T5	Nestorem (DrDt) <i>O.</i> 2.9.14	2.2
*T6	Servius dicit (Dr) <i>O.</i> 2.9.16	1
*T7	Ulixes (Dt) <i>O.</i> 3.29.8	1
T8	Argo (Dr) <i>E.</i> 5	Ch 8
T9	postquam ad (Dt) <i>E.</i> 17.8	

c. in order of historian texts**Orosius**

10	tertia pars	1.2.4-7	<i>O.</i> 3.27.76
7b	Hispania	1.2.74 +	<i>O.</i> 4.5.28
9	Tantalus rex	1.12.4-5	<i>O.</i> 3.20.16
21	sub Philippo	3.12.12-14; 25-28	<i>E.</i> 16.17
3b	Hannibal	4.14.1-8 (om. 4)	<i>O.</i> 2.12.2; <i>E.</i> 16.8
3b	Hannibal	4.16.1-5	<i>O.</i> 2.12.2; <i>E.</i> 16.8
3a	L. Emilius	4.16.1-3	<i>O.</i> 1.12.38
14	Claudio N.	4.18.9-15, 4.19.1	<i>O.</i> 4.4.38
6	Numancia	5.7.2-8.2 (om. 10-11)	<i>O.</i> 2.12.1
22	Manlius	5.16.1-7	<i>E.</i> 16.6f?
19	Iulius C.	5.18.11-14	<i>E.</i> 16.3
8	Lucullo et	5.24	<i>O.</i> 3.14.19
18	Marcus L.	6.13.5 +	<i>E.</i> 7.9
2	Cato comes	6.16.3-4	<i>O.</i> 1.12.35; 2.1.24
1	Cesar bellis	6.17.1-2	<i>O.</i> 1.2.44; 1.12.47
5	civile bellum	6.18.13	<i>O.</i> 2.7; <i>E.</i> 7.1
		6.18.15-16	<i>O.</i> 2.7
17	in Sicilia	6.18.19-20; 6.19.2	<i>E.</i> 3
4	Antonius	6.19.3-18	<i>O.</i> 1.37
12	Claudius D.	6.21.12-13	<i>O.</i> 4.4.18
11	Sycambri	6.21.16-17	<i>O.</i> 4.2.36
7a	Cantabrico	6.21.21-22	<i>O.</i> 3.14.3
7b	Hispania	6.21.21 +	<i>O.</i> 4.5.28
16	Parthi quasi	6.21.29	<i>O.</i> 4.5.25

15 Cesar A. 6.22.1-5 *O.* 4.5.1

Eutropius (E) or Paul (P)

20 (E) Licinio C. 6.7 *E.* 16.5
 1 (E) Cesar/ Iulium 6.25 *O.* 1.2.44; 1.12.47
 18 MarcusL. 6.18 + *E.* 7.9
 2 Cato comes 6.23 *O.* 1.12.35; 2.1.24
 5 civile bellum 7.3 *O.* 2.7; *E.* 7
 17 in Sicilia 7.4 *E.* 3
 13 (P) Octavius 7.8-10 *O.* 4.4.27

Dares

T8 Argo 1 *E.* 5
 T3 eversi Ilii 4.6 *O.* 1.15
 T2 Alexander 7.1-12 *O.* 1.15
 T1a Meriones 14.17; 19.24 *O.* 1.6.15
 T6 Servius dicit 33 *O.* 2.9.16
 T5 Nestorem 34 *O.* 2.9.14

Dictys

T1a Meriones ?Prol. 2? *O.* 1.6.15
 T1b Meriones ?Prol. 2? *O.* 1.15.26
 T9 postquam 2.1-6 *E.* 17.8
 T4 obsidentibus 2.16-19 *O.* 2.4
 T5 Nestorem 4.6 *O.* 2.9.14
 T7 Ulixes 6.14-15 *O.* 3.29.8

1. Identification of the sources**Historian Text 15 (cf. Historian Text 13)**

Odes 4.5 expects the return of Augustus from the campaigns of 16-13 BC (1-4):

divis orte bonis, optime Romulae
custos gentis, abes iam nimium diu;
maturum reditum pollicitus patrum
sancto concilio, redi.

The scholiast juxtaposes Horace's celebration of Augustan peace and military success with a panegyric passage from Orosius:

Orosius 6.22.1-5**Itaque anno ab urbe condita DCCLII**

Caesar Augustus ab oriente in occidentem, a septentrione in meridiem ac per totum Oceani circulum cunctis gentibus una pace compositis, Iani portas tertio ipse tunc clausit. quas ex eo per duodecim fere annos quietissimo semper obseratas otio ipsa etiam robigo signavit, nec prius umquam nisi sub extrema senectute Augusti pulsatae Atheniensium seditione et Dacorum commotione patuerunt. clausis igitur Iani portis rempublicam, quam bello quaesiverat, pace enutrire atque amplificare studens leges plurimas statuit, per quas humanum genus libera reuerentia disciplinae morem gereret. domini appellationem ut homo declinavit. nam cum eodem spectante ludos pronuntiatum esset in mimo 'o dominum aequum et bonum', uniuersique, quasi de ipso dictum esset, exultantes adprobauissent, et statim quidem manu uultuque indecoras adulationes repressit et insequenti die grauissimo corripuit edicto dominumque se posthac appellari ne a liberis quidem aut nepotibus suis uel serio uel ioco passus est. igitur eo tempore, id est eo anno quo firmissimam uerissimamque pacem ordinatione Dei Caesar composuit, natus est Christus, cuius aduentui pax ista famulata est, in cuius ortu audientibus hominibus exultantes angeli cecinerunt "*Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonae uoluntatis.*"

***Odes* 4.5.1**

Cesar Augustus ab oriente in occidentem, a septentrione in meridiem ac per totum Oceani circulum cunctis gentibus una pace compositis, Iani portas tercio ipse tunc clausit. quas ex eo per xii fere annos quietissimo semper obseratas otio ipsa etiam rubigo signabit†, nec prius umquam nisi sub extrema senectute Augusti pulsate Atheni<ensi>um sedicione et Dagorum commotione patuerunt. clausis igitur Iani portis rempublicam, quam bello quesiverat, pace enutrire atque amplificare studens leges plurimas statuit, per qua<s> humanum genus libera reuerentia discipline morem gereret. domini appellationem ut homo declinavit. nam cum eodem spectante ludos pronuntiatum esset in mimo 'o dominum equum et bonum', uniuersique, quasi de ipso dictum esset, exultantes adprobavissent, statim manu vultuque indecoras adulationes repressit et insequenti die grauissimo cor<ri>puit edicto dominumque se posthac appellari nec a liberis aut nepotibus vel serio vel ioco passus est. igitur eo tempore, id est eo anno quo firmissimam verissimamque pacem ordinatione Dei et Cesar composuit, natus est Χρ<ιστο>ς, cuius aduentui pax ista famulata est, in cuius ortu audientibus hominibus exultantes angeli cecinerunt: "*Gloria in excelsis Deo et in terra pax hominibus bone voluntatis.*"

The way in which the Christian historian words his praise is quite different from Horace. Whereas Horace addresses Augustus '*divis orte bonis*', Orosius stresses the

emperor's human nature: he explains Augustus' refusal of the appellation *Dominus* with an authorial aside '*ut homo*'. Furthermore, Orosius ends his sketch of the emperor's achievements with the birth of Christ, whose advent is connected with Augustan peace in accordance with the Eusebian doctrine. Orosius' reader is left in no doubt as to the identity of the true lord.

2.2 Compiling for the lemma; interweaving

Historian Text 17

Ancient scholia claim that the tribune attacked in *Epode* 4 is one Menas, freedman of Pompey the Great, who later joined Pompey's son Sextus. The following compilation describes Sextus Pompey's participation in the civil war:

Eutr.-Paul 7.4 interim a Sexto Pompeio, Gnaei Pompeii Magni [1] filio, ingens bellum in Sicilia commotum est his, qui superfuerant ex partibus Bruti Cassiique, ad eum confluentibus.

bellatum per Caesarem Augustum Octavianum et M. Antonium adversus Sex. Pompeium est. pax postremo convenit.

Epode 4

in Sicilia Sextus Pompeius minor Pompei filius reparavit civile bellum contra Antonium. hi enim qui superfuerant ex partibus Bruti et Cassii ad eum undique confluerant. cum quibus Siciliam pervadens commeatus inpedivit Romam fame afflixit. bellatum per Caesarem Octavianum et M. Antonium contra illum est. postremo tamen pax convenit sed Sextus pacem continuo rupit servos et fugitivos contra pactum legens. quo circa ab Augusto et Agrippa

multis navalibus preliis victus fugit in Asiam ubi vivus captus est et a Furnio post paululum interfectus.

Oros. 6.18.19-20

Sex. Pompeius postquam se in proscriptorum numerum relatum conperit, conuersus in latrocinia omnem oram Italiae caedibus rapinisque uastauit. Sicilia praerepta commeatibusque inpeditis Romam fame adfecit. 20 mox cum eo pacem triumui, ut non dicam tyranni, id est Lepidus Caesar Antoniusque fecerunt. sed continuo cum contra pactum Pompeius fugitivos allegeret, ut hostis habitus est. cf. 19.22-29; 19.2 [Antonius] inde in Graeciam transiit iussitque Pompeium, qui uictus a Caesare exercitum bellumque reparabat, cum paucis ad se uenire. Pompeius fugiens a Titio et Furnio Antonianis ducibus saepe terrestri naualique bello uictus et captus ac post paululum interfectus est.

The scholiast focuses on the part played by Sextus Pompey in the civil war, drawing his information alternately from Eutropius and Orosius. To start with, Eutropius provides a description of Sextus as a rallying point for the survivors of the Brutus and Cassius faction. The scholiast adds two details. Firstly, Pompey is identified as *minor*, perhaps in relation to his father *Magnus* or his elder brother, whose death is recorded a

little earlier by Eutropius.[2] Secondly, Antony is specified as his enemy, possibly because Orosius describes Antony's men as his eventual killers. The scholiast then turns to Orosius for the activities launched by Sextus from his Sicilian base, then back to Eutropius for Octavian and Antony's resistance and establishment of peace. Eutropius makes no further mention of Sextus, but Orosius supplies the reason for the breach of this peace, namely Sextus enrolling runaways (*fugitivos*). To this the scholiast adds slaves (*servos*), reflecting Horace's depiction of the army in this poem (19): *contra latrones atque servilem manum*. The final sentence succinctly summarises Sextus' military dealings with Octavian and Antony – presumably, from Orosius' extensive account a little later in the same book (6.19.22-29) – and ends in his death. There is no indication in Orosius of Sextus fleeing to Asia: the source of this detail is uncertain.[3]

Menas, to whom *Epode* 4 is allegedly addressed, plays a prominent role in Orosius' narrative of Sextus' participation in the civil war.[4] Yet the scholiast includes no mention of Menas in this note, focusing entirely on Sextus Pompey.[5]

Footnotes

[1] Here early Eutropius manuscripts – Gotha 101, Leiden 141, and St Omer 697 – add *Magni*, which is lacking in Paul and Paianius' Greek translation. The omission shared by Harley and Paul, is not sufficient to prove that the scholiast used Paul.

[2] Eutr. 6.24 ...*Pompeii filii, Cn. Pompeius et Sex. Pompeius, ingens bellum praeparaverant. multa proelia fuerunt... ex Pompeii filiis maior occisus est, minor fugit.*

[3] Conversely, one detail, the name of Sextus' other killer, Titius, is inexplicably omitted in Harley. It is just possible that *in Asiam* arose from a corruption of *a Titio*, such as *Atticio* featuring in the 8th-century Laon 137 (F) or *Attio* in Paris 9665 9 (H) and Donaueschingen 18.2 (D).

[4] Menas in Orosius (6.18.21 and 25): 21 *Mena libertus Pompei cum sexaginta nauium classe ad Caesarem defecit eidemque classi ipse iussu Caesaris praefuit. idemque continuo cum Statilio Tauro aduersus Menecraten Pompeianum ducem nauale bellum gessit... 25 Mena libertus cum sex nauibus ad Pompeium rediit, a quo clementer receptus Caesaris classem incendit, quamuis nuper Caesar alteram secundo naufragio perdidisset. idemque Mena postea ab Agrippa nauali proelio circumuentus cum sex trirēmibus ad Caesarem transiit. sed hunc Caesar tertio transfugam, indulta tantum uita, segnem reliquit.*

[5] Harley contains two notes about Menas, one from Servius, the other – paraphrasing Porphyrio *ad. loc.*

3.1 Blunders and misunderstandings

Historian Text 11

At *Odes* 4.2 new tribes are subdued by the emperor (33-36):

concines maiore poeta plectro
Caesarem, quandoque trahet feroces
per sacrum clivum merita decorus
fronde Sygambros

The scholiast provides information about the Sygambri from Orosius:

Oros. 6.21.16-17

postea fortissimas nationes et quibus natura uires, consuetudo experientiam uirium dabat, Cheruscos Suebos et Sygambros pariter uno bello sed etiam suis aspero superauit. quorum ex eo considerari uirtus ac feritas potest, quod mulieres quoque eorum, siquando praeuentu Romanorum inter plaustra sua concludebantur, deficientibus telis uel qualibet re, qua uelut telo uti furor possit, paruos filios conlisos humi in hostium ora iaciebant, in singulis filiorum necibus bis parricidae.

Odes 4.2.36

Sycambri fortissimi populi relictæ Germania cum mulieribus et natis Italiam invaserunt. quos Cesar pariter uno bello sed etiam suis aspero superavit. quorum ex eo considerari uirtus ac feritas potest, quod mulieres quoque eorum, siquando preventu Romanorum inter plaustra sua concludebantur, deficientibus telis uel qualibet re, qua uelut telo uti furor possit, paruos filios collisos humi in hostium ora iacebant in singulis filiorum necibus bis parricide.

The Harley scholion matches Orosius verbatim from the second sentence onwards. The scholiast picks up Orosius' narrative mid-sentence, patching the joint with a connective relative, *quos Caesar*. He is understandably not interested in the Cherusci and Suebi, subdued by Augustus together with the Sygambri in the same war, but the phrase *pariter uno bello*, redundant in the Harley extract, harks back to Orosius' list of multiple enemies.

The opening sentence offers a gloss on the Sygambri drawn from Orosius (*fortissimi populi*) and claims that the tribe invaded Italy. No such invasion is recorded in history. This fabrication could reflect the scholiast's national pride (cf. *Germania in qua nos sumus...* at *Odes* 4.5.26) or may simply be inspired by Horace's own depiction of the Germans elsewhere. In *Epode* 16 (and the Orosius extract adduced to describe it) the Germans are portrayed as a threat to Rome (11ff.): *barbarus heu cineres insistet victor et Urbem/ eques sonante verberabit ungula...* The detail *cum mulieribus et natis* may be anticipating the infant-slaughter scene at the end of this very scholion.

Historian Texts 7a, 7b

Odes 3.14 celebrates the emperor's return from the Spanish campaign in 24 BC:

Herculis ritu modo dictus, o plebs,
morte venalem petiisse laurum
Caesar Hispana repetit penatis
victor ab ora.

The scholiast draws an account of this war from Orosius (Text 7a):

Oros. 6.21.21-22

Cantabrico bello per quinque annos acto
totaque Hispania in aeternam pacem cum
quadam respiratione lassitudinis reclinata ac
reposita, Caesar Romam rediit. quibus etiam
diebus multa per se multaque per duces et
legatos bella gessit. nam inter ceteros et Piso
aduersum Vindelicos missus est, quibus
subactis uictor ad Caesarem Lugdunum uenit.

Odes 3.14.3

Cantabrico bello per quinque annos acto
totaque Hyspania in eternam pacem cum
quadam respiracione lassitudinis reclinata ac
reposita, Cesar Romam rediit. quibus etiam
diebus multa per se multaque per duces et
legatos bella gessit. nam inter ceteros et Piso
aduersum Vi<nde>licos missus est, quibus
subactis victor ad Cesarem Lugidunum† venit.

This passage makes a very appropriate gloss on the lemma, even though the last sentence (*nam... venit*) about Piso, the Vindelici, and Caesar at Lyon has no relevance to this poem.[1] Part of the same extract is used again to gloss *Odes* 4.5, which celebrates control over foreign enemies as a blessing of Augustan peace, anticipating the emperor's victorious return from the campaigns of 16-13 BC (25-28):

quis Parthum paveat, quis gelidum Scythen,
quis Germania quos horrida parturit
fetus, incolumi Caesare? quis ferae
bellum curet Hiberiae?

Here the scholiast combines two Orosius extracts to provide information about both the war and Rome's adversary (Text 7b):

Oros. 1.2.74

Hispania ulterior habet ab oriente
Vaccaeos, Celtiberos et Oretanos...

Oros. 6.21.21

Cantabrico bello per quinque annos acto
totaque Hispania in aeternam pacem cum
quadam respiratione lassitudinis reclinata
ac reposita, Caesar Romam rediit.

Odes 4.5.28

Hispania ulterior habet ferocissimas gentes
Vacceos, Celtiperos et Horitanos,
contra quos Cesar Augustus
per v annos dimicavit.
totaque Hispania in eternam pacem cum
quadam respiracione lassitudinis reclinata
<ac> reposita victor Romam rediit.

The scholiast starts with a list of Spanish tribes from Orosius' first book. The phrase *ferocissimas gentes* has apparently been added to echo Horace's *ferae...Hiberiae* (27-8). Smoothly joined with a connective relative (*contra quos Cesar Augustus...*) is a depiction of the war from book six. We saw the latter passage used at *Odes* 3.14. It would be equally appropriate here, had the war described by Orosius not taken place a decade earlier than the setting of *Odes* 4.5.

It is not surprising that the scholiast should assimilate the event of 16 BC to the campaign of 27-25BC, since the former is not even mentioned by Orosius. In fact Orosius elides that period altogether, proceeding from the Janus closure at the end of the

Cantabrian war in 25 BC (6.21.11) directly to Drusus' German campaigns of 15 BC (6.21.12). As far as the scholiast is aware, the two episodes are one and the same – indeed the addition of *victor* at *Odes* 4.5 seems to be inspired by Horace's description of the emperor in *Odes* 3.14 (3f. *Caesar Hispana repetit penatis/ uictor ab ora*).

Footnotes

[1] The scholiast may have an interest in the Vindelici because they feature twice in the fourth Book of the *Odes* : at *Odes* 4.4.17ff., glossed with Orosius, and at *Odes* 4.14.8, lacking in Harley.

Historian Text 18 (cf. Text 5)

In *Epode* 7 Horace warns the Romans that civil strife can destroy their city, to the delight of their Parthian enemies (9-10):

sed ut secundum vota Parthorum sua
Vrbs haec periret dextera?

The scholiast uses two historians to provide information about the Roman defeat at Carrhae in 53 BC and Cassius' recovery of some Roman legions in Syria in 51 BC:

Eutr. - Paul 6.18

circa eadem tempora anno
urbis conditae sescentesimo
nonagesimo septimo, Marcus
Licinius Crassus, collega
Gnaei Pompeii Magni in
consulatu secundo, contra
Parthos missus est et, cum
circa Carras contra omen et
auspicia dimicasset, a Surena,
Orodis regis duce, victus. ad
postremum interfectus est
cum filio, clarissimo et
praestantissimo iuvene.
reliquiae exercitus per Gaium
Cassium quaestorem servatae
sunt, qui singulari animo
perditas res tanta virtute
restituit, ut Persas rediens
trans Euphraten crebris
proeliis vinceret.

Epode 7.9

Marcus
Lucinius† Crassus, collega
Gn. Pompei Magni in
consulatu secundo, contra
Parthos missus est et, cum
circa Carras contra omen et
auspicia dimicasset, a Sureno†,
Orodis regis duce, victus. ad
postremum interfectus est
cum filio, clarissimo et
prestantissimo iuvene, et signa
ablata sunt. reliquiae exercitus
per Cassium quaestorem servatae
sunt, qui Siriam contra Romanos
tumescentem egregia animi
virtute ac moderacione pressit;
qui et Antiochum copiasque
eius ingentes vicit et
interfecit, Parthos ab
Orode in Siriam missos
iamque ingressos Antiochiam
bello expulit ducemque
eorum Osangen interfecit.

Oros. 6.13.5

cognita clade Romanorum
multae orientis prouinciae
a societate uel fide populi
Romani defecissent, ni
Cassius collectis ex fuga
militibus paucis
intumescentem Syriam
egregia animi uirtute ac
moderatione pressisset;
qui et Antiochum copiasque
eius ingentes proelio uicit et
interfecit; Parthos quoque ab
Horode in Syriam missos
iamque ingressos Antiochiam
bello expulit ducemque
eorum Osagen interfecit.

The opening part of the note, narrating the Carrhae disaster, is drawn from Eutropius: this is the first mention of the Parthians in Eutropius' narrative. This episode provides a useful

gloss on the Parthians, but does not explain why they should be praying for the fall of Rome (6 *secundum vota Parthorum*). The scholiast switches to Orosius.[1] The next episode, Cassius' recovery operation, provides a plausible motive for the Parthian desire for revenge. The choice of Orosius may have been inspired either by the juicy detail of Cassius killing the Parthian leader or by the fact that Eutropius here uses the general term 'Persians' rather than 'Parthians'.[2]

The addition of *et signa ablata sunt* is interesting. Neither Eutropius nor Orosius refer to the loss of the standards in the context of the battle; it is mentioned later at the point when they are recovered by Augustus in 20 BC (Eutr. 7.9, Oros. 6.21.29). The relevant Orosius passage is used to gloss peaceful relations with Parthia at *Odes* 4.5.25. The description of the lost standards at *Odes* 4.5.25 (*que Crasso interfecto abstulerant*) is surely the source of *et signa oblata sunt* in the scholion under discussion.

Footnotes

[1] At the juncture of the two sources, the subordinate subjunctive *ni ... pressisset* is changed to a main verb *pressit*; *contra Romanos* is apparently supplied for clarification.

[2] The scholiast may have noted that in the sixth book of Orosius, which he cites so frequently, 'Persians' and 'Parthians' can refer to different peoples: *Persas et Parthos* (Oros. 6.18.19).

3.2 Interpreting history and Horace

Trojan Historian Text 2 (cf. Trojan Historian Text 3)

As Paris crosses to Troy, with Helen on board, in *Odes* 1.15, Nereus warns him about the doom he is bringing upon his city. The following report of the judgment of Paris is found in the margin, attached to no particular lemma, but surely triggered by *nequaquam Veneris praesidio ferox* (13). This mythical note complements the ‘factual’ Trojan Historian Text 5.

Dares 7.1-12 (M)

Alexander cohortabatur [1], ut classis praepararetur, et in Graeciam mitteretur [1]: se rei principem futurum, si pater vellet: de eius benignitate se confidere debere, victis hostibus adepta Graecia domum rediturum esse. nam sibi in Ida silva cum venatum abisset, in somniis Mercurium adduxisse Iunonem, Venerem, et Minervam, ut inter eas de specie iudicasset. et tunc sibi Venerem pollicitam esse, si suam speciosam faciem iudicaret, daturam se ei uxorem, quae in Graecia speciosior forma videretur: ubi ita audisset, optimam facie Venerem iudicasse: unde sperare deberet Priamus, Venerem adiutricem Alexandro futuram.

***Odes* 1.15**

Alexander patrem hortabatur ut classis prepa<ra>retur et ipse in Greciam mitteretur: se rei principem futurum

et victis hostibus adepta
Grecia domum rediturum esse. nam sibi
in Yda silva cum venatum abiisset in
sognis Mercurium adduxisse Iunonem,
Venerem, Minervam, ut inter eas de
specie iudicasset aiebat. et tunc sibi
Venerem pollicitam esse si suam
speciem iudicasset speciosissimam,
daturam se[i] ei uxorem, que in Gretia
specio<sio>r forma videretur.

unde sperabat Priamus Venerem
adiutricem Alexandro futuram.

Footnotes

[1] *cohortari coepit ... mittatur* codici, *cohortabatur* Clm 601 (M), but Meister does not indicate whether in M this phrase is followed by *mitteretur*, as in Harley; *speciosissimam* is apparently Meister's conjecture.

for Text 13**Extensive passage of Paul (7.8-10) omitted in Harley**

His diebus trans Tiberim de taberna meritoria fons olei e terra exundauit ac per totum diem largissimo riuo fluxit significans ex gentibus gratiam Christi. Tunc etiam circulus ad speciem caelestis arcus circa solem apparuit. Igitur cum quadragesimo secundo anno firmissimam uerissimamque pacem Caesar composuisset, Christus dominus in Bethleem natus est, cuius aduentui pax ista famulata est. 9 Non ullo tempore ante Caesarem magis Romana res floruit. Nam exceptis ciuilibus bellis, in quibus inuictus fuit, Romano adiecit imperio Aegyptum, Cantabriam, Delmatiam saepe ante uictam sed penitus tunc subactam, Pannoniam, Aquitaniam, Illyricum, Retiam, Vindilicos et Talassos in Alpibus, omnes Ponti maritimas ciuitates, in his nobilissimas Bosforum et Ponticappadocem. Vicit autem proeliis Dagos. Germanorum ingentes copias cecidit, ipsos quoque trans Aluam fluuium summouit, qui in barbarico longe ultra Renum est. Hoc tamen bellum per Drusum priuignum suum administrauit, sicut per Tyberium, priuignum alterum, Pannonicum, quo bello cccc captiuorum milia ex Germania transtulit et supra ripam Reni in Gallia conlocauit. Armeniam a Parthis recepit. Obsides, quod nulli antea, Persae ei dederunt. Reddiderunt etiam signa Romana, quae Crasso uicto ademerant. 10 Scythae et Indi, quibus antea Romanorum nomen incognitum fuerat, munera et legatos ad eum miserunt. Galatia quoque sub hoc prouincia facta est, cum antea regnum fuisset, primusque eam Marcus Lollius pro praetore administrauit. Tanto autem amore etiam apud barbaros fuit, ut reges populi Romani amici in honorem eius conderent ciuitates, quas Caesareas nominarent, sicut in Mauritania a rege Iuua et in Palaestina, quae nunc urbs est clarissima. Multi autem reges ex regnis suis uenerunt, ut ei obsequerentur, et habitu Romano togati scilicet ad uehiculum uel equum ipsius cucurrerunt. Adeo denique turbas, bella, simultates execratus est, ut nisi iustis de causis numquam genti cuiquam bellum indixerit, iactantisque esse ingenii et leuissimi dicebat ardore triumphandi et ob lauream coronam, id est folia infructuosa, in discrimen per incertos euentus certaminum securitatem ciuium praecipitare, neque imperatori bono quicquam minus quam temeritatem congruere, satis celeriter fieri quicquid commode gereretur, armaque nisi maioris emolumenti spe nequaquam mouenda esse, ne compendio tenui, iactura graui, petita uictoria similis sit hamo aureo piscantibus, cuius abrupti amissique detrimentum nullo captae lucro pensari potest. Auunculi quoque inuentum uehementer arguebat, qui milites commilitones nouo blandoque more appellans, dum adfectat carior fieri, auctoritatem principis emolliuerat.

for Text 3**Harley and Lucan *Scholia Bernensia* and their ultimate common source, Orosius****Oros. 4.16.1-5**

Anno ab urbe condita DXL L.
 Aemilius Paulus et P. Terentius Varro
 consules contra Hannibalem
 missi inpatientia Varronis
 consulis infelicissime apud
 Cannas Apuliae uicum omnes
 paene Romanae spei uires
 perdiderunt. nam in ea pugna
 XLVIII milia Romanorum
 interfecta sunt. quamquam et de
 exercitu Hannibalis magna pars
 caesa est. nullo tamen Punico
 bello Romani adeo ad extrema
 internecionis adducti sunt. periit
 enim in eo consul Aemilius
 Paulus consulares aut praetorii
 uiri uiginti interfecti sunt,
 senatores uel capti uel occisi
 sunt triginta, nobiles uiri
 trecenti, pedestrium militum XL
 milia, equitum tria milia
 quingenti. Varro consul cum
 quinquaginta equitibus
 Venusium fugit. nec dubium est
 ultimum illum diem Romani
 status futurum fuisse, si
 Hannibal mox post uictoriam ad
 peruadendam urbem
 contendisset. Hannibal in
 testimonium uictoriae suae
 tres modios anulorum
 aureorum Carthaginem misit,
 quos ex manibus interfectorum
 equitum Romanorum
 senatorumque detraxerat.

Sch. Luc. 2.46

Lucius Aemilius Paulus et
 Publius Terentius Varro
 consules contra Annibalem
 missi inpatientia Varronis
 consulis infelicissime apud
 Cannas Apuliae uicum omnes
 paene spei Romanae uires
 perdiderunt. nam in ea pugna
 XLVIII milia Romanorum
 interfecta sunt,

consul Aemilius Paulus periit,

Varro cum
 quinquaginta equitibus
 Venusium fugit.

ac tunc Hannibal in
 testimonium uictoriae suae
 tres modios anulorum
 aureorum Carthaginem misit,
 quos ex manibus senatorum
 equitumque Romanorum
 detraxerat.

Odes 2.12

Lucius Emilius Paulus et P.
 Terentius Varro
 consules contra Hannibalem
 missi
 infelicissime apud
 Cannas Apulie vicum omnes
 pene Romane rei† vires
 perdiderunt. nam in ea pugna
 quadraginta iiii milia
 Romanorum interfecta sunt.

interempto etiam consule
 Emilio Paulo

Varro consul cum
 L equitibus
 Venusium fugit. nam non
 dubium est ultimum illum
 diem Romani status fuisse, si
 Hannibal mox post uictoriam
 ad pervadendam urbem
 contendisset. Hannibal in
 testimonium sue victoriae
 tres modios anulorum
 aureorum Cartaginem misit,
 quos de manibus equitum
 senatorumque occisorum
 detraxerat.

CATALOGUE OF PASSAGES

A = in Appendix 3.1

a. in chapter order**1. Solinus as (potential) source**

A14 Solinus: manifestum sane	<i>E.</i> 2.45
7 Geloni Scytarum sunt	<i>O.</i> 2.9.23
*11 pyramides	<i>O.</i> 3.30.2
*4 Libia vocatur	<i>O.</i> 2.2.10

2. Treatment of glossing material

6 Caspium mare ultra	<i>O.</i> 2.9.2
A10 ultra Pelusiacum ostium	<i>O.</i> 3.24.2
12 Scythe sunt gentes	<i>O.</i> 4.5.25
13 Germania in qua nos	<i>O.</i> 4.5.26

b. by Horace line

section

1 Tylus Indie insula est	<i>O.</i> 1.21.7?	
*2 duo sunt sinus	<i>O.</i> 1.22.5; <i>O.</i> 2.6.3	Ch 4
*3 Sardinia a Sardo	<i>O.</i> 1.31.4	
*4 Libia vocatur	<i>O.</i> 2.2.10	1
5 in Asiatica parte	<i>O.</i> 2.7.27?	
6 Caspium mare ultra	<i>O.</i> 2.9.22	2
7 Geloni Scytarum sunt	<i>O.</i> 2.9.23	1
8 Cervi plurimi in Sithia	<i>O.</i> 3.12.11	

section

9 Emathius qui primus	<i>O.</i> 3.16.14	
10 ultra Pelusiacum	<i>O.</i> 3.24.2	2A
*11 pyramides	<i>O.</i> 3.30.2	1
12 Scythe sunt gentes	<i>O.</i> 4.5.25	2
13 Germania in qua nos	<i>O.</i> 4.5.26	2
14 Solinus: manifestum	<i>E.</i> 2.35	1A
15 gentem Marsorum	<i>E.</i> 5.76	
16 Italia lupos habet	<i>E.</i> 6.2	

Note * = combined with other sources2 Sallust *Jug.*

3 Martianus

4 Rem. on Mart. Text 11, *Thebaid* Sch. Text 3

11 Unknown

c. in order of Solinus' text

15 gentem Marsorum	Sol. 2.27-31
16 Italia lupos habet	Sol. 2.35-36
*3 Sardinia a Sardo, Herculis	Sol. 4.2-7
9 Emathius qui primus	Sol. 9.10-20
14 Solinus: manifestum sane	Sol. 10.12-16
?15 Lucrinus lacus est	Sol. 12.7
7 Geloni Scytarum sunt	Sol. 15.1
12 Scythe sunt gentes	Sol. 15.3-5
5 in Asiatica parte	Sol. 15.13
6 Caspium mare ultra	Sol. 15.18

6 Caspium mare ultra	Sol. 19.3-4
8 Cervi plurimi in Sithia	Sol. 19.9-18
13 Germania in qua nos	Sol. 20.1-2, 9, 11
*2 duo sunt sinus	Sol. 27.3-4
*4 Libia vocatur a Libia	?Sol. 31.1
10 ultra Pelusiacum ostium	Sol. 31.3-4
*11 pyramides	Sol. 32.44
10 ultra Pelusiacum ostium	Sol. 33.1-4
10 ultra Pelusiacum ostium	Sol. 33.16-17
1 Tylus Indie insula est	Sol. 52.49-51

1. Solinus as source of Harley scholia**Solinus Text 14**

The crane is sought by the hunter in *Epode 2* (35-36):

pavidumque leporem et advenam laqueo gruem
iucunda captat praemia.

The scholiast resorts to Solinus for information about cranes:

Sol. 10. 12-16

manifestum sane est in septemtrionalem plagam hieme grues frequentissimas conuolare. nec piguerit meminisse quatenus expeditiones suas dirigant. sub quodam militiae eunt signo, et ne pergentibus ad destinata uis flatuum renitatur, harenas deuorant sublatisque lapillulis ad moderatam grauitatem saburrantur. 13 tunc contendunt in altissima, ut de excelsiori specula metentur quas petant terras. fidens meatu praeit cateruas, uolatus desidiā castigat uoce quae cogit agmen, ea ubi obraucata est succedit alia. 14 pontum transiturae angustias captant, et quidem eas (nam promptum est oculis deprehendere) quae inter Tauricam sunt et Paphlagoniam, id est inter Carambim et Criumetopon. cum contra medium alueum aduentasse se sciunt, scrupulorum sarcina pedes liberant. 15 ita nautae prodiderunt conplutū saepe ex illo casu imbre saxatili. harenas non prius reuomunt quam securae sedis suae fuerint. concors cura omnium pro fatigatis, adeo ut si que defecerint congruant uniuersae lassatasque sustollant usque dum uires otio recuperentur. nec in terra cura segnior. 16 excubias nocte diuidunt ut exsomnia sit decima quaeque. vigiles ponduscula digitis amplectuntur, quae si forte exciderint somnum coarguant. quod cauendum erit clangor indicat. aetatem in illis prodit color: nigrescunt senectute.

Epode 2.35

Solinus: manifestum sane est in septemtrionalem plagam hieme grues frequentissimas conuolare.

que sub quodam milicie eunt signo, et ne pergentibus ad destinata vis flatuum renitatur, harenas devorant. sublatisque lapillulis ad moderatum gravitate suburrantur. tunc contendunt in altissima, ut de excelsiori specula metentur quas petunt terras. fidens sibi meatu praeit catervas, volatus desidiā castigat uoce quae cogit agmen, ea ubi obraucata est succedit alia. pontum transiture angustias captant, equidem eas (nam promptum est oculis deprehendere) quae inter Tauricam sunt et Paphlagoniam [1] dum ad medium alveum adventasse se sciunt, scrupulorum sarcina pedes liberant. ita navite perdiderunt se conplutos sepe ex illo casu imbre saxatili. harenas non prius revomunt quam secure sedis suae fuerint. concors cura omnium pro fatigatis, adeo ut si que defecerint [1] congruant universe lassatasque sustollant usque dum vires ocio recuperentur. nec in terra cura segnior. excubias nocte diuidunt ut exsomnia sit decima quaeque. vigiles ponduscula digitis amplectuntur, quae si forte exciderint somnum coarguant. quod cavendum erit clangor indicat. aetatem <i>n illis prodit color: nigrescunt senectute.

Solinus' description of the cranes' migration helps to gloss Horace's adjective *advena*, but the length of the excerpt far exceeds the demands of that lemma. The scholiast omits only Solinus' parenthetical reflection on what he is about to write: *nec piguerit meminisse quatenus expeditiones suas dirigant.*

Footnotes

[1] *Carambim et Criumetopon. cum contra* is variously miscopied in Solinus manuscripts. Mommsen reports the reading *que defecerint* in the second class of Solinus manuscripts, while he follows the first class printing *qua defecerit*.

2. Treatment of glossing material

Solinus Text 10

Describing the rich man at the opening of *Odes* 3.24, Horace compares his possessions to Arabian treasure (1-2):

Intactis opulentior
thesauris Arabum et diuitis Indiae...

A note about different Arabian peoples is compiled from three separate Solinus extracts:

Sol. 33.1-4

ultra Pelusiacum ostium Arabia est, ad Rubrum pertinens mare, quod Erythraeum ab Erythra rege Persei et Andromedae filio, non solum a colore appellatum Varro dicit. qui affirmat in litore maris istius fontem esse, quem si oues biberint, mutent uellerum qualitatem, et antea candidae amittant quod fuerint usque ad haustum ac furuo postmodum nigrescant colore. 2 Rubri autem maris Arsinoe oppidum. verum haec Arabia procedit ad usque illam odoriferam et diuitem terram, quam Catabani et Scaenitae tenent Arabes, nobiles monte Cassio; 3 qui Scaenitae causas nominis inde ducunt, quod tentoriis succedunt nec alias domos habent; ipsa autem tentoria cilicia sunt: ita nuncupant uelamenta caprarum pilis texta. 4 praeterea suillis carnibus prorsus abstinere. sane hoc animalis genus si inuectum illo fuerit, ilico moritur. hanc Arabiam Graeci Eudaemonem, nostri Beatam nominauerunt. habitatur in colle manu facto inter flumen Tigrim et flumen Eulaeum, quod ortum a Medis tam puro fluore inclitum est, ut omnes inde reges non alias quam eius aquas bibant. **33.16-17** Arabes longe lateque diffusi diuersis et moribus uiuunt et cultibus. plurimis crinis intonsus, mitrata capita; redimitu pari pars rasa in cutem barba. commerciis student, aliena non emunt, uendunt sua; quippe et siluis et mari diuites. 17 umbrae quae nobis dexterarum sunt illis sinistrearum. pars eorum quibus asper uictus est angues edunt, nulla uel animi cura uel corporis, ac propterea ophiophagi

***Odes* 3.24.2**

ultra Pelusiacum ostium Arabia est, ad Rubrum pertinens mare, quod Errythreum ab Errythro rege Persei et Andromede filio, non solum a calore† appellatum Varro dicit. qui adfirmat in litore maris istius fontem esse, quem si biberint oues, mutant [1] vellerum qualitatem, et antea candide amittant quod fuerint usque ad haustum ac furuo postmodum nigrescunt colore.

verum hec

Arabia procedit ad usque illam odoriferam [1] terram, quam Catabani [1] et Scenitae tenent Arabes, nobiles monte Cassio: qui Scenitae causas nominis inde ducunt, quod tentoriis succedunt nec alias habent domos; ipsa autem tentoria cilicia sunt: ita nominant [1] uelamenta c[r]aparum pilis texta. praeterea suillis carnibus prorsus abstinere. sane hoc animalis genus si inuectum illo fuerit ilico moritur. hanc Arabiam Greci Eudemonem, nostri Beatam nominauerunt. habitatur [1] colle manu facto in flumen Tygrim et flumen Euleum, quod ortum a Medis tam puro fluore inclitum est, ut omnes [1] reges non alias quam eius bibant aquas. illius regionis populi longe lateque diffusi diuersis et moribus uiuunt et cultibus. plurimis crinis intonsus, mitrata capita, redimitu pari [1] rasa in cutem† barba. commerciis student, aliena non emunt, vendunt sua, quippe et siluis et mari diuites. umbrae quae nobis dextre sunt illis sunt sinistrearum. pars eorum quibus asper uictus est angues edunt. nulla est illis vel animi vel corporis cura, ac propterea

nominantur. 31.3-4 nullus ibi habendi amor: a diuitiis paupertate se abdicauerunt uoluntaria. tantum lapide uno gloriantur, quem hexecontalithon nominamus, tam diuersis notis sparsum, ut sexaginta gemmarum colores in paruo orbiculo eius deprehendantur. homines isti carnibus uiuunt serpentium ignarique sermonis stridunt potius quam loquuntur. 4 Augilae uero solos colunt inferos. feminas suas primis noctibus nuptiarum adulteriis cogunt patere, mox ad perpetuam pudicitiam legibus stringunt seuerissimis.

nullus ibi habendi amor: a diuiciis paupertate se abdicauerunt uoluntaria. tantum lapide uno gloriantur, qu^{} execontalithum nominamus, tam diuersis notis sparsum ut lx gemmarum colores in paruo orbiculo eius deprehendantur. homines isti carnibus vivunt serpentium ignarique sermonis stridunt potius quam locuntur. solos colunt inferos. feminas suas primis noctibus nuptiarum adulteriis cogunt patere, mox ad per^{<p>}etuum pudicitiam† legibus stringunt seuerissimis.

This scholion provides a far greater volume of information about Arabian tribes, than is necessary to gloss Horace's brief mention of the Arabs. The bulk of this material has no relevance to the ode, but the third Solinus extract parallels two themes of the Horatian diatribe: disdain for riches suits the overall tenor of the poem; the strict marital laws resemble Horace's sixth stanza (ll. 21-4).

Horace, Solinus, and the scholiast each name different tribes as exemplars of barbarian virtue. The Arabs are the lemma and subject of this scholion, but Solinus originally attached his moral portrait to the Libyans.[2] Horace speaks of the unspoiled morality of the Scythians and the Getae, contrasted to Arabian and Indian luxury. The scholiast is unconcerned about ethnographic precision and relevance to the lemma, but collects material which has a thematic resemblance to Horace. He may have observed a further thematic parallel in the first extract: Solinus' nomadic *Scaenitae* recall Horace's Scythians (9-10).[3]

Footnotes

[1] Harley reading *mutant* (1) is shared by Heidelb. Pal. lat. 1568-I s. xi, which also has corrupt *devidentem* where Harley omits *divitem* (2). The spelling *Catabyani*, *nominant* for *nuncupant*, omissions of *in* in *in colle* (4) and *pars* in *pars rasa* (16) feature in Voss quart. 87, Paris 7230 and 6810; *inde* in *inde Reges* is omitted by St Gall 187 and Engelberg 67. None of these Solinus manuscripts share all the Harley readings.

[2] The assimilation of the Arabs and the Libyans may have been aided by the fact that both are said to eat snakes. The omitted Greek word *opiophagi* probably had no meaning for the scholiast.

[3] It is not clear whether the description of Arabia as rich (*et divitem*) in the first extract was omitted deliberately because it contrasts with the description of (Libyan) abstemiousness at the end of the note. It may have been omitted by accident or may even have been corrupt in the scholiast's exemplar: erroneous *devidentem* is reported by Mommsen in one Solinus manuscript (which does not match Harley readings).

CATALOGUE OF PASSAGES

* = combined with other sources [discussed in other chapter]

Cicero de Senectute

- 1 *Odes* 1.31 *de Sen.* 28-29, 7, 17, 19-20, 35-6, 38, 62-4
quid enim est iocundius ... sed facere nolle
- *2 *Odes* 1.12.40 *de Sen.* 55 + *Serv.* + *PsA* Curius quidam senator

Macrobius In Somnium

- 1 *Odes* 1.13.16 *In Somn.* 1.12.11 hyle est que omne corpus
- [2 9vo *In Somn.* 1.3.7 phantasma vero, hoc est visum
- 3 *Odes* 3.27.38f. *In Somn.* 1.3.17-20 siquis querere forte velit

Bede on the Acts

- [*1 2ro = Remigius 1 *de Nom.* 45 cum Neptunus et Minerva
- 2 *Odes* 1.7.1 *de Nom.* 207 Mitilene insula est
- 3 *Odes* 1.7.1 *de Nom.* 241 Rodos Cycladum insularum
- *4 *Odes* 1.33.15 *de Nom.* 149 Hadryia nomen maris
- 5 *Odes* 3.29.62 *Exp. act. ap.* 27.24 scapha est navicula levis

Lucan

- 1 *Odes* 2.15.11 Lucan 2.380-90 de quo dicit Lucanus hi mores
- 2 *Odes* 3.16.9 Lucan 10.407-8 unde Lucanus dicit "nulla fides

Hyginus de Astronomia

- 1 *Odes* 2.13.39 Hyg. *de Astr.* 2.26 + 2.34 Orion filius Neptuni
- [*2 *Epode* 5 cf. Hyg. *de Astr.* 2.37 Argo in Tesalia ad Actii
- + Dares + *Thebaid*

Sallust Jugurtha

- **Odes* 1.22.5; 2.6.3 *Jug.* 78 + *Solinus* duo sunt sinus prope in extrema

The Apocalypse

- **Carm. Saec.* 33 *Rev.* 9.11 + *Servius* Borfirius† dicit in libro

Macrobius Saturnalia

- Epode* 2.50 *Sat.* 3.16.10 Optamus† prefectus classis

Ovid

- Odes* 3.28 *Met.* 4.668-5.241 Andromedam Cepheo regi
- + *Met.* 4.210f., 7.353; *Fasti* 1.419

Note: * = multi-source compilations:Cicero 2 (Curius quidam) = *Servius* 13Bede 1 (cum Neptunus et Minerva) = *Remigius* 1 = *Servius* 1Sallust (duo sunt sinus) = *Solinus* Text 2Hyginus 2 = *T. Hist.* 8 + *Thebaid**Apocalypse* = *Servius* 126

Hyginus de Astronomia 2.34

Passages used in Harley are italicised.

References to Orion's hunting and death are underlined.

Orion. Hunc Hesiodus Neptuni filium dicit ex Euryale Minois filia natum; concessum autem ei ut supra fluctus curreret ut in terra, quemadmodum Iphiclo datum dicitur ut supra aristas curreret neque eas infringeret.

Aristomachus autem dicit quendam Hyriea fuisse Thebis, Pindarus autem in insula Chio; hunc autem, cum Iovem et Mercurium hospitio recepisset, petisse ab his ut sibi aliquid liberorum nasceretur; itaque, quo facilius petitum impetraret, bovem immolasse et his pro epulis apposuisse; quod cum fecisset, poposcisse Iovem et Mercurium quod corium de bove foret detractum et quod fecerant urinae in corium infudisse et id sub terra poni iussisse; ex quo postea natum puerum quem Hyrieus e facto Vriona nomine appellaret; sed venustate et consuetudine factum esse ut Orion vocaretur.

Hic dicitur Thebis Chium venisse et ibi Oenopionis filiam Meropen, per vinum cupiditate incensus, compressisse; pro quo facto ab Oenopione excaecatus et de insula eiectus, existimatur Lemnum ad Vulcanum pervenisse et ab eo ducem quendam Cedalionia nomine accepisse. Quem collo ferens dicitur ad Solem venisse et ab eo sanatus, ut se ulcisceretur, Chium revertisse, Oenopiona autem a civibus sub terra custoditum esse; quem postquam se invenire posse desperaret Orion, in insulam Cretam pervenisse et ibi venari coepisse cum Diana et ei polliceri quae supra diximus et ita ad sidera pervenisse.

Nonnulli autem aiunt Oriona cum Oenopione prope nimia coniunctum amicitia vixisse et, quod ei voluerit suum studium in venando probare, Dianae quoque pollicitum quae supra diximus et ita interfectum.

Alii dicunt cum Callimacho, cum Dianae vim voluerit afferre, ab ea sagittis esse confixum et ad sidera propter venandi consimile studium deformatum.

Istrus autem dicit Oriona a Diana esse dilectum et paene factum ut ei nupsisse existimaretur; quod cum Apollo aegre ferret et saepe eam obiurgans nihil egisset, natantis Orionis longe caput solum videri conspicatus, contendit cum Diana eam non posse sagittam mittere ad id quod nigrum in mari videretur. Quae se cum vellet in eo studio maxime artificem dici, sagitta missa, caput Orionis traiecit; itaque eum cum fluctus interfectum ad litus eiecisset et *se eum Diana percussisse plurimum doleret, multis eius obitum prosecuta lacrimis, inter sidera statuisset existimatur.* Sed quae post mortem eius Diana fecerit, in eius historiis dicemus.

CATALOGUE OF PASSAGES A = in Appendix 5.1**a. in chapter order****1 Isidore as source of Harley scholia**

A22 omne regnum	<i>Odes</i> 4.2.49?
8 theatrum est quo	<i>Odes</i> 1.20.3
A16 cytharae ac	<i>Odes</i> 2.10.18
19 Pilosi qui Grece	<i>Odes</i> 3.18.1?

2 The scholiast's text of Isidore

14 Liberum a	<i>Odes</i> 1.32.9
11 lucerna a lichno	<i>Odes</i> 1.27.5
16 lincus dictus qui	<i>Odes</i> 2.13.40

b. by Horace line**Chapter****c. in order of Isidore's text**

1 rosa a specie floris	<i>O.</i> 1.5.1		10 musica est	<i>Et.</i> 3.15.1-2	<i>O.</i> 1.26(?)
2 dux dictus eo quod	<i>O.</i> 1.6.4		16 cythare ac	<i>Et.</i> 3.22.2-4	<i>O.</i> 2.10.18
3 miles dictus quia	<i>O.</i> 1.6.4		14 Liberum	<i>Et.</i> 8.11.43-4	<i>O.</i> 1.32.9
4 frena dicta quod	<i>O.</i> 1.8.7		13 Fortunam	<i>Et.</i> 8.11.94	<i>O.</i> 1.31.10
5 campus est planicies	<i>O.</i> 1.9.18		19 Pilosi qui	<i>Et.</i> 8.103-4	<i>O.</i> 3.18.1?
6 area dicitur	<i>O.</i> 1.9.18		2 dux dictus	<i>Et.</i> 9.3.22	<i>O.</i> 1.6.4
*7a Cycladas autumant	<i>O.</i> 1.14.20		3 miles dictus	<i>Et.</i> 9.3.32	<i>O.</i> 1.6.4
8 theatrum est quo	<i>O.</i> 1.20.3		18 heredis	<i>Et.</i> 9.5.1	<i>O.</i> 2.18.6
9 pharetra sagitarum	<i>O.</i> 1.21.11		17 lincus	<i>Et.</i> 12.2.20	<i>O.</i> 2.13.40
10 musica est pericia	<i>O.</i> 1.26(?)		15 inter Egipt.	<i>Et.</i> 13.16.5	<i>O.</i> 1.35.8; 4.5.10
11 lucerna a lichno	<i>O.</i> 1.27.5	5	20 fluvius est	<i>Et.</i> 13.21.1-2	<i>O.</i> 3.29.33
12 vinum inde	<i>O.</i> 1.31.9ff.		21 amnis	<i>Et.</i> 13.21.3	<i>O.</i> 3.29.41
13 fortunam a	<i>O.</i> 1.31.10		5 campus est	<i>Et.</i> 14.8.23	<i>O.</i> 1.9.18
14 Liberum a	<i>O.</i> 1.32.9	5	*7 Cycladas	<i>Et.</i> 14.6.19	<i>O.</i> 1.14.20; 3.28.14
15a inter Egiptum	<i>O.</i> 1.35.8		*?25 (Phoceans)	<i>Et.</i> 15.1.63	<i>E.</i> 16.17
16 cytharae ac	<i>O.</i> 2.10.18	5A	6 area dicitur	<i>Et.</i> 15.13.16	<i>O.</i> 1.9.18
17 lincus dictus qui	<i>O.</i> 2.13.40	5	24 bitumen	<i>Et.</i> 16.2.1	<i>E.</i> 5.82
18 heredis nomen	<i>O.</i> 2.18.6		23 caprificus	<i>Et.</i> 17.7.18	<i>E.</i> 5.17
19 Pilosi qui Grece	<i>O.</i> 3.18.1?	5	1 rosa a	<i>Et.</i> 17.9.17	<i>O.</i> 1.5.1
7b Cycladas autumant	<i>O.</i> 3.28.14		22 omne reg.	<i>Et.</i> 18.2.1, 3-6	<i>O.</i> 4.2.49?
20 fluvius est	<i>O.</i> 3.29.33		9 pharetra	<i>Et.</i> 18.9.1-2	<i>O.</i> 1.21.11
21 amnis fluvius est	<i>O.</i> 3.29.41		8 theatrum	<i>Et.</i> 18.42.1	<i>O.</i> 1.20.3
22 omne regnum	<i>O.</i> 4.2.49?	5A	12 vinum	<i>Et.</i> 20.3.2-6	<i>O.</i> 1.31.9ff.
15b Carpacium mare	<i>O.</i> 4.5.10		11 lucerna a	<i>Et.</i> 20.10.2	<i>Odes</i> 1.27.5
23 caprificus appellata	<i>E.</i> 5.17		4 frena dicta	<i>Et.</i> 20.16.1-2	<i>Odes</i> 1.8.7
24 bitumen in Iudee	<i>E.</i> 5.82				
*?25 (Phoceans)	<i>E.</i> 16.17	Hist. 21			

*7a Cycladas = Servius Text 16a

5.1 Isidore as source of Harley scholia**Isidore Text 22**

In *Odes* 4.2 Horace urges Antonius to sing of Augustus' victory over the Sygambri, marked by a procession, where they will shout '*Io Triumphe*' (49-51):

concines maiore poeta plectro	33
Caesarem, quandoque trahet ferocis	
per sacrum cliuum merita decorus	
fronde Sygambros...	
teque, dum procedis, io Triumphe!	49
non semel dicemus, io Triumphe!...	

The scholiast provides a lengthy note, matching Isidore, about triumphs and trophies:

Isid. Et. 18.2.1, 3-6

(1) omne regnum saeculi huius bellis quaeritur, victoriis propagatur. victoria dicta quod vi, id est virtute, adipiscatur. hoc est enim ius gentium, vim vi expellere. nam turpis est dolo quaesita victoria. certa autem victoria est vel occisio hostis, vel exspoliatio, vel utrumque. non est autem iucunda victoria quae per immensa detrimenta contingit: et hoc est, quod laudat Sallustius [*Hist.* 3.29] duces victoriam incruento exercitu deportasse... (3) tropeum dictum ἀπὸ τῆς τροπῆς, id est a conversione hostis et fuga. nam ab eo quod hostem quis fugasset merebatur tropeum; qui occidisset, triumphum, qui dictus est ἀπὸ τῆς θριάμβης, id est ab exultatione. plenae enim victoriae triumphus debetur; semiplenae tropeum, quia nondum plenam est victoriam consecutus: non enim optinuit, sed fugavit exercitum. haec tamen nomina scriptores confundunt. Tranquillus [*Prat.* 109] autem triumphum Latine dicit potius appellatum, quod is, qui triumphans urbem ingrederetur, tripertito iudicio honoraretur: nam primum de triumpho duci concedendo exercitum iudicare solitum erat, secundo senatum, tertio populum. (4) erat autem Romanorum mos ut triumphantes quadrigis veherentur, ex illo quod soliti sint priores duces hoc habitu bella inire. quicumque autem in conflictu vicisset, palma aurea coronabatur, quia palma stimulos habet; qui vero sine conflictu fugientem prostrasset, laurea, eo quod haec arbor sine spinis est. (5) namque et purpuream et palmatam togam triumphantes induebantur, et scipionem cum sceptro in manu gerebant ad imitationem victoriae Scipionis; licet et scipio baculum sit quo homines innituntur. unde et ille primus Cornelius Scipio appellatus est, quia in foro pater eius caecus innixus eo ambulabat. super scipionem autem aquila supersedebat, ob indicium quod per victoriam quasi ad supernam magnitudinem accederent. (6) inde et colore rufo perlinebantur, quasi imitarentur divini ignis effigiem. quod vero a carnifice contingebantur, id esse indicium ut ad tantum fastigium evecti mediocritatis humanae commonerentur.

Odes 4.2.49?

omne regnum seculi huius bellis queritur, victoriis propagatur. victoria dicta quod ui, id est virtute, adipiscatur. hoc est enim ius gentium, vi vim expellere. nam turpis est dolo quesita victoria. certa autem victoria est vel occisio hostis. vel expoliatio vel utrumque. non est autem iocunda victoria que per immensa [a] detrimenta contingit: et hoc est, quod laudat Salustius ducis victoria† incruento exercitu deportasse. tropeum dictum apostrophes†, id est a conversatione† hostis et fuga. nam ab eo quod hostem qui<s> fugasset merebatur tropeum; qui occidisset, triumphum, qui dictus est apo tes triambes id est ab exultatione. plene enim victorie triumphus debetur, semiplene tropeum, quia nondum plenam victoriam est consequutus: non enim obtinuit, sed fugavit exercitum. hec tamen nomina scriptores confundunt. Tranquillus autem triumphum Latine dicit potius appellatum, quod is, qui triumphans urbem ingrederetur, tripertito iudicio honoraretur: nam primum de triumpho duci concedendo exercitum iudicare solitum erat, secundo senatum, tertio populum. erat autem Romanorum mos ut triumphantes quadrigis veherentur, ex illo quod soliti sint priores duces hoc habitu bella inire. <...>cumque autem in conflictu vicisset, palma aurea coronabatur, quia palma stimulos habet; qui vero sine conflictu fugientem prostrasset laurea, eo quod hec arbor sine spinis est. nam et purpuream et palmatam togam triumphantes induebantur, et scipionem cum sceptro in manu gerebant ad imitationem victorie Scipionis; licet, et scipio baculus† sit quo homines innituntur. unde et ille primus Cornelius Scipio appellatus est, quia in foro pater ei<us> cecus innixus eo ambulabat. super scipionem autem aquila supersedebat, ob indicium quod per victoriam quasi ad supe<r>nam magnitudinem accederent. inde et colore rufo perlinebantur, quasi imitarentur divini ignis effigiem. quod vero a carnifice contingebantur, id esse indicium ut ad tantum fastigium evecti mediocritatis humane commonerentur.

The *Etymologiae* are the ultimate source of this Harley extract, which shares variants with Isidore manuscripts.[1] The scholiast omits Isidore's definition of *pompa*: he seems unaware that Horace's setting is a Roman triumphal procession.[2]

Another extensive passage of 250 words glosses *Calena falce* at *Odes* 1.31.9.

Footnotes

[1] The following corruptions are reported in Isidore manuscripts *ducis* (after Salustius, 1) – in St Gall 237, Basel F-III 15, Wolfenb. 4148, Wolfenb. Weis. 64; *conversatione* – in Leid. Voss. F 74₁, St Gall 237, Reims 425, Lond. Harl. 2686; *baculus* in St Gall 231-32, St Gall 235; the singular *perliniebatur* (6) – in Wolfenb. Weis. 64, Wolfenb. 4148, Leid. Voss. F 74₁, St Gall 237.

[2] Isid. *Et.* 18.2.2 *pompa dicta est Graeca significatione, ἀπό τοῦ πομπεύειν, hoc est publice ostentari. praecedat autem victoria pompam, ideo quod ituris ad hoc certamen primum est victoriae votum.*

Isidore Text 16

Apollo is associated with the lyre as well as the bow (*Odes* 2.10.17-20):

... non, si male nunc, et olim
sic erit: quondam cithara tacentem
suscitat Musam neque semper arcum
tendit Apollo.

The Isidorian definition of *cithara* not only offers an etymological explanation, but appropriately connects the lyre with Apollo as its Greek inventor:

Isid. *Et.* 3.22.2-4

citharae ac psalterii repertor Tubal, ut praedictum est, perhibetur. iuxta opinionem autem Graecorum citharae usus repertus fuisse ab Apolline creditur. forma citharae initio similis fuisse traditur pectori humano, quo uti vox a pectore, ita ex ipsa cantus ederetur, appellatamque eadem de causa. nam pectus Dorica lingua κιθάρα vocari. paulatim autem plures eius species extiterunt, ut psalteria, lyrae, barbitae, phoenices et pectides, et quae dicuntur Indicae, et feriuntur a duobus simul. item aliae atque aliae, et quadrata forma vel trigonali. chordarum etiam numerus multiplicatus, et conmutatum genus. veteres autem citharam fidiculam vel fidicem nominaverunt, quia tam concinunt inter se chordae eius, quam bene conveniat inter quos fides sit.

Odes 2.10.18

cythare ac psalterii repertor Tubal perhibetur. iuxta autem oppinionem Grecorum, cythare usus ab Apolline creditur fuisse repertus. forma cythare initio similis fuisse traditur humano pectori, ut sicut vox e pectore, ita ex ea cantus ederetur. inde et vocatur. nam pectus Dorica lingua cythara dicitur. paulatim autem plures eius species extiterunt.

veteres
cytharam fidiculam vel fidicem vocabant,
quia tam conveniunt inter se chorde eius,
quam bene conveniat inter quos fides sit.

The scholiast makes several small alterations, the general effect of which is abbreviation and simplification. Several words – *quo uti*, *nominaverunt*, *concinunt* – are replaced with synonyms which are arguably simpler, more prosaic, and still more common; brief *inde et vocatur* is substituted for *appellatamque eadem de causa*; direct *cythara dicitur* takes the place of reported *vocari*. Omitting instruments related to the cithara, the Harley note concentrates on Horace's lemma.

CATALOGUE OF PASSAGES

* = combined with other source

A = Appendix 6.1

a. in chapter order**1. Servius demonstrated as source**51 Servius dicit usus *O.* 2.8.23A70 Servius dicit otium *O.* 2.16.148 Aulon mons est *O.* 2.6.18**2. Retained Horace quotations**41 Asinius Pollio *O.* 2.1**3. Retained ref. to Virg. and Serv.**A69 itur 'eo' e brevis est *O.* 2.15.1738 canam autem Fidem *O.* 1.35.21f.A39 Hesperie due sunt *O.* 1.36.4A49 post fedus Titi *O.* 2.7.3A56 Ni[m]fates et pluvius† *O.* 2.9.20A12 per transitum *O.* 1.10.13A19 freta abusive *O.* 1.15.1; 2.7.16A35 Acidalia dicitur *O.* 1.30**4. 'Loose' notes originating with S.**42 procax est *O.* 2.1.37A77 sane 'ebur eburis' *O.* 2.18.127 Mercurius lyram *O.* 1.21.12A28 Hidaspes fluvius est *O.* 1.22.826 Tempe sunt proprie *O.* 1.21.9A15 malus arbor navis *O.* 1.14.510 aliquando est, alias *O.* 1.9.1A64 Rodomantus *O.* 2.13.22; 4.7.2146 Galesus vero fluvius *O.* 2.6.10**5. No need to claim other source?**A22 Coribantes sunt *O.* 1.16.8A20 duobus milibus *O.* 1.15.8A111 uterus proprie *O.* 4.6.20A29 acusativus hic *O.* 1.24.1444 meret per diptongon *O.* 2.4.16A106 inter tropheum *O.* 4.2.4936 iuventus multitudo *O.* 1.30.740 fisici dicunt ex vino *O.* 1.36.17**6. Evidence of adjacent passages**72 Chimera monstrum *O.* 2.17.1373 Briareus centum *O.* 2.17.14109 secundum fabulas ydra *O.* 4.4.61A30 ianua enim est *O.* 1.25.4; 3.10.5A31 cardo dicitur *O.* 1.25.6A53 imber dicitur *O.* 2.9.1A54 procella est vis *O.* 2.9.3; 3.27.62**7. Examples of editing**A98 sunt autem gemine *O.* 3.27.41A80 Baia locus est *O.* 2.18.20A74 Egiptii xii esse *O.* 2.17**8. Compilations**62 ferunt fabule Titanas *O.* 2.12.78a Pelide, id est Achillis *O.* 1.6.68b,c Achilles a *O.* 2.16.29; 4.6.4A88 Inachus rex fuit *O.* 3.19.1**9. The role of Virgil quotations**9 Albunea fons *O.* 17.1234 gaza Persicus *O.* 1.29.2; 2.16.9A59 litus dicitur omnis *O.* 2.10.4*123 Circe autem *O.* 1.17.17; *Ep.* 17.17*4 ventus utilis *O.* 1.3.432 Tantalus *O.* 1.28.7; 2.13.37; *Ep.* 17.66A113 Theseus mortua *O.* 4.7.26**10. Cross-referencing Pseudo-Acro**71 Tythonus fuit *O.* 2.16.30*79 Attalus rex Asiae *O.* 2.18.5**11. Recycling at other Hor. lemmata**A45 Tybur et menia Cathilli *O.* 2.6.5A7 chorus proprie est *O.* 1.4.560 temere polisemus *O.* 2.11.14**12. The use of Virgil***23 a Berecynto monte *O.* 1.18.13f.**b. by Horace line**

* = combined with other source(s)

[= other chapter

A = appendix **Section**

[1 ? cum Neptunus et Minerva

2 *O.* 1.2.33 Eryx Veneris et Butae3 *O.* 1.2.46; 2.7.3 Romulus autem ideo*4 *O.* 1.3.4 ventus utilis de Apulia5 *O.* 1.3.14 signum est in fronte6 *O.* 1.3? Tribus humana vita7 *O.* 1.4.5 chorus proprie est8a *O.* 1.6.6 Pelide, id est Achillis8b,c *O.* 2.16.29; 4.6.4 Achilles a matre*Georg.* 1.12 + Bede + Rem. Remig. 1*Aen.* 1.570*Aen.* 1.292*Aen.* 8.710 + PsA + Unknown 9*Georg.* 1.138*Aen.* 4.653*Georg.* 1.346 11A*Aen.* 6.57 8*Aen.* 6.57; 3.321

*9 O. 1.7.12	Albunea fons est quidam	<i>Aen.</i> 7.83 + Porph.	9
10 O. 1.9.1	aliquando est, alias	<i>Aen.</i> 1.646	4
11 O. 1.9.1	Soracte mons est	<i>Aen.</i> 11.785	
12 O. 1.10.13	per transitum historiam	<i>Aen.</i> 1.487	3A
[*13 O. 1.12.41	Curius quidam senator fuit	<i>Aen.</i> 6.844 + PsA + <i>de Sen.</i>	Ch 4
[*14 O. 1.12.47	Iulium Cesare[m] dicit Or. +	Eut. + S. <i>Ecl.</i> 9.46 + V. <i>Ecl.</i> 9.46	Hist. 1b
15 O. 1.14.5	malus arbor navis	<i>Aen.</i> 5.487	4A
[*16a O. 1.14.20	Cycladas autumant inde	<i>Aen.</i> 3.126-7 + Isid.	Isid. 7
[16b O. 3.28.14	Cyclades vero non ideo		
[*17 O. 1.15	Hecuba Dimantis	<i>Aen.</i> 5.370 + Unknown	Ch 9
[*18 O. 1.15	eversi Ilii hec est vera	<i>Aen.</i> 1.619; 10.91 + Dar.	Hist.T3
19 O. 1.15.1; 2.7.16	freta abusive modo	<i>Aen.</i> 1.607	3A
20 O. 1.15.8	duobus milibus octingentis	<i>Aen.</i> 2.363	5A
21 O. 1.16.12	fisici Iovem etherem	<i>Aen.</i> 1.47	
22 O. 1.16.8	Coribantes sunt ministri	<i>Aen.</i> 3.111	5A
*23 O. 1.18.13f. a	Berecyntho monte. V. A. 11.737f. + S. A. 1.686 + Hor. + PsA		12
24 O. 1.20.9	prela sunt autem trabes	<i>Georg.</i> 2.242	
25 O. 1.20.10; 2.6.19	Falernus mons	<i>Georg.</i> 2.96	
26 O. 1.21.9	Tempe sunt proprie	<i>Georg.</i> 2.469	4
27 O. 1.21.12	Mercurius Iyram invenit	<i>Aen.</i> 4.242? + cf. PsA	4
28 O. 1.22.8	Hidaspes fluvius est	<i>Georg.</i> 4.211	4A
29 O. 1.24.14	acusativus hic est	<i>Aen.</i> 6.120	5A
30a O. 1.25.4	ianua enim est primus	<i>Aen.</i> 1.449	6A
30b O. 3.10.5	ianua autem est primus		
31 O. 1.25.6	cardo dicitur quasi cor	<i>Aen.</i> 1.449	6A
32 O. 1.28.7; 2.13.37; <i>Ep.</i> 17.66	Tantalus rex	<i>Aen.</i> 6.603	2
33 O. 1.28.21; 3.27.18	Oenopion rex cum	<i>Aen.</i> 1.535	
34a O. 1.29.2	gaza Persicus sermo	<i>Aen.</i> 1.119; 5.40	9
34b O. 2.16.9		<i>Aen.</i> 1.119	
35 O. 1.30	Acidalia dicitur Venus	<i>Aen.</i> 1.720	3A
36 O. 1.30.7	iuventus multitudo	<i>Aen.</i> 1.590	5
[37a O. 1.35.8	inter Egiptum et Trhodrum	<i>Aen.</i> 5.595	Ch 5
[37b O. 4.5.10	Carpacium mare inter		
38 O. 1.35.21f.	canam autem Fidem	<i>Aen.</i> 1.292	3
39 O. 1.36.4	Hesperie due sunt	<i>Aen.</i> 1.530	3A
40 O. 1.36.17	fisici dicunt ex vino	<i>Aen.</i> 8.310	5
41 O. 2.1	Asinius Pollio, ductor	<i>Ecl.</i> 3.84; 4.1	2
42 O. 2.1.37	procax est perseverans nam	<i>Aen.</i> 1.536	4
43 O. 2.3.23	Servius: deos eternos	<i>Aen.</i> 12.139	
44 O. 2.4.16	meret per diptongon	<i>Aen.</i> 4.82	5
45 O. 2.6.5	Tybur et menia Cathilli	<i>Aen.</i> 7.670	11A
46 O. 2.6.10	Galesus vero fluvius	<i>Georg.</i> 4.125-6	4
47 O. 2.6.11	Lacones et Athenienses diu	<i>Aen.</i> 3.551	
48 O. 2.6.18	Aulon mons est Calabrie	<i>Aen.</i> 3.553	1
49 O. 2.7.3	post fedus Titi et Romuli	<i>Aen.</i> 7.710	3A
50 O. 2.7.23	exple idest minue ut	<i>Aen.</i> 6.545	
51 O. 2.8.23	Servius dicit usus obtinuit	<i>Aen.</i> 11.687	1
52 O. 2.8.24	aura est splendor ut	<i>Aen.</i> 6.204	
53 O. 2.9.1	imber dicitur omnis humor	<i>Aen.</i> 1.123; 1.51	6A
54 O. 2.9.3; 3.27.62	procella est vis venti	<i>Aen.</i> 1.85	6A

[55 O. 2.9.16	Servius dicit: Troyli amore	<i>Aen.</i> 1.474 + Dares	Hist. T6
56 O. 2.9.20	Ni[m]fates et pluvius est et	<i>Georg.</i> 3.30	3A
[57 O. 2.9.23	Geloni Scytarum sunt	<i>Aen.</i> 8.725	Sol. 7
58 O. 2.10.20	hic est ordo pestilentie	<i>Aen.</i> 3.138	
59 O. 2.10.4	litus dicitur omnis terra	<i>Aen.</i> 1.3; 4.212	9A
60 O. 2.11.14	temere polisemus sermo	<i>Aen.</i> 9.373; 9.327	11
61 O. 2.11.23	Lacene id est Helene	<i>Aen.</i> 2.601+ λφψ?	
62 O. 2.12.7	ferunt fabule Titanas a	<i>Aen.</i> 6.580; 3.578	8
63 O. 2.13.37; <i>Ep.</i> 17.67	Prometheus post	<i>Ecl.</i> 6.42	
64 O. 2.13.22; 4.7.21	Rodomantus Mynos	<i>Aen.</i> 6.566	4A
65 O. 2.14.8	Gerion rex fuit Hispanie	<i>Aen.</i> 7.662	
66a O. 2.14.8	Ticion Terre filius fuit	<i>Aen.</i> 6.595-6	
66b, c O. 3.13.21; 4.6.2		<i>Aen.</i> 6.595	
67 O. 2.14.9	Acheronta vult quasi de	<i>Aen.</i> 6.295	
68 O. 2.14.23; <i>Ep.</i> 5.18	cupressus adhibetur	<i>Aen.</i> 6.216	
69 O. 2.15.17	itur 'eo' e brevis est	<i>Aen.</i> 6.179	3A
70 O. 2.16.1	Servius dicit otium ex	<i>Georg.</i> 1.123	1A
71 O. 2.16.30	Tythonus fuit frater	<i>Aen.</i> 4.585; <i>Georg.</i> 3.328	10
72 O. 2.17.13	Chimera monstrum est	<i>Aen.</i> 6.288	6
73 O. 2.17.14	Briareus centum habuit	<i>Aen.</i> 6. 287	6
74 O. 2.17.?	Egyptii xii esse adserunt	<i>Georg.</i> 1.33	7A
75 O. 2.17.23	Saturnus deus pluviarum	<i>Georg.</i> 1.336	
76 O. 2.17.22f.	Saturnus postquam a	<i>Aen.</i> 3.104	
77 O. 2.18.1	sane 'ebur eburis' et eboris	<i>Aen.</i> 11.11	4A
78 O. 2.18.2	principaliter lacus dicitur	<i>Aen.</i> 1.726	
*79 O. 2.18.5	Attalus rex Asie ditissimus	<i>Aen.</i> 1.697 + PsA	10
80 O. 2.18.20	Baia locus est in Campania	<i>Aen.</i> 6.107	7A
81 O. 2.18.25	in lege xii tabularum	<i>Aen.</i> 6.609	
82 O. 3.11.21	Ixion Laphitis imperabat	<i>Aen.</i> 6.601	
*83 O. 3.16.1	Dane filia fuit Acrissii regis	<i>Aen.</i> 7.372; 6.445 + Unknown Ch 9	
84 O. 3.16	Eriphire uxor fuit	<i>Aen.</i> 6.445	
85 O. 3.17.7	est autem Marica dea	<i>Aen.</i> 7.47	
86 O. 3.17.9	tyrannus: grece dixit, idest	<i>Aen.</i> 7.266	
87 O. 3.17.14	genium pro corpore posuit	<i>Aen.</i> 6.743	
88 O. 3.19.1	Inachus rex fuit Argivorum	<i>Aen.</i> 7.790; 6.154	8A
89 O. 3.19.2	Codrus dux fuit	<i>Ecl.</i> 5.11	
90 O. 3.21.23	a lychno autem lucerna est	<i>Aen.</i> 1.726	
91 O. 3.23.4	generaliter fruges omnes	<i>Aen.</i> 1.178	
92 O. 3.25.2	hoc nomen apud maiores	<i>Aen.</i> 7.568	
93 O. 3.25.19	'pater' licet generale sit	<i>Georg.</i> 2.4	
94 O. 3.25.19	Leneus dicitur Bachus	<i>Aen.</i> 4.207	
95 O. 3.26.5	Celus pater fuit Saturni	<i>Aen.</i> 5.801	
96 O. 3.26.7	funalia sunt que intra	<i>Aen.</i> 1.727	
97 O. 3.27.4	sciendum est autem fetam	<i>Aen.</i> 1.51	
98 O. 3.27.41	sunt autem gemine apud	<i>Aen.</i> 6.893	7A
99 O. 3.29.37	Servius dicit Horacium	<i>Aen.</i> 3.94	
100 O. 3.29.64a	Iove et Leda nati sunt	<i>Aen.</i> 2.601	
101 O. 3.30.10	Aufidus Apulie fluvijs est	<i>Aen.</i> 11.405	
102 O. 4.1.28	Salii Martis et Herculis	<i>Aen.</i> 8.285?	
103 O. 4.1.6	lustrum quinquennium	<i>Aen.</i> 1.283	

104 <i>O.</i> 4.1.37	somnum et somnium et	<i>Aen.</i> 5.840	
105 <i>O.</i> 4.2.2	indicato a Sole adulterio	<i>Aen.</i> 6.14	
106 <i>O.</i> 4.2.49	inter tropheum et	<i>Aen.</i> 10.775	5A
107 <i>O.</i> 4.3.20	Plinius dicit in naturali	<i>Aen.</i> 7.700	
[*108 <i>O.</i> 4.4.4	Ganimedes regis	<i>Aen.</i> 1.28 + Unknown	Ch 9
109 <i>O.</i> 4.4.61	secundum fabulas ydra	<i>Aen.</i> 6.287	6
110 <i>O.</i> 4.6.13	de hoc equo varia in	<i>Aen.</i> 2.15	
111 <i>O.</i> 4.6.20	uterus proprie est mulierum	<i>Aen.</i> 2.20	5A
112 <i>O.</i> 4.7.15	Ancus autem dictus $\alpha\pi\omicron$	<i>Aen.</i> 6.815	
113 <i>O.</i> 4.7.26	Theseus mortua Hypolite	<i>Aen.</i> 7.761	9A
114 <i>O.</i> 4.7.28	Theseus et Pyrrhous ad	<i>Aen.</i> 6.122	
115 <i>Ep.</i> 2.9	propago autem si genus	<i>Aen.</i> 4.231	
116 <i>Ep.</i> 4.18	Servius: Sextus Pompeius	<i>Aen.</i> 8.684	
117 <i>Ep.</i> 5.1	at copulativa particula est	<i>Aen.</i> 7.363	
118 <i>Ep.</i> 5.62	Medea quo modo relictis	<i>Aen.</i> 7.750	
119 <i>Ep.</i> 5.86	fabula quidem hoc habet	<i>Aen.</i> 1.568	
120 <i>Ep.</i> 5.89	diris idest furiis	<i>Aen.</i> 12.845, 850	
121 <i>Ep.</i> 8.14	inter honestum et honoratum	<i>Aen.</i> 1.289	
122 <i>Ep.</i> 16.4	Tarquinius Superbus	<i>Aen.</i> 8.646	
*123 <i>Ep.</i> 17.17	Circe autem ideo Solis	<i>Aen.</i> 7.19 + Sch. <i>Theb.</i>	9
124 <i>Ep.</i> 17.33	causa huius incendii	<i>Aen.</i> 3.571	
125 <i>Ep.</i> 17.48	sciendum quia apud	<i>Aen.</i> 5.64; 6.218	
*126 <i>C.S.</i> 33	Borfirius† dicit in libro	<i>Ecl.</i> 5.66 + Apocal.	(Ch 4)
127 <i>C.S.</i> 70	constat regnante Tarquinio	<i>Aen.</i> 6.72-3	

c. by Virgilian line

[14 *O.* 1.12.47
 4 **O.* 1.3.4, *O.* 3.27.20
 23* *O.* 1.18.13f.

Iulium Cesarem dicit
 ventus utilis de Apulia
 a Berecyntho monte.

Virgil

Ecl. 9.46 (cf. Vat. Lat. 3866)
Georg. 3.475 (Hor. Sch.?)
Aen. 11.736-740

Servius

41 <i>O.</i> 2.1	Asinius Pollio, ductor	<i>Ecl.</i> 3.84 +
41 <i>O.</i> 2.1	Asinius Pollio, ductor	<i>Ecl.</i> 4.1 +
89 <i>O.</i> 3.19.2	Codrus dux fuit	<i>Ecl.</i> 5.11
126 <i>C.S.</i> 33	Borfirius† dicit in libro	<i>Ecl.</i> 5.66
63 <i>O.</i> 2.13.37; <i>Ep.</i> 17.67	Prometheus post factos	<i>Ecl.</i> 6.42
[*14 <i>O.</i> 1.12.47	Iulium Cesarem dicit	<i>Ecl.</i> 9.46
[1 ?	cum Neptunus et Minerva	<i>Georg.</i> 1.12
74 <i>O.</i> 2.17.?	Egyptii xii esse adserunt	<i>Georg.</i> 1.33
70 <i>O.</i> 2.16.1	Servius dicit otium ex	<i>Georg.</i> 1.123
5 <i>O.</i> 1.3.14	signum est in fronte	<i>Georg.</i> 1.138
75 <i>O.</i> 2.17.23	Saturnus deus pluviarum	<i>Georg.</i> 1.336
7 <i>O.</i> 1.4.5	chorus proprie est	<i>Georg.</i> 1.346
93 <i>O.</i> 3.25.19	‘pater’ licet generale sit	<i>Georg.</i> 2.4
25 <i>O.</i> 1.20.10	Falernus mons Campanie	<i>Georg.</i> 2.96
24 <i>O.</i> 1.20.9	prela sunt autem trabes	<i>Georg.</i> 2.242
26 <i>O.</i> 1.21.9	Tempe sunt proprie	<i>Georg.</i> 2.469
56 <i>O.</i> 2.9.20	Nifates et pluvius est et	<i>Georg.</i> 3.30
71 <i>O.</i> 2.16.30	Tythonus fuit frater	<i>Georg.</i> 3.328 +
*4 <i>O.</i> 1.3.4	ventus utilis de Apulia	<i>Georg.</i> 3.475
46 <i>O.</i> 2.6.10	Galesus vero fluvius	<i>Georg.</i> 4.125-6

28 <i>O.</i> 1.22.8	Hidaspes fluvius est	<i>Georg.</i> 4.211
59 <i>O.</i> 2.10.4	litus dicitur omnis terra	<i>Aen.</i> 1.3 +
*108 <i>O.</i> 4.4.4	Ganimedes regis	<i>Aen.</i> 1.28
21 <i>O.</i> 1.16.12	fisici Iovem etherem	<i>Aen.</i> 1.47
53 <i>O.</i> 2.9.1	imber dicitur omnis humor	<i>Aen.</i> 1.51 +
97 <i>O.</i> 3.27.4	sciendum est autem fetam	<i>Aen.</i> 1.51
54 <i>O.</i> 2.9.3; 3.27.62	procella est vis venti	<i>Aen.</i> 1.85
34 <i>O.</i> 1.29.2; 2.16.9	gaza Persicus sermo	<i>Aen.</i> 1.119 (+)
53 <i>O.</i> 2.9.1	imber dicitur omnis humor	<i>Aen.</i> 1.123 +
91 <i>O.</i> 3.23.4	generaliter fruges omnes	<i>Aen.</i> 1.178
103 <i>O.</i> 4.1.6	lustrum quinquennium	<i>Aen.</i> 1.283
121 <i>Ep.</i> 8.14	inter honustum et honeratum	<i>Aen.</i> 1.289
3 <i>O.</i> 1.2.46; 2.7.3	Romulus autem ideo	<i>Aen.</i> 1.292
38 <i>O.</i> 1.35.21f.	canam autem Fidem	<i>Aen.</i> 1.292
30 <i>O.</i> 1.25.4; 3.10.5	ianua enim est primus	<i>Aen.</i> 1.449
31 <i>O.</i> 1.25.6	cardo dicitur quasi cor	<i>Aen.</i> 1.449
[55 <i>O.</i> 2.9.16	Servius dicit: Troyli amore	<i>Aen.</i> 1.474
12 <i>O.</i> 1.10.13	per transitum historiam	<i>Aen.</i> 1.487
39 <i>O.</i> 1.36.4	Hesperie due sunt	<i>Aen.</i> 1.530
33 <i>O.</i> 1.28.21; 3.27.18	Oenopion rex cum liberos	<i>Aen.</i> 1.535
42 <i>O.</i> 2.1.37	procax est perseverans nam	<i>Aen.</i> 1.536
119 <i>Ep.</i> 5.86	fabula quidem hoc habet	<i>Aen.</i> 1.568
2 <i>O.</i> 1.2.33	Eryx Veneris et Butae	<i>Aen.</i> 1.570
36 <i>O.</i> 1.30.7	iuventus multitudo	<i>Aen.</i> 1.590
19 <i>O.</i> 1.15.1; 2.7.16	freta abusive modo maria	<i>Aen.</i> 1.607
[*18 <i>O.</i> 1.15	eversi Ilii hec est vera	<i>Aen.</i> 1.619 +
10 <i>O.</i> 1.9.1	aliquando est, alias	<i>Aen.</i> 1.646
*23 <i>O.</i> 1.18.13f.	a Berecynto monte.	<i>Aen.</i> 1.686
*79 <i>O.</i> 2.18.5	Attalus rex Asie ditissimus	<i>Aen.</i> 1.697
35 <i>O.</i> 1.30	Acidalia dicitur Venus	<i>Aen.</i> 1.720
78 <i>O.</i> 2.18.2	principaliter lacus dicitur	<i>Aen.</i> 1.726
90 <i>O.</i> 3.21.23	a lychno autem lucerna est	<i>Aen.</i> 1.726
96 <i>O.</i> 3.26.7	funalia sunt que intra	<i>Aen.</i> 1.727
110 <i>O.</i> 4.6.13	de hoc equo varia in	<i>Aen.</i> 2.15
111 <i>O.</i> 4.6.20	uterus proprie est mulierum	<i>Aen.</i> 2.20
20 <i>O.</i> 1.15.8	duobus milibus octingentis	<i>Aen.</i> 2.363
61 <i>O.</i> 2.11.23	Lacene id est Helene	<i>Aen.</i> 2.601
100 <i>O.</i> 3.29.64	a Iove et Leda nati sunt	<i>Aen.</i> 2.601
99 <i>O.</i> 3.29.37	Servius dicit Horacium	<i>Aen.</i> 3.94
76 <i>O.</i> 2.17.22f.	Saturnus postquam a	<i>Aen.</i> 3.104
22 <i>O.</i> 1.16.8	Coribantes sunt ministri	<i>Aen.</i> 3.111
[*16 <i>O.</i> 1.14.20	Cycladas autumant inde	<i>Aen.</i> 3.126-7
58 <i>O.</i> 2.10.20	hic est ordo pestilentie	<i>Aen.</i> 3.138
*8b <i>O.</i> 2.16.29; 4.6.4	Pelide, id est Achillis	<i>Aen.</i> 3.321 +
47 <i>O.</i> 2.6.11	Lacones et Athenienses diu	<i>Aen.</i> 3.551
48 <i>O.</i> 2.6.18	Aulon mons est Calabrie	<i>Aen.</i> 3.553
124 <i>Ep.</i> 17.33	causa huius incendii	<i>Aen.</i> 3.571
62 <i>O.</i> 2.12.7	ferunt fabule Titanas a	<i>Aen.</i> 3.578 +
44 <i>O.</i> 2.4.16	meret per diptongon	<i>Aen.</i> 4.82
94 <i>O.</i> 3.25.19	Leneus dicitur Bachus	<i>Aen.</i> 4.207

59 <i>O.</i> 2.10.4	litus dicitur omnis terra	<i>Aen.</i> 4.212 +
115 <i>Ep.</i> 2.9	propago autem si genus	<i>Aen.</i> 4.231
27 <i>O.</i> 1.21.12	Mercurius Iyram invenit	<i>Aen.</i> 4.242
71 <i>O.</i> 2.16.30	Tythonus fuit frater	<i>Aen.</i> 4.585 +
6 <i>O.</i> 1.3?	Tribus humana vita	<i>Aen.</i> 4.653
34 <i>O.</i> 1.29.2	gaza Persicus sermo	<i>Aen.</i> 5.40 +
125 <i>Ep.</i> 17.48	sciendum quia apud	<i>Aen.</i> 5.64 +
*17 <i>O.</i> 1.15	Hecuba Dimantis	<i>Aen.</i> 5.370
15 <i>O.</i> 1.14.5	malus arbor navis	<i>Aen.</i> 5.487
37 <i>O.</i> 1.35.8; 4.5.10	inter Egiptum/ Carpacium	<i>Aen.</i> 5.595
95 <i>O.</i> 3.26.5	Celus pater fuit Saturni	<i>Aen.</i> 5.801
104 <i>O.</i> 4.1.37	somnum et somnium et	<i>Aen.</i> 5.840
105 <i>O.</i> 4.2.2	indicato a Sole adulterio	<i>Aen.</i> 6.14
8 <i>O.</i> 1.6.6; *2.16.29; *4.6.4	Pelide, id est Achillis	<i>Aen.</i> 6.57 (+)
127 <i>C.S.</i> 70	constat regnante Tarquinio	<i>Aen.</i> 6.72f.
80 <i>O.</i> 2.18.20	Baia locus est in Campania	<i>Aen.</i> 6.107
29 <i>O.</i> 1.24.14	acusativus hic est	<i>Aen.</i> 6.120
114 <i>O.</i> 4.7.28	Theseus et Pyrithous ad	<i>Aen.</i> 6.122
88 <i>O.</i> 3.19.1	Inachus rex fuit Argivorum	<i>Aen.</i> 6.154 +
69 <i>O.</i> 2.15.17	itur 'eo' e brevis est	<i>Aen.</i> 6.179
52 <i>O.</i> 2.8.24	aura est splendor ut	<i>Aen.</i> 6.204
68 <i>O.</i> 2.14.23; <i>Ep.</i> 5.18	cupressus adhibetur ad	<i>Aen.</i> 6.216
125 <i>Ep.</i> 17.48	sciendum quia apud	<i>Aen.</i> 6.218 +
109 <i>O.</i> 4.4.61	secundum fabulas Hydra	<i>Aen.</i> 6.287
73 <i>O.</i> 2.17.14	Briareus centum habuit	<i>Aen.</i> 6.287
72 <i>O.</i> 2.17.13	Chimera monstrum est	<i>Aen.</i> 6.288
67 <i>O.</i> 2.14.9	Acheronta vult quasi de	<i>Aen.</i> 6.295
84 <i>O.</i> 3.16	Eriphire uxor fuit	<i>Aen.</i> 6.445
50 <i>O.</i> 2.7.23	exple idest minue ut	<i>Aen.</i> 6.545
64 <i>O.</i> 2.13.22; 4.7.21	Rodomantus Mynos Eacus	<i>Aen.</i> 6.566
62 <i>O.</i> 2.12.7	ferunt fabule Titanas a	<i>Aen.</i> 6.580 +
66 <i>O.</i> 2.14.8	Ticion Terre filius fuit	<i>Aen.</i> 6.595-6
66 <i>O.</i> 3.13.21; 4.6.2	Ticion Terre filius fuit	<i>Aen.</i> 6.595
82 <i>O.</i> 3.11.21	Ixion Laphitis imperabat	<i>Aen.</i> 6.601
32 <i>O.</i> 1.28.7; 2.13.37; <i>Ep.</i> 17.65	Tantalus rex Corinthiorum	<i>Aen.</i> 6.603
81 <i>O.</i> 2.18.25	in lege xii tabularum	<i>Aen.</i> 6.609
87 <i>O.</i> 3.17.14	genium pro corpore posuit	<i>Aen.</i> 6.743
112 <i>O.</i> 4.7.15	Ancus autem dictus $\alpha\pi\omicron$	<i>Aen.</i> 6.815
[*13 <i>O.</i> 1.12.41	Curius quidam senator fuit	<i>Aen.</i> 6.844
98 <i>O.</i> 3.27.41	sunt autem gemine apud	<i>Aen.</i> 6.893
*123 <i>Ep.</i> 17.17	Circe autem ideo Solis	<i>Aen.</i> 7.19
85 <i>O.</i> 3.17.7	est autem Marica dea	<i>Aen.</i> 7.47
*9 <i>O.</i> 1.7.12	Albunea fons est quidam	<i>Aen.</i> 7.83 +Porph.?
86 <i>O.</i> 3.17.9	tyrannus: grece dixit, idest	<i>Aen.</i> 7.266
117 <i>Ep.</i> 5.1	at copulativa particula est	<i>Aen.</i> 7.363
*83 <i>O.</i> 3.16.1	Dane filia fuit Acrissii regis	<i>Aen.</i> 7.372 +
92 <i>O.</i> 3.25.2	hoc nomen apud maiores	<i>Aen.</i> 7.568
65 <i>O.</i> 2.14.8	Gerion rex fuit Hispanie	<i>Aen.</i> 7.662
45 <i>O.</i> 2.6.5	Tybur et menia Cathilli	<i>Aen.</i> 7.670
107 <i>O.</i> 4.3.20	Plinius dicit in naturali	<i>Aen.</i> 7.700

49 <i>O.</i> 2.7.3	post fedus Titi et Romuli	<i>Aen.</i> 7.710
118 <i>Ep.</i> 5.62	Medea quo modo relictis	<i>Aen.</i> 7.750
113 <i>O.</i> 4.7.26	Theseus mortua Hypolite	<i>Aen.</i> 7.761
88 <i>O.</i> 3.19.1	Inachus rex fuit Argivorum	<i>Aen.</i> 7.790 +
*102 <i>O.</i> 4.1.28	Salii Martis et Herculis	<i>Aen.</i> 8.285
40 <i>O.</i> 1.36.17	fisici dicunt ex vino	<i>Aen.</i> 8.310
122 <i>Ep.</i> 16.4	Tarquinius Superbus	<i>Aen.</i> 8.646
116 <i>Ep.</i> 4.18	Servius: Sextus Pompeius	<i>Aen.</i> 8.684
*4 <i>O.</i> 1.3.4	ventus utilis de Apulia	<i>Aen.</i> 8.710
[57 <i>O.</i> 2.9.23	Geloni Scytarum sunt	<i>Aen.</i> 8.725
60 <i>O.</i> 2.11.14	temere polisemus sermo	<i>Aen.</i> 9.327 +
60 <i>O.</i> 2.11.14	temere polisemus sermo	<i>Aen.</i> 9.373 +
[*18 <i>O.</i> 1.15	eversi Ilii hec est vera	<i>Aen.</i> 10.91 +
106 <i>O.</i> 4.2.29	inter tropheum et	<i>Aen.</i> 10.775
77 <i>O.</i> 2.18.1	sane 'ebur eburis' et eboris	<i>Aen.</i> 11.11
101 <i>O.</i> 3.30.10	Aufidus Apulie fluvius est	<i>Aen.</i> 11.405
51 <i>O.</i> 2.8.23	Servius dicit usus obtinuit	<i>Aen.</i> 11.687
*23 <i>O.</i> 1.18.13f.	a Berecynto monte	<i>Aen.</i> 11.737
11 <i>O.</i> 1.9.1	Soracte mons est	<i>Aen.</i> 11.785
43 <i>O.</i> 2.3.23	Servius: deos eternos	<i>Aen.</i> 12.139
120 <i>Ep.</i> 5.89	diris idest furiis	<i>Aen.</i> 12.845, 850

1. Servius demonstrated as source**Servius Text 70**

Odes 2.16 opens with an evocation of *otium*:

Otium divos rogat in patenti
prensus Aegaeo, simul atra nubes
condidit lunam neque certa fulgent
sidera nautis

otium bello furiosa Thrace
otium Medi pharetra decori,
Grosophe, non gemmis neque purpura
venale neque auro

Seeking to gloss *otium*, the scholiast turns to Servius and names him as the source:

Serv. Georg. 1.123

dicturus est

Iovem fecisse multa,
quae possunt in vituperationem venire:
et ea hoc colore defendit, quo dicat
voluisse eum ingenium mortalibus ex
necessitate praestare, ne torperent otio,
quod ex rerum abundantia procreatur.

***Odes* 2.16.1**

Servius dicit otium ex rerum abundantia
procreari; propterea Iovem fecisse multa,
quae possunt in vituperationem venire;
sed ea hoc colore defenduntur, quo dicat
voluisse eum ingenium mortalibus ex
necessitate prestare ne torperent ocio.

Servius only mentions *otium* at the end, as an alternative to the progress of civilisation. He is commenting on trials designed by Jupiter to arouse men's ingenuity (*Georg.* 1.121-124):

...pater ipse colendi
haud facilem esse viam voluit, primusque per artem
movit agros, curis acuens mortalia corda,
nec torpere gravi passus sua regna veterno.

In order to gloss *otium*, the Horace scholiast shifts Servius' final sentence to the beginning.

The comment has been restructured for the new Horatian lemma, but its content remains Virgilian. While in this ode *otium* is a desirable relief from toil, Servius presents it as culpable idleness; whereas in Horace *otium* is a luxury beyond the power of wealth ("non gemmis neque purpura venale neque auro" 7-8), Servius depicts it as the product of abundance.

3. Retained reference to Virgil and Servius**Servius Text 69**

A note on the vowel quantity in the verb *eo* glosses the adjective *fortuitum*, describing a chance piece of grass in *Odes* 2.15 (17-18):

nec fortuitum spernere caespitem
leges sinebant...

These lines of Horace are quoted by Servius to prove that ‘i’ in the word *fortuitus* can be either short or long, within a wider discussion of the vowel quantity in the verb *eo*.

Servius is glossing this verb at *Aen.* 6.179, where Aeneas sets out on his quest for the golden bough:

itur in antiquam siluam, stabula alta ferarum,
procumbunt piceae, sonat icta securibus ilex...

The Harley note begins with Virgil’s lemma word:

itur: eo e brevis est, itur i longa invenitur...

Servius Text 39

Horace congratulates Lamia on the return of his friend Numida (*Odes* 1.36.4-8):

qui nunc Hesperia sospes ab ultima
caris multa sodalibus
nulli plura tamen dividit oscula
quam dulci Lamiae...

The scholiast glosses *Hesperia*, explaining that the word can signify either Spain or Italy:

Servius *Aen.* 1.530

Hesperiae duae sunt, una quae *Hispania* dicitur, altera quae est in Italia. quae hac ratione discernuntur: aut enim *Hesperiam* solam dicis et significas *Italiam*, aut addis ‘*ultimam*’ et significas *Hispaniam*, quae in occidentis est fine, ut Horatius [*Odes* 1.36.4] ‘*qui nunc Hesperia sospes ab ultima*’ et haec est vera *Hesperia*, ab *Hespero* dicta, id est stella occidentali. ceterum *Italia Hesperia* dicitur a fratre *Atlantis*, qui pulsus a germano *Italiam* tenuit eique nomen pristinae regionis inposuit, ut Hyginus docet.

Odes 1.36.4

Hesperie due sunt, una quae *Hyspania* dicitur, altera quae *Italia*. quae hac ratione discernuntur. aut enim *Hesperiam* solam dicis et significas

Hispaniam que in occidentis est fine, ut Horacius ‘*qui nunc Hesperia*

ab *Hespera* dicta, id est stella occidentali. ceterum *Italia Hesperia* dicitur a fratre *Atlantis*, qui *Italiam* pulsus a germano tenuit eique nomen pristinae regionis inposuit, ut Hyginus docet.

This note must have originally illustrated a text where *Hesperia* meant Italy, for that meaning, unlike Spain, is not illustrated by a quotation. Indeed, the scholion matches Servius’ note on *Aeneid* 1, where Ilioneus advises the Trojans to seek Italy (530): *est locus, Hesperiam Grai cognomine dicunt*. The Horace scholiast was attracted to this note by the Horace quotation. The Harley text contains two lacunae, both due to eye-skip: the copyist’s eye wandered from the first occurrence of *et significas* to the second and then, similarly, from *Hesperia ... ab* to *Hesperia ab*.

Servius Text 49

In *Odes* 2.7 Horace reminds Pompeius of the days when they had fought under Brutus and obliquely thanks the emperor for pardoning his friend (1-3):

O saepe mecum tempus in ultimum
deducte Bruto militiae duce,
quis te redonauit Quiritem
dis patriis Italoque caelo...

The scholiast glosses *Quiritem*:

Serv. Aen. 7.710 (Ramires 2003)

id est Sabini. prisci autem ideo, quia
post foedus Titi et Romuli placuit ut quasi
unus de duobus fieret populus: unde et
Romani Quirites dicti sunt, quod nomen
Sabinorum fuerat a civitate Curibus, et
Sabini a Romulo Romani dicti sunt.

Odes 2.7.3

post fedus Titi et Romuli placuit ut quasi
unus de duobus fieret populus: unde et
Romani Quirites dicti sunt, quod nomen
Sabinorum fuerat a civitate Caribus, et
Sabini a Romulo Romani vocati sunt.

This historical note explains the etymology of *Quirites*, but the terms of Titius' truce with Romulus are more relevant to *Aeneid* 7, where Virgil uses the name in its unexpected antiquarian sense, calling the Sabines *prisci Quirites* (*Aen.* 7.706-711):

ecce Sabinorum prisco de sanguine magnum
agmen agens Clausus magnique ipse agminis instar,
Claudia nunc a quo diffunditur et tribus et gens
per Latium, postquam in partem data Roma Sabinis.
una ingens Amiterna cohors priscique Quirites
Ereti manus omnis oliuiferaeque Mutuscae...

Servius Text 56

In *Odes* 2.9 Horace urges Valgius to sing of imperial triumphs (18-22):

...nova
cantemus Augusti tropaea
Caesaris et rigidum Niphaten
Medumque flumen gentibus additum
uictis minores uoluere uertices...

The scholiast glosses *Niphates*:

Serv. Georg. 3.30

Niphates et fluvius est et mons, ut
[*Aen.* 7.697]. "*Cimini cum monte lacum*".
per Niphatem autem populos iuxta
habitantes accipimus: nam nec fluvius
umquam nec mons potest pelli.

Odes 2.9.20

Ni[m]fates et pluuius†[1] est et mons, ut
Cimanicum montem et fluvium.
per Nifatem autem fluvium populos iuxta
habitantes accipimus: nam nec fluvius
umquam nec mons potest superari

This note was purpose-written to gloss a passage, where Niphates stands for the peoples inhabiting its banks (*per Nifatem ... accipimus*). Apart from Horace, such a lemma is found only in Virgil. In the third *Georgic*, Niphates signifies a distant land subdued by Caesar (30): *addam urbes Asiae domitas pulsumque Niphaten*... As Virgil does not specify, what kind of location Niphates is, Servius explains that the name applies to either a river or a mountain. The Horace scholiast, on the other hand, insists on the meaning river: *per Nifatem autem fluvium*.^[2]

The *Cimini* parallel from *Aeneid* 7 is already corrupt in several Servius manuscripts, but Harley is alone in making *Cimini* a river, apparently to coincide with the river definition of Niphates. Servius' verb *PELLI*, arising from the Virgilian lemma *pulsum*, is altered to *superari* in Harley, perhaps to fit Horace's *tropaea* context.

Footnotes

[1] It is possible that the error *pluvius* was made by the scholiast himself (rather than a copyist) under the influence of the Servian note on rain, glossing the opening line of the same poem (Text 53).

[2] Nisbet and Hubbard (1978, *ad loc.*) note that Niphates is in fact a mountain, but is identified as a river in later poets, probably because Virgil and Horace depict Niphates in company with other conquered rivers. (Nile and Ganges precede in Virgil, Medus follows in Horace.)

Servius Text 12

In *Odes* 1.10 the Homeric episode of Priam's visit to Achilles illustrates Mercury's proficiency as a guide and a deceiver (13-16):

quin et Atridas duce te superbos
 Ilio diues Priamus relicto
 Thessalosque ignis et iniqua Troiae
 castra fefellit.

The scholiast supplies the story:

Serv. Aen. 1.487

...sane per transitum historiam tetigit, quia constat Priamum, cum ad supplicandum tentorium Achillis fuisset ingressus, dormientem Achillem excitavisse, ut pro filii corpore rogaret eum, cum eum potuisset occidere...

Odes 1.10.13

per transitum historiam tangit,^[1] quia constat Priamum, Mercurio duce cum ad supplicandum venisset,^[1] dormientem Achillem excitavisse, ut rogaret eum pro filii corpore, cum eum potuisset occidere.

This narrative was composed to gloss an author 'who touches upon' this myth: *per transitum historiam tangit*... The notion, that Priam had an advantage over his sleeping enemy (*cum eum potuisset occidere*), arises not from Horace, where the initiative belongs to Priam's protector Mercury, but from Servius' discussion of Virgilian

usage of *inermis* in *Aeneid* 1. This adjective describes Priam's pathetic figure on the doors of Juno's Carthaginian temple (*Aen.* 1.487): *tendentemque manus Priamum conspexit inermis*. Servius debates whether Priam is without his sceptre, unarmed in accordance with supplication ritual, or disarmed at that particular moment, although originally armed against his murderer Pyrrhus. He concludes that Virgil refers to Priam's supplication of Achilles and cites that story.[2]

The Horace scholiast inserts *Mercurio duce* to connect the story to his lemma, *duce te*.

Footnotes

[1] Where other Servius manuscripts read *tentorium Achillis fuisse ingressus*, Harley shares *venisset* with Kassel poet. fol. 6. Another manuscript, Leipzig rep. I n. 36b, shares Harley's tense *tangit*.

[2] Servius' note begins as follows (*Aen.* 1.1.487): *MANVS INERMES aut sine sceptro, aut supplices, ut 'dextras tendamus inermes': quod tractum est de historia; qui enim se dedunt, inermes supplicant. aut re vera inermes tunc; contra Pyrrhum enim processit armatus. sane per transitum...*

Servius Texts 19a, 19b

In Harley, the word *freta* is glossed in two different poems (below) by the same note matching Servius:

Serv. *Aen.* 1.607

abusive modo maria; nam proprie fretum
est mare naturaliter mobile, ab undarum
fervore nominatum.

Odes 2.7.16 [1]

abusive modo maria; nam proprie fretum
est mare naturaliter mobile, ab undarum
fervore nominatum.

This note clearly belongs in a commentary rather than in a lexicographic text, since it refers to a particular literary context: *modo*. The scholion explains that, in this case, the word *fretum* signifies 'the sea' by trope (*abusive*), while its literal meaning (*proprie*) is 'turbulent waters', etymologically derived from *fervor*. This note was purpose-written to gloss the less obvious *abusive* use of *freta* in *Aeneid* 1, where Aeneas offers Dido praise, which lasts as long as rivers run down to the sea: *in freta dum fluvii current...*

The transferred sense of *freta* fits *Odes* 1.15, where Paris sets sail with Helen:

pastor cum traheret per freta navibus
Idaeis Helenen perfidus hospitam...

In *Odes* 2.7 the seething *freta* stand metaphorically for dangers of civil war (15-16):

te rursus in bellum resorbens
unda fretis tulit aestuosis

In this case *freta* mean 'turbulent waters' and Servius' *modo* gloss does not fit.

Footnotes

[1] The note at *Odes* 1.15.1 differs only by its error *momile* for *mobile*.

Servius Text 35

The following note accompanies *Odes* 1.30, evoking Venus and the Graces:

Serv. Aen. 1.720

Acidalia Venus dicitur vel quia inicit curas, quas Graeci akidas dicunt, vel certe a fonte Acidalio qui est in Orchomeno Boeotiae civitate, in quo se Gratiae lavant, quas Veneri esse constat sacratas; ipsius enim et Liberi filiae sunt: nec immerito; Gratiae enim per horum fere numinum munera conciliantur. ideo autem nudaae sunt, quod Gratiae sine fuco esse debent, ideo conexae, quia insolubiles esse Gracias decet. Horatius [*Odes* 3.21.22] ‘*segnesque nodum solvere Gratiae*’ quod vero una aversa pingitur, duae nos respicientes, haec ratio est quia profecta a nobis gratia duplex solet reverti, unde est supra [*Aen.*1.544] ‘*nec te certasse priorem peniteat*’.

***Odes* 1.30**

Acidalia dicitur Venus vel quia inicit curas, quas Greci acidas dicunt, vel certe a fonte Acidalio, qui est in Orchomeno Boetie civitate, in quo se Gratie...

...enim per horum fere numinum munera conciliantur. ideo autem nude sunt, quod Gratie sine fuco esse debent, ideo conexe, quia insolubiles esse Gracias decet: Oratius ‘*segnesque nudum† solvere Gracie*’. quod vero una adversa pingitur, due nos respicientes, hec ratio est quia profecta a nobis gracia duplex solet reverti, unde est supra ‘*nec te certasse priorem peniteat*’.

This scholion is manifestly an extract from a larger work, since it refers to an earlier part of that work with the words *unde et supra*, followed by a quotation from the *Aeneid*. The *Aeneid* is one of the two Latin texts, describing Venus with the epithet *Acidalia*; the other text, Martial (9.12.3), lacks a commentary. Indeed this extract matches Servius. (The lacuna in the Harley version is apparently due to eye-skip from *Gratiae* to *Gratie*).

The scholiast was probably drawn to this passage by the Horace quotation. The poem cited is not the one under discussion, but *Odes* 3.21. This extract would suit either ode, since both portray Venus in the company of the Graces, but some details of Servius’ description are at variance with Horace. Whereas in *Odes* 1.30 Venus is queen of Cnidus, Paphos and is a resident of Cyprus, Servius explains her epithet *Acidalia*. [1] The loose clothing of the Graces in *Odes* 3.21 (*solutis Gratiae zonis*) contrasts with their nudity in Servius. [2]

Footnotes

[1] In *Aeneid* 1 Cupid-Ascanius beguiles Dido on his mother’s orders (719-721): ...*at memor ille/ matris Acidaliae paulatim abolere Sychaeum/ incipit*...

[2] Harley shares the *nudum* for *nodum* slip in the Horace quotation with Servius manuscript Hamburg 52.

4. ‘Loose’ notes originating with Servius

Servius Text 77

In *Odes* 2.18 Horace declares his disdain for luxury (1-2):

Non ebur neque aureum
mea renidet in domo lacunar...

The scholiast glosses *ebur*:

Serv. Aen. 11.11

sane 'ebur eboris' facit, non 'eburis', sicut
'murmur murmuris': unde quia in
principalitatis declinatione varietas
invenitur, etiam derivatio varia est: nam
'eburnus' facit ab eo quod est 'ebur',
'eboreus' ab eo quod est 'eboris'.

Odes 1.18.1

sane ebur eburis et eboris facit, sicut
murmur huius murmuris, unde, quia in
principalitatis declinatione varietas
invenitur, etiam derivatio varia est, nam
eburneus facit ab eo quod est eburis,
ebor[n]eus facit ab eo quod eboris.

This scholion focuses not on the noun *ebur*, but on the adjectives formed from it. Servius glosses Mezentius' ivory scabbard hung, together with his other armour, on the trophy set up by Aeneas at the opening of *Aeneid* 11 (11):

...ensem collo suspendit eburnum.

Servius glosses *ensem* ... *eburnum* as *vaginam eburneam*.

The Harley version of the note contains several corruptions. Firstly, it assumes the existence of a genitive *eburis*. This variant is not recorded in the Servius tradition nor do I find such an explanation elsewhere. The misunderstanding is probably due to a corruption of *non* in the opening phrase.[1] The *-eus* form of the adjective features in Servius manuscript Reginensis 1674 as well as in Harley. The other adjective, *eboreus*, is corrupted to *eborneus* in Karlsruhe 116 and St Gall 861-2 (also *eburneus* in several manuscripts.)

Footnotes

[1] The genitive *eburis* features in a single little known text, Tatuinus' *Ars gram.* 1.1140: *sic in 'ur' neutra, ut 'hoc guttur, gutturis', 'ebur, eburis', 'robur, roburis'.*

Servius Text 28

In *Odes* 2.22 Horace imagines himself safely travelling to distant lands (5-8):

...sive per Syrtis iter aestuosas
sive facturus per inhospitem
Caucasum vel quae loca fabulosus
lambit Hydaspes...

The scholiast glosses Hydaspes as a Median river: *Hidaspes fluvius est Medie*.

Throughout ancient literature Hydaspes is described as an Indian river. Such is

the case with Porphyrio and Pseudo-Acro scholia *ad locum* (absent from Harley). Only three authors call the river Median: Virgil, Lactantius, and Isidore, who draws on Lactantius.[1] The Harley gloss contains no trace of Lactantius' and Isidore's derivation of Hydaspes from the name of Median king Hytaspes, but it matches verbatim Servius' comment on Virgil's *Medus Hydaspes* in *Georgic* 4.[2]

Footnotes

[1] Lact. *Div. Inst.* 7.15.19 *Hystaspes quoque, qui fuit Medorum rex antiquissimus, a quo amnis nomen accepit qui nunc Hydaspes dicitur*. Lactantius is used by Isidore (*Etym.* 13.21.12). Vibius Sequester (*de Flum.* Flum. 76) offers both alternatives.

[2] In *Georgic* 4 the river represents one of the oriental peoples, worshipping their monarch, who are compared to the superior devotion of the bees to their 'king' (*Georg.* 4.210-212): *praeterea regem non sic Aegyptos et ingens/Lydia nec populi Parthorum aut Medus Hydaspes/observant*. Pseudo-Prob and Servius Auctus (*ad loc.*) acknowledge the strangeness of Virgil's 'Median' description. (**Ps.-Prob.** *flumen Indiae, sed Vergilius Mediae dixit flumen Hydaspem*. **Serv. Auct.** *apud omnes satis constat Hydaspem flumen Indiae esse, non Mediae; sed potest videri poeta Hydaspem Medum dixisse iure belli, quod Medi duce Alexandro vicerint Porum Indorum regem, et eum in suam redegerint potestatem*.)

Servius Text 15

In *Odes* 1.14 Horace famously apostrophises a ship (3-6):

...nonne vides ut
nudum remigio latus
et malus celeri saucius Africo
antennaeque gemant...

The scholiast glosses *malus*:

Serv. Aen. 5.487

malus arbor navis, generis est masculini:
Horatius [*Odes* 1.14.5] '*nec malus celeri saucius Africo*'. et dictus est *malus*, vel quia habet instar mali in summitate, vel quia quasi quibusdam malis ligneis cingitur, quorum volubilitate vela facilius elevantur.

Odes 1.14.5

malus arbor navis, generis est masculini:
Horatius '*nec malus celeri saucius Africo*'. et dictus est *malus*, vel quia habet instar mali in summitate vel quia quibusdam malis ligneis cingitur, quorum volubilitate vela facilius elevantur.

In this scholion, Horace is cited in order to illustrate the gender of the word *malus*. Originally, this note explained a lemma where the gender of *malus* is not self-apparent. I have traced no source of this information other than Servius. In *Aeneid* 5 Aeneas ties a dove to a mast as an aim for a shooting contest (487-489):

...ingentique manu malum de nave Seresti
erigit et volucrem traiecto in fune columbam
quo tendant ferrum malo suspendit ab alto.

Servius Texts 64a, 64b

Struck by a tree trunk in *Odes* 2.13, Horace imagines seeing Aeacus as judge of Persephone's realm (21-23):

Quam paene furuae regna Proserpinae
et iudicantem uidimus Aeacum
sedesque discriptas piorum...

In *Odes* 4.7 Horace reminds Torquatus about the finality of death, exemplified by Minos' act of judgement over human souls (21-24):

Cum semel occideris et de te splendida Minos
fecerit arbitria,
non, Torquate, genus, non te facundia, non te
restituēt pietas...

The same scholion glosses the two judges:

Serv. Aen. 6.566

Rhadamanthus Minos Aeacus filii Iovis et
Europae fuerunt: qui postea facti sunt apud
infernōs iudices.

Odes 4.7.21 [1]

Rodomanthus Minos Eacus filii Iovis et
Europe fuerunt: qui postea facti sunt apud
infernōs iudices.

This note matches Servius and starts not with either Horatian lemma, but with Rhadamanthus, who appears in *Aeneid* 6, as ruler of that part of the underworld, where sinners are punished (566): *Cnosius haec Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna*.

Footnotes

[1] The *Odes* 2.13 version of the note omits the words *et Europae*.

5. No need to claim other source

Servius Text 22

In *Odes* 1.16 Horace compares anger to divine inspiration (7-9):

... non acuta
sic geminant Corybantes aera,
tristes ut irae...

The scholiast glosses the Corybantes:

Serv. Aen. 3.111 [1]

Corybantes daimones sunt, ministri matris
deum quasi daemones qui totum sciunt

Odes 1.16.8

Coribantes sunt ministri matris deum, qui dicuntur
damones quasi demones qui totum sciunt

This is a 'loose' note, for which I have found no source but Servius.[2] The difference in word order suggests editing by the Horace scholiast. Whereas Servius begins with *daimones*, a Greek word requiring explanation through etymology, Harley first glosses the Corybantes as Cybele's attendants.

Footnotes

[1] Servius glosses *Aeneid* 3, where the early Pergamene landscape is populated by Cybele and her attendants (111): *hinc mater cultrix Cybeli Corybantiaque aera...*

[2] Isidore (*Et.* 8.11.15) does not speak of the Corybantes and only explains the term *daemones*. The word occurs in two other glossed poets, Juvenal (5.24) and Prudentius (*Contra Sym.* 2.5.15), for which I find no matching scholia.

Servius Text 20

In *Odes* 1.15 Nereus prophesies the doom of Priam's ancient realm (5-8):

'Mala ducis aui domum
quam multo repetet Graecia milite,
coniurata tuas rumpere nuptias
et regnum Priami uetus.

Regnum Priami vetus is glossed with a note on the duration of Trojan rule:

Serv. Aen. 2.363

duobus milibus octingentis annis
regnasse firmatur

Odes 1.15.8

duobus milibus octingentis annis Troianum
regnum stetisse firmatur; necessaria scientia

I have found no source for this information except Servius. The high-lighting of this brief note as *necessaria scientia* matches the spirit, if not the scale, of our scholiast's interest in historian texts (cf. Chapter 2). The rephrasing of [*Priamum*] *regnasse* to *Troianum regnum stetisse* matches the Horatian lemma *regnum*.

Servius Text 111

In *Odes* 4.6 Horace speaks of Achilles, who would have exterminated even the unborn babes of the enemy (13-20):

ille non inclusus equo Mineruae
sacra mentito male feriatos
Troas et laetam Priami choreis
falleret aulam
sed palam captis grauis, heu nefas, heu!
nescios fari pueros Achiuis
ureret flammis, etiam latentem
matris in aluo...

The Harley note on *alvo* matches Servius' note on none other than the Trojan horse:

Serv. Aen. 2.20

uterus est mulierum. quem modo ideo dixit,
quia dicturus est [238] '*feta armis*'.
alvus est quo defluunt sordes, ut Sallustius
'*simulans sibi alvum purgari*'. venter qui
videtur, ut Iuvenalis [4.107] '*Montani*
quoque venter adest abdomine tardus'.

Odes. 4.6.20

uterus proprie est mulierum quo fetus
portantur.
alvus est quo defluunt sordes, ut Salustius ait
'*simulans sibi aluum purgari*'. venter est qui
videtur, ut Iuvenalis '*Montani*
quoque venter adest abdomine tardus'.

The opening of the Harley note differs from Servius: it lacks the reference to Virgil, which would be an obvious detail to omit in the new context, and contains a *proprie* definition of *uterus*. The term *proprie* appears in the Auctus version of this note, which adds *nam praegnantis proprie est* after *mulierum*, and in Isidore's *Differentiae*, which resemble Servius Auctus.[1] Harley does not match either source verbatim, nor do we have evidence for Harley using Servius Auctus or Isidore's *Differentiae* elsewhere.

Indeed, the Harley definition, *proprie ... quo fetus portantur*, seems to depend on the Horatian lemma rather than a source text. Whereas Servius gives *uterus* as the correct term for a part of the female anatomy, the word used for it by Horace here is *alvus*. Therefore the Horace scholiast labels Servius' definition of *uterus* '*proprie*' in contrast to the Horatian usage seen in his lemma. The gloss *quo fetus portatur* is not far from Horace's *latentem/ matris in alvo*.

It may be more than a coincidence that Horace's description of Achilles' imaginary capture of Troy, free of tricks such as the Trojan horse, is glossed with Servius' note on the very same Trojan horse.

Footnotes

[1] Isid. *Diff.* 385 (38): *inter Alvum et ventrem, et uterum. alvus interius receptaculum cibi est, quo sordes defluunt, ut Sallustius 'simulans sibi alvum purgari'. venter est aspectus ipsius partis extrinsecus, ut Juvenalis [4] "Montani quoque venter adest". uterus autem proprie praegnantis est*. In place of Servius' brief definition of *uterus*, Isidore offers a longer explanation similar to Harley's: *uterus autem proprie praegnantis est*. Yet this banal similarity need not suggest that Harley and Isidore drew on an unknown common source.

Servius Text 29

In *Odes* 1.24, Orpheus exemplifies superior lyrical skill (13-14):

quid si Threicio blandius Orpheo
auditam moderere arboribus fidem?

The scholiast provides a note on the final quantity of *fidis* and *fides*:

Serv. Aen. 6.120

'fidibus' autem est a nominativo 'haec fidis',
ut sit pyrrichius: nam 'fides' iambus est.

Odes 1.24.14

acusativus hic est <a> nominativo fidis,
ut sit pyrrichius, nam 'fides' iambus est.

The only source of this information I was able to trace is Servius. All other discussions of *fides*/*fidis* differentiate between the meanings 'lyre' and 'faith'[1] and, unlike Servius, none of them note the quantity of nominative *fidis*. [2] The difference

between Harley and Servius reflects the Horatian lemma: Virgilian *fidibus* is replaced by *acusativus hic*, referring to Horace's *fidem*.

Interestingly, Servius also glosses Orpheus' lyre at the point where Aeneas prays for a descent into the underworld (*Aen.* 6.119f.): *si potuit manis arcessere coniugis Orpheus/ Threicia fretus cithara fidibus que canoris...* This similarity of context may have inspired the scholiast to consult Servius.

Footnotes

[1] Servius does not specify the word he means by *fides*, the (plural) 'lyre' or 'faith' – presumably because the two are metrically identical and metre is what Servius is discussing here.

[2] All other discussions of *fides/fidis* distinguish between *fides*-faith and *fides*-lyre either by the nominative form *fides/fidis* (Agroec. *Ars Gram.* 115 l. 9; Isid. *Diff.* 254) or by the genitive *fides fidis/fides fidei* (Exc. *Bobiens.* Keil p. 542. l.9/ de Nonno p. 16, l. 15ff.; Charis. 1 p. 88, l. 24; Bede *de Orth.* p. 24 l. 420; Alc. *Orth.* 136, p. 13). Two of the genitive *differentiae* mention quantity, but cannot be related to Servius, as they do not speak of the nominative *fidis*. (Bede adds a note on the long -es in both nominatives. Alcuin, misunderstanding (corrupt?) Bede or a similar source, distinguishes the words by length of the first syllable: *Fides fidei prima syllaba brevis, fides fidis de chorda utraque longa.*)

Servius Text 106

Picturing the emperor's triumphant return in *Odes* 4.2, Horace cries (49) *io Triumphe!* The scholiast glosses *Triumphe*:

Serv. *Aen.* 10.775

tropaeum dictum est apo tou
trepesthai, id est ab hostium
conversione: unde qui hostem
fugasset, merebatur tropaeum, qui
autem occidisset, triumphum,
apo tou
thriambeuein, id est ab exultatione.

Odes. 4.2.49

inter tropaeum et triumphum differentia
est. tropaeum dictum est apo toy
trepesthai id est ad† hostium
conversione: <u>nde qui hostem
fugasset, merebatur tropaeum, qui
autem occidisset hostem, triumpho
gavisus est. triumphus dictus <apo toy
pia>µbeyein, id est ab exultatione.

The greater part of this scholion matches Servius.[1] The opening phrase of the Harley note, lacking in Servius, could be referring to a *differentiae* source. Harley also contains several words, absent from Servius, yet these require no external source and could have been added as an explanation by our scholiast himself.

Footnotes

[1] Isidore's explanation is identical to Servius in all but the form of the Greek words, which are unshared by Harley. (*Et.* 20.18.2 *Tropeum dictum ἀπὸ τῆς τροπῆς, id est a conversione hostis et fuga. Nam ab eo quod hostem quis fugasset merebatur tropeum; qui occidisset, triumphum, qui dictus est ἀπὸ τῆς θριάμβης, id est ab exultatione.*)

6. Evidence of adjacent passages

Servius Texts 53, 54a and 54b

In *Odes* 2.9 Horace urges the Valgius to take a cheerier view of the world (1-2):

Non semper imbres nubibus hispidos
manant in agros aut mare Caspium
vexant inaequales procellae
usque...

The scholiast provides a note on the storm vocabulary:

Serv. Aen 1.123

imber dicitur umor omnis, ut Lucretius
[Lucr.1.715] ‘*ex igni terra atque anima
nascuntur et imbri*’, id est umore.

Serv. Aen 1.51

nimbi nunc ventos significant, plerumque
nubes vel pluvias: ergo prout locus fuerit
intellegamus. proprie tamen nimbi
vocantur repentinae et praecipites pluviae;
nam pluvias dicimus lentas et iuges.

Serv. Aen 1.85

procella est vis venti cum pluvia, dicta
procella ab eo quod omnia percellat.

Odes 2.9.1

imber dicitur omnis humor, ut Lucretius
‘*ex igni terra atque anima
nascuntur et imbri*’, id est humore.

nimbi

vocantur repentine et precipites pluvie,
nam pluvias dicimus lentas et tenues.

Odes 2.9.3 (separate comment)

procella est vis venti cum pluvia, dicta
procella ab eo quod omnia procellet.

In Horace, *imbres* has its common specific meaning ‘rain’. This scholion explains that *imber* can signify every type of moisture; it was clearly written for a passage, where the word is used in that rare sense. The original context is *Aeneid* 1, where *imbres* mean bilge-water (123):

...laxis laterum compagibus omnes
accipiunt inimicum imbres rimisque fatiscunt

The second Harley item, *nimbi*, is a Virgilian rather than an Horatian lemma.[1] Horace speaks of *nubes*. We can suppose that the Harley scholiast treats the two words as synonymous, because Servius uses *nubes* seven times to gloss *nimbi*. [2] The third Harley scholion on *procellae* fully matches another Servius note.[3]

The presence of three notes on the opening of the *Aeneid* at *Odes* 2.9 seems to suggest direct use of Servius, yet notes sharing the stormy theme could also have been grouped together by a pre-Harley excerptor. Another circumstance strengthens the notion of direct extraction: Servius’ note on *feta*, adjacent to *nimbi* at *Aeneid* 1.51, also appears in Harley marginalia at *Odes* 3.27.4.

Footnotes

[1] Servius glosses *nimbi* in *Aeneid* 1, where Juno heads for Aeolia, the home of the winds (50-2): *Talia flammato secum dea corde volutans/ nimborum in patriam, loca feta furentibus austris,/ Aeoliam venit*. The variant *tenues* is not reported in the Servius tradition.

[2] In addition to the above passage, Servius glosses *nimbi* with *nubes* at *Aen.* 1.80, *Aen.* 2.616, *Aen.* 3.198, *Aen.* 3.274, *Aen.* 5.13, *Aen.* 10. 634.

[3] In Harley, a shorter version of the same gloss is also used at *Odes* 3.27.62: *procella est vis venti cum pluvia*. Servius glosses the *procellae* assailing Aeneas' ship at *Aeneid* 1.84-6: *incubere mari totumque a sedibus imis/ una Eurusque Notusque ruunt creberque procellis/ Africus et vastos volvunt ad litora fluctus...*

Servius Text 30a, 30b and 31

In *Odes* 1.25 Lyde's door is besieged by fewer admirers as her beauty fades (1-6):

Parcius iunctas quatiunt fenestras
iactibus crebris iuuenes proterui
nec tibi somnos adimunt amatque
ianua limen,
quae prius multum facilis mouebat
cardines.

In *Odes* 3.10 Horace waits at Lyce's door on a stormy night (5-8):

Audis quo strepitu ianua, quo nemus
inter pulchra satum tecta remugiat
uentis, et positas ut glaciet niues
puro numine Iuppiter?

An identical note matching Servius, glosses *ianua* in both poems,[1] but in *Odes* 1.25 the scholiast also provides a note on *cardines*, which follows the *ianua* scholion in Servius.

Serv. Aen. 1.449

(2) *ianua autem* est primus domus ingressus, dicta quia Iano consecratum est omne principium. cetera intra ianuam hostia vocantur generaliter, sive ualve sint sive fores: quamvis usus ista corruperit.//
(1) fores proprie dicuntur que foras aperiuntur sicut apud veteres fuit; valve autem sunt, ut dicit Varro, que revolvuntur et se velant;
(3) cardo dictus quasi cor ianue quo movetur.

Odes 1.25.4

ianua enim est primus domus ingressus, dicta a Iano cui consecratum est omne principium. cetera intra ianuam hostia vocantur generaliter, sive ualve sint sive fores: quamvis usus corruperit ista. nam fores proprie dicuntur que foras aperiuntur sicut apud veteres fuit; [v]alve autem sunt, ut Varro dicit, que revolvuntur et se volant. **Odes 1.25.6** (a separate note)
cardo dicatur [2] quasi cor ianue quo movetur.

Servius glosses the doors of Dido's new temple (*Aen.* 1.446-449):

aerea cui gradibus surgebant limina, nexaeque
aere trabes, foribus cardo stridebat aenis.

Servius commences with his first lemma, *fores*. The Harley note is adjusted to start with *ianua*. (Servius' text above is inverted for comparison with Harley.)

The two copies of the Harley notes once again show us the scholiast at work. The *ianua* note appears alone at *Odes* 3.10 and then – at *Odes* 1.25 together with *cardo*. It is not clear, whether our scholiast added the *cardo* note directly from Servius.

Isidore provides similar information, explaining *ianua* and *fores* in the same order as Harley, without *cardo* (as Harley on *Odes* 3.10). Yet Isidore cannot be directly related to Harley, as his phrasing departs further from Servius.[3]

Footnotes

[1] The *Odes* 3.10.5 version shares the variant *volant* (perhaps a graphic error under the influence of *revolvuntur*), but opens with Servius' *autem* rather than *enim*.

[2] The variant *dicitur* is found in Leipzig rep. I n. 36.

[3] *Etym.* 15.7.4-6 *ianua a Iano quodam appellatur, cui gentiles omne introitum vel exitum sacraverunt... est autem primus domus ingressus. cetera intra ianuam ostia vocantur generaliter... fores et valvae claustra sunt, sed fores dicuntur quae foras, valvae quae intus revolvuntur... sed generaliter usus vocabula ista corrumpit.* It is not clear to me if the phrase *a ... Iano cui*, shared by Isidore and Harley, goes back to an undocumented Servius variant or if this is a simple coincidence.

7. Examples of editing

Servius Text 98

In *Odes* 3.27 Europa hopes her adventure may turn out to be a nightmare (38-42):

Vigilansne ploro
turpe commissum an uitiiis carentem
ludit imago
uana quae porta fugiens eburna
somnia ducit?

The scholiast provides a note about different types of dreams:

Serv. Aen. 6.893-6

sunt geminae Somni portae; quarum altera fertur/ cornea, qua veris facilis datur exitus umbris,/ altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto,/ sed falsa ad caelum mittunt insomnia manes.

Serv. Aen. 6.893

(2) physiologia vero hoc habet: per portam corneam oculi significantur, qui et cornei sunt coloris et duriores ceteris membris: nam frigus non sentiunt, sicut et Cicero dicit in libris de deorum natura. per eburneam vero portam os significatur a dentibus. et scimus quia quae loquimur falsa esse possunt, ea vero quae videmus sine dubio vera sunt. ideo Aeneas per eburneam emittitur portam.// (1) et poetice apertus est sensus: vult autem intellegi falsa esse omnia quae dixit.// (3) est et alter sensus: Somnum novimus cum cornu pingi. et qui de somniis scripserunt dicunt ea quae secundum fortunam et personae possibilitatem videntur habere effectum. et haec vicina sunt cornu: unde cornea vera fingitur porta. ea vero quae supra fortunam

Odes 3.27.41

sunt autem gemine apud inferos somniorum porte: una eburnea, altera cornea; per eburneam falsa, per corneam vera emittunt inferi somnia.

physiologia vero hoc habet per portam corneam oculi significantur. qui et cornei sunt coloris et duriores ceteris membris, nam frigus non sentiunt, sicut et Cicero dicit in libris de deorum natura. per eburneam vero portam os significa[n]tur a dentibus, et scimus quia quae loquimur falsa esse possunt, ea vero quae videmus sine dubio vera sunt. ideo Eneas per eburneam emittitur portam, ut ita intellegamus falsa sunt et habent nimium ornatum vanamque iactantiam dicunt falsa esse: unde eburnea, quasi ornatior porta, fingitur. esse omnia quae dixit Virgilius de eius ascensu ad inferos. est et alter sensus: Somnum novimus cum cornu pingi. et qui de somniis scripserunt dicunt ea quae secundum fortunam et persone

possibilitatem videntur habere effectum. et
hec vicina cornu, unde cornea porta
fingitur vera. ea vero que supra fortunam

sunt et nimium habent ornatum vanamque
iactantiam dicunt falsa esse, unde eburnea,
quasi ornacior porta, fingitur.

With the exception of the first sentence, this note matches Servius. The opening phrase, *sunt autem gemine apud inferos somniorum portae*, is in fact a prose paraphrase of the Virgilian lemma glossed by Servius (*Aen.* 6.893-896):

Sunt geminae Somni portae, quarum altera fertur
cornea, qua ueris facilis datur exitus umbris,
altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto,
sed falsa ad caelum mittunt insomnia Manes.

The rest of Harley's first sentence is not taken from Virgil: it does not match Virgil's vocabulary and names the gates in the order opposite to Virgil's. In other words, the Horace scholion uses no Virgil beyond the lemma found in Servius' commentary. The opening description of the two gates seems to summarise Servius' explanation.

In the middle of the note, the Harley scholiast observes that Virgil intended to show Aeneas' katabasis as imaginary: *ut ita intellegamus ... ad inferos*. This sentence is also a paraphrase of Servius, who raises this issue earlier. (Items labeled 2, 1, 3 above occur in order 1, 2, 3 in Servius.)

Servius Text 80

In *Odes* 2.18 owners of villas at Baiae as encroaching on the sea itself (20-21):

marisque Bais obstrepentis urges
summovere litora...

The scholiast picks out information about Baiae from a lengthy Servian note about Acheron:

Serv. *Aen.* 6.107

Acheron fluvius dicitur inferorum, quasi
sine gaudio. sed constat locum esse haud
longe a Bais undique montibus saeptum,
adeo ut nec orientem nec occidentem solem

Odes 2.18.20

Baia locus est in Campania

possit aspicere, sed tantum medium. quod autem dicitur ignibus plenus, haec ratio est: omnia vicina illic loca calidis et sulphuratis aquis scatent. sine gaudio autem ideo ille dicitur locus, quod necromantia vel sciomantia, ut dicunt, non nisi ibi poterat fieri: quae sine hominis occisione non fiebant; nam et Aeneas illic occiso Miseno sacra ista conplevit et Vlixes occiso Elpenore. quamquam fingatur in extrema Oceani parte Vlixes fuisse: quod et ipse Homerus falsum esse ostendit ex qualitate locorum, quae commemorat, et ex tempore navigationis; dicit enim eum a Circe unam noctem navigasse et ad locum venisse, in quo haec sacra perfecit: quod de Oceano non procedit, de Campania manifestissimum est. praeterea a Baio socio eius illic mortuo Baias constat esse nominatas. dicitur etiam vidisse Herculem, ideo quia illic sunt Bauli, locus Herculis dictus quasi Boaulia, quod illic habuit animalia, quae Geryoni detracta ex Hispania adduxerat.

calidis et sulphuratis aquis scatens,

dictus a Bai<o> socio Ulixis illic mortuo,

vel quia illic sunt Ba[i]uli[e], locus Herculis dictus quasi Boaulia, quod illic Herculis habuit animalia, que Gerioni detracta et† Hispania adduxerat.

Baiae are described in the last section of Servius' note, most of which the scholiast extracts verbatim with slight abbreviations and syntactic changes. From the earlier part of Servius' note, the scholiast surmises that Baiae are situated in Campania and have hot springs. It is not clear, if the scholiast saw this information as useful for his lemma or if he considered it to be of general interest.

Servius Text 74

In *Odes* 2.17 Horace claims that his star Mercury matches Maecenas' Jupiter, no matter what other constellations may influence his fate (17-30):

Seu Libra seu me Scorpios aspicit
formidolosus, pars uiolentior
natalis horae, seu tyrannus
Hesperiae Capricornus undae, 20
utrumque nostrum incredibili modo
consentit astrum; te Iouis impio
tutela Saturno refulgens

eripuit uolucrisque Fati
tardauit alas, cum populus frequens 25
laetum theatri ter crepuit sonum;
me truncus inlapsus cerebro
sustulerat, nisi Faunus ictum
dextra lauasset, Mercurialium
custos uirorum. 30.

The scholiast produces a note on the signs Libra and Scorpius, which evolves into a discussion of other celestial bodies:

Serv. Georg. 1.33

Aegyptii duodecim esse adserunt signa, Chaldaei vero undecim: nam Scorpionum et Libram unum signum accipiunt. Chele enim Scorpii Libram faciunt. iidem Chaldaei nolunt aequales esse partes in omnibus signis, sed pro qualitate sui aliud signum xx, aliud xl habere, cum Aegyptii tricenae esse partes in omnibus velint. modo ergo secundum Chaldaeos locutus est, dicens posse eum habere locum inter Scorpionum et Virginem; nam Erigone ipsa est Virgo. sciendum deinde est voluisse maiores in his signis esse deorum domicilia. et Solis est Leo, Lune vero Cancer, ceterorum vero quinque planetarum bina sunt signa, prout se ratio siderum sequitur. nam primus circulus a terra Lunae est, secundus Mercurii, tertius Veneris, quartus Solis, quintus Martis, sextus Iovis, Saturni ultimus. sed remotis Sole et Luna quorum sunt domicilia Leo et Cancer, hi quinque ordine, quo eorum sunt circuli, bina possident signa, unum a sequentibus et unum a superioribus: ut Mercurii sint Virgo et Gemini, Veneris Libra et Taurus, Martis Scorpium et Aries, Iovis Sagittarius et Pisces, Saturni Capricornus et Aquarius. unde per hec loca siderum Augustum et fortem propter Scorpionum id est Martis domicilium, et iustum propter Libram, et prudentem propter vicinam Virginem id est Mercurii domicilium fore significat.

Odes 2.17

Egyptii xii esse adserunt signa, Chaldei vero xi: nam Scorpionum et Libram unum signum accipiunt. secundum Egiptios chele Scorpii Libram faciunt.

modo ergo
secundum Chaldaeos locutus est qui Scorpionum et Libram pro uno signo accipiunt.

sciendum deinde est voluisse maiores in his signis esse deorum domicilia. et Solis est Leo, Lune vero Cancer, ceterorum vero v planetarum bina sunt signa, prout se ratio siderum sequitur. nam primus circulus a terra Lune est, secundus Mercurii, tertius Veneris<s>, quartus Solis, quintus Martis, sextus Iovis, Saturni ultimus. sed remotis Sole et Luna quorum sunt domicilia Leo et Cancer, hi quinque ordine, quo eorum sunt circuli, bina possident signa, unum a sequentibus et unum a superioribus: ut Mercurii sint Virgo et Gemini, Veneris Libra et Taurus, Martis Scorpium et Aries, Iovis Sagittarius et Piscis†, Saturni Capricornus et Aquarius. unde per hec loca siderum Mecenatem et fortem propter Scorpionum, id est Martis domicilium, et iustum propter Libram, et prudentem propter vicinam Virginem, id est Mercurii domicilium, fore significat.

The Harley note suggests that Horace praises Maecenas in terms of his Horoscope, showing him to be brave on account of Scorpion and Mars, just – on account of Libra, and wise – because of Virgo and Mercury.[1] Horace does mention Scorpion, Libra, and Mercury, but in connection to himself rather than to Maecenas. This note was originally written in order to gloss not Horace, but Augustus' catasterisation prophesied in *Georgic* 1 (32-36):

anne nouum tardis sidus te mensibus addas,
qua locus Erigonen inter Chelasque sequentis
panditur (ipse tibi iam bracchia contrahit ardens
Scorpius et caeli iusta plus parte reliquit);
quidquid eris

In this case, Scorpion and Mars, Libra (and Venus), Virgo and Mercury clearly have a benevolent influence on Augustus, who finds himself in their midst.

The scholiast edits the Servius extract superficially, in order to link it to his Horatian lemma and also to abbreviate, skipping the explanation of Egyptian and Chaldean theories *iidem Chaldaei ... omnibus vellint*. The content of the scholion, on the other hand, remains incompatible with Horace. Servius' claim '*modo ergo secundum Chaldeos locutus est qui Scorpionem et Libram pro uno signo accipiunt*' in no sense applies to Horace; Scorpion, Libra, and Mercury are not in the least connected with Maecenas.[2]

Footnotes

[1] For a discussion of the horoscope in this poem, see West (1991, AJP 112, p. 45f.).

[2] Virgil claims that Scorpion moves his limbs in order to make extra room (*iusta plus parte*) for Augustus: this is only possible in the Chaldean theory (*modo ergo secundum Chaldaeos locutus est*), whereby signs are not assigned equal spaces.

8. Compilations

Servius Text 88

In *Odes* 3.19 a pedant desires to calculate the time-span between Inachus, the first king of Argos, and Codrus, the last king of Attica (1-2):

Quantum distet ab Inacho
Codrus, pro patria non timidus mori...

The scholiast glosses Inachus with a lengthy note:

Serv. Aen. 7.790 (Ramires 2003)

IO AURO INSIGNABAT

haec Inachi filia Argivorum fluminis fuit.
hanc amavit Iuppiter. et dum cum ea esset,
Iuno supervenit. timens ille ne
deprehenderetur, Io mutavit in vaccam et
eam poscenti dedit Iunoni, ne paelicem
confiteretur. cui Iuno Argum, oculatum
omnibus membris, Arestoris filium
custodem adposuit. quem cum Iuppiter per
Mercurium interemisset, Iuno eum in
pavonem
mutavit, Ioni vero inmisit oestrum, quo diu
vexata ad Aegyptum venit et Iovis voluntate
in Isin mutata est **Serv. Aen 6.154**
LUCOS STYGIS ET REGNA INVIA
ASPICIES ...illic est placata ab Aegyptiis
Isis, quibus irascebatur quod membra mariti
Osiridis non inveniebat, quem frater Typhon

Odes 3.19.1

Inachus rex fuit Argivorum. cuius filiam
Ionem Iuppiter amavit. et dum cum ea esset
Iuno super<ve>nit. timens ille ne
deprehenderetur, Io mutavit in vaccam, et
poscenti dedit Iunoni, ne pelicem
confiteretur. cui Iuno Argum oculatum
omnibus membris Aristod<is> [1] filium
custodem posuit. quem cum Iuppiter per
Mercurium interemisset, Iuno in pavonem
mutavit. Ioni vero inmisit eostrum, quo diu
vexata ad Egiptum venit, et Iovis voluntate
humanam speciem recipiens nubsit Bosiridi
regi Egiptorum

quem frater Typhon clam occiderat,

occiderat. quae inventa postea cum sepelire vellet, elegit vicinae paludis tutissimum locum, quam transitu constat esse difficilem; limosa enim est et papyris referta. ultra hanc est brevis insula, inaccessa hominibus, unde Abatos appellata est, Lucanus [10.323] ‘*hinc Abatos quam nostra vocat veneranda vetustas*’, haec palus Styx vocatur, quod tristiciam transeuntibus gignit. sane ad illam insulam ab his qui sacris inbuti sunt, certis transitur diebus. lectum est etiam quod vicini populi cadavera suorum ad alteram regionem transferunt; sed si quis forte in fluvio pereat nec eius inveniatur cadaver, post centum ei annos ultima persolvuntur. hinc est tractum ‘*centum errant annos, volitantque hec litora circum.*’

cuius membra Isis diu quesita cum sepelire vellet, elegit vicine paludis tutissimum locum, quam a [1] transitu constat esse difficilem; limosa enim est et papyris referta. ultra hanc est brevis insula, inaccessa hominibus unde Abatos appellata est, Lucanus ‘*hinc Abatos quam monstra vocant veneranda vetustas*’, hec palus Styx vocatur, quod tristiciam transeuntibus gignit. sane ad illam insulam ab his qui sacris imbuti sunt certis transitur diebus. lectum est etiam quod vicini populi cadavera suorum ad alteram regionem transferunt; sed si qui<s> forte in fluvio pereat nec eius inveniatur cadaver, post centum ei annos ultima persolvuntur officia. [1] hinc est tractum ‘*centum errant annos, volitantque hec littora circum.*’

Although the opening of the Harley note is altered for Horace’s lemma Inachus, the bulk of this note is about Io. Servius’ note on *Aeneid* 7 is, in fact, used unaltered later in the manuscript to gloss *Io vaga* at *Ars* 124. At *Odes* 3.19 the scholiast continues Io’s story with another Servian note, regardless of relevance for the lemma under discussion.

The Harley note is distinguished by several small details. Whereas Servius calls Inachus a river, the Harley note names him a king. This description features in several sources, including Σ (lacking in Harley), and two other Harley sources, Isidore and Remigius.[2] (By contrast, in Texts 71 and 79 discussed below, we shall see the scholiast replace Horace glosses with Servius’ information.) The secret killing of Osiris (*clam*) was perhaps inspired by the Servian context. I find no parallel for the misidentification of Osiris with Busiris/ Busyris, the Egyptian king killed by Hercules for making human sacrifices.

Footnotes

[1] *Aristodis* is the spelling of most Servius manuscripts; *a transitu* and *officia* both appear in St Gall 861-2 and Karlsruhe 116. The error in the Lucan quotation (*monstra vocant*) is reported in no Servius manuscript.

[2] Inachus is called a king in the following sources: **PsA Odes 2.3.21** *Inachum [autem] pro nobilitate generis posuit. Rex enim Argiuorum Inachus nobilissimus fuit, a quo et fluius, quia in ipso mortuus est, nomen accepit.* **π Odes 2.3.21** *si dicat: unus exitus est filio Regis nobilissimo et ditissimo et pauperi humillimae gentis. Inachus enim rex fuit Argivorum, pater Ino, id est Isidis, reginae Aegypti.* **Isid. 13.21 (cf. 1.3 and 8.11)** *Inachus Achaiae amnis Argolicos inrigans campos, quem rex Inachus a se nominavit, qui exordium Argivae gentis primus dedit.* **Sch. Luc. 1.103 (Cavajoni)** *Ionium mare dictum ab Io Inachi regis filia, quae a Iunone in vaccam conversa mare, quod nunc ab ae Ionium dicitur transiens ad Aegyptum pervenit ibique postea regina Isis fuit, ad priorem formam reversa. illud mare etiam mare Bosforum dicitur quasi bove perforatum.* **Sch. Luc. 3.3 (Cavajoni)** *in mare Ionium, quod et Bosforum dicitur quasi bove perforatum; ab Io Inachi regis filia, quae in vaccam a Iove conversa, oestro ab Era*

immisso Ionum mare transivit. sic ad Aegyptum pervenit atque in priorem formam conversa regina Isis ibi facta est. Rem. 1.6.2 on M. 1.4 MEMPHITICAM REGINAM id est Ysiden, Inachi regis Argivorum filiam... (cf. VM 1.18 Io Inachi regis vel amnis filia)

9. The role of Virgil quotations

Servius Text 59

In the mean poem of the *Odes* 1-3 collection, Horace urges Licinius to keep to the middle course (*Odes* 2.10.1-4):

Rectius uiues, Licini, neque altum
semper urgendo neque, dum procellas
cautus horrescis, nimium premendo
litus iniquum

The scholion on *litus* is compiled from two Servian notes:

Serv. Aen.1.3

litus enim dicitur terra quoque mari vicina, sicut ipse Vergilius in quarto “*cui litus arandum*”, cum per naturam litus arari non possit. ergo scire debemus, litus posse et terram dici. **Serv. Aen. 4.212**
ut et supra diximus, terram mari vicinam. modo etiam infertilem vult ostendere.

Odes 2.10.4

litus dicitur omnis terra mari vicina;

non solum infertilis, sed etiam apta frugibus ut Virgilius ‘cui litus arandum’

In Horace, *litus* describes a (treacherous) coastline, as perceived by a sailor. The fact that the word can signify coastal territory, whether barren or suitable for cultivation, is irrelevant to this ode, but important for the opening lines of the *Aeneid*, looking forward to Aeneas’ arrival at ‘Lavinian shores’:

Arma virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris
Italiam, fato profugus, Laviniaque venit
litora...

Glossing this lemma, Servius explains that *litora* may refer to inland territory as well as the coastline proper, illustrating this usage with a quotation from *Aeneid* 4, ‘*cui litus arandum*’.[1] The Horace scholiast once again consults Servius’ commentary on the quoted line, in order to provide further information about *litora*, regardless of its irrelevance to the lemma under discussion.

The scholiast misunderstood Virgil’s non-agricultural term ‘*arandum*’, meaning here ‘the foundation of a city’.[2] In the attempt to reconcile it with Servius’ remark about an ‘infertile’ piece of land (*modo etiam infertilem vult ostendere*), he produced ‘*non solum infertilis, sed etiam apta frugibus.*’

Footnotes

[1] In *Aeneid* 4 Dido's former suitor Iarbas is enraged by the woman, to whom he once granted a piece of coastline territory (*Aen.* 4.211-4): *femina, quae nostris errans in finibus urbem/ exiguum pretio posuit, cui litus arandum/ cuique loci leges dedimus, conubia nostra/ reppulit ac dominum Aenean in regna recepit.*

[2] Witness Servius Auctus (*ad loc.*): *modo etiam infertilem sibi et angustam vult ostendere, hoc est talem illi dedimus terram, quae nulli esset necessaria, qua tamen contenta fuit. arandum videtur illud attingere moris antiqui, quod cum conderetur nova civitas, tauro et vacca, ita ut vacca esset interior, a magistratu muri designarentur. nam ideo ad exaugurandas vel diruendas civitates aratrum adhibitum, ut eodem ritu, quo conditae, subvertantur...*

Servius Text 113

Odes 4.7 ends with the reminder about the finality of death (25-28):

infernīs neque enim tenebris Diana pudicum
liberat Hippolytum,
nec Lethaea ualet Theseus abrumpere caro
uincula Pirithoo.

The scholiast provides a different version of the myth, according to which Diana does succeed in restoring Hippolytus to the world of men:

Serv. Aen. 7.761 (Ramires 2003)

Theseus mortua Hippolyte Phaedram, Minois et Pasiphaae filiam, superduxit Hippolyto. qui cum de stupro illam interpellantem contempsisset, falso delatus ad patrem est, quod ei vim voluisset inferre. ille, hoc est Theseus, Aegeum patrem rogavit ut se ulcisceretur. qui agitantī currus Hippolyto inmisit focam in litore, qua equi territi eum traxerunt. tunc Diana eius castitate commota revocavit eum in vitam per Aesculapium, filium Apollinis et Coronidis, qui natus erat exsecto matris ventre, ideo quod, cum Apollo audisset a corvo, eius custode, eam adulterium committere, iratus Coronidem maturo iam partu confixit sagittis – corvum vero nigrum fecit ex albo – et exsecto ventre Coronidis produxit ita Aesculapium, qui factus est medicinae peritus. hunc postea Iuppiter propter revocatum Hippolytum interemit: unde Apollo iratus Cyclopes fabricatores fulminum confixit sagittis: ob quam rem a Iove iussus est Admeti regis novem annis apud Amphrysum [1] armenta pascere divinitate deposita. sed Diana Hippolytum, revocatum ab inferis, in Aricia nymphae commendavit Egeriae et eum Virbium, quasi bis virum, iussit vocari.

Odes 4.7.26

Theseus mortua Hypolite Phedram, Minois et Passive filiam, superduxit Hyppolyto. qui cum de stupro illam interpellantem contempsisset, falso delatus est ad patrem, quod ei vim voluisset inferre. ille, hoc est Theseus, Egeum patrem rogavit ut se ulcisceretur. qui agitantī currum Hyppolyto inmisit focam in littore, qua eum equi territi traxerunt. tunc Diana eius castitate commota revocavit eum in vitam per Esculapium, filium Apollinis et Coronidis, qui natus erat exsecto matris utero, ideo quod Apollo audisset a corvo, eius custode, eam adulterium commisisse, iratus Coronidem maturo iam partu confixit sagittis, corvum vero nigrum fecit ex albo, et exsecto ventre Coronidis produxit Esculapium, qui factus est medicine peritus. hunc postea Iuppiter propter revocatum Hyppolytum interemit: unde iratus Apollo Cyclopes fabricatores fulminum confixit sagittis: ob quam rem a Iove iussus Adameti regis novem annis armenta pascebat divinitate deposita. sed Diana Hippolytum, revocatum ab inferis in Aricia nymphae commendavit Egeriae et eum Virbium, quasi bis virum, iussit vocari.

The Harley note contains one interesting variant: where Servius reads *exsecto matris ventre*, Harley has *exsecto matris utero*. (Servius' word *venter* is retained when the fact is reiterated later in the same sentence: *exsecto ventre Coronidis*.) Another Servian note, differentiating between *uterus*, *venter* and *alvus*, is provided by the preceding ode (*Odes* 4.6.20, Text 111). It explains that *uterus* is the correct word for a part of female anatomy. This information apparently inspired the scholiast to replace Servius' *venter* with *uterus* in the above story of Asclepius' birth.

Footnotes:

[1] According to Ramires' apparatus, the phrase *apud Amiphrysum* is omitted in the greater part of Servius manuscripts.

11. Recycling at other Horace lemmata

Servius Text 45

In *Odes* 2.6 Horace tells Septimius that his favourite spot for retirement would be *Tibur Argeo positum colono* (5), which is glossed by a note matching Servius [1]:

Serv. Aen. 7.670 (Ramires 2003)

de Graecia tres fratres venerunt ad Italiam:
Catillus, Coras, Tibur vel Tiburnus. hi
diversas quidem fecere civitates, unam
tamen pariter condiderunt et eam et eam de
fratris maioris nomine Tibur nuncuparunt.

The opening of this scholion explains *moenia Catulli*, a phrase found in *Odes* 1.18 (1-2):

nullam, Vare, sacra vite prius severis arborem
circa mite solum Tiburis et moenia Catili

It is clear that this Servian note was originally applied to *moenia Catili* in *Odes* 1.18.

Footnotes

[1] Servius glosses Tibur and his brothers in the *Aeneid* 7 catalogue (670-3): *tum gemini fratres Tiburtia moenia linquunt,/ fratris Tiburti dictam cognomine gentem,/ Catillusque acerque Coras, Argiua iuuentus,/ et primam ante aciem densa inter tela feruntur.*

Servius Text 7

In *Odes* 1.4 Venus celebrates the coming of spring with a dance (5-8):

iam Cytherea choros ducit Venus imminente luna,
iunctaeque Nymphis Gratiae decentes
alterno terram quatiunt pede, dum gravis Cyclopum
Vulcanus ardens versat officinas

The note on *choros* matches Servius' gloss on the same word in the *Georgics*:

Serv. Georg. 1.346

'chorus' proprie est coevorum cantus
atque saltatio

Odes 1.4.5

chorus proprie est coevorum cantus
et saltatio, unde choreas

In Harley, the definition of *chorus* is followed by *unde choreas*: this phrase apparently connects the note to a new lemma. The word *choreas* occurs not in *Odes* 1.4, but in *Odes* 1.9, where Horace urges his companion to enjoy youthful pursuits, including dancing. *Choreas* in *Odes* 1.9 is surely the original lemma, for which our scholiast provided this comment (15-16):

...nec dulcis amores
sperne puer neque tu choreas...

CATALOGUE OF PASSAGES

† Text 0 contains Martianus without scholia.

[= in other chapter

A = in Appendix 7.1

a. in chapter order**1 Remigius identified as source****1.1 Martianus named**36 Martianus dicit Venerem *Odes* 4.1A39 Marcianus dicit globum *O.* 4.6.38**1.2 Martianus quoted**18 Circulus Iovis *O.* 2.1733 Neptunus deus mari *O.* 3.28.2**1.3 Martianus context**A24 tres sunt Gratie Iovis *O.* 3.19; *O.* 4.7.512 Parce sunt exceptrices *O.* 2.3.15f.A8 vis herbarum et *O.* 1.28.20; 2.13.21A16 Elisios dicit campos *O.* 2.13.23**1.4 peculiarities of Remigius**3 Liber est ipse *O.* 1.12.22; 3.21.216 Apollo est Pythius *O.* 1.16.6A23 novem Muse sunt *O.* 3.19.13**1.5 Loose notes matching Remigius**A5 aditis id est templis *O.* 1.16.521 Penates autem sunt dicti *O.* 3.14.3A22 alumnus est et qui nutrit *O.* 3.18.4A7 tympanum est *O.* 1.18.14; *O.* 3.15.10

*1 cum Neptunus et Minerva 2ro

25 tibie dicuntur quod *O.* 3.19.19A34 Melpomene interpretatur *O.* 3.30.16**2. Harley and unpublished M. scholia**15 Venerem dicit *O.* 2.8.1317 Eumenides sunt Furie *O.* 2.13.362 olon totum lampos *O.* 1.1.37A20 Hercules Alcmene et Iov. *O.* 3.14.129 lares sunt dii ignis *O.* 3.23.4**b. by Horace line****Section**0† Sardinia a Sardo *O.* 1.31.4

1 cum Neptunus et 2ro 1.5

2 olon totum lampos *O.* 1.1.37 23 Liber est ipse *O.* 1.12.22; 3.21.21 1.44 [P]hebus interpr. *O.* 1.12.23f.5 aditis id est *O.* 1.16.5 A1.56 Apollo est Pythius *O.* 1.16.6 A1.47 tympanum est *O.* 1.18.14 A1.58 vis herbarum et *O.* 1.28.20 A1.39 Barbit<us> genus *O.* 1.32.410 phyllira species *O.* 1.38.3*11 Libia vocatur *O.* 2.2.10 Ch 312 Parce sunt exceptrices *O.* 2.3.15f. 1.313 Orchus est ipse *O.* 2.3.2414 autumnali enim *O.* 2.5.1115 Venerem dicit *O.* 2.8.13 28 vis herbarum et *O.* 2.13.2116 Elisios dicit *O.* 2.13.23 A1.317 Eumenides sunt *O.* 2.13.36 218 Circulus Iovis *O.* 2.17 1.2*19 Mercurius Iovis *O.* 3.11.120 Hercules Alcmene *O.* 3.14.1 A221 Penates autem *O.* 3.14.3 1.57 tympanum est *O.* 3.15.10 A1.522 alumnus est et qui *O.* 3.18.4 A1.523 novem Muse *O.* 3.19.13 A1.424 tres sunt Gratie *O.* 3.19.16 A1.325 tibie dicuntur quod *O.* 3.19.19 1.526 due sunt Veneres *O.* 3.21.2127 tres Gratie sunt *O.* 3.21.2228 sciendum est quia *O.* 3.2229 lares sunt dii ignis *O.* 3.23.4 230 Ceres alumna et *O.* 3.24.1331 corvus auguralis *O.* 3.27.1132 adria interpretatur *O.* 3.27.1913 Orchus est ipse *O.* 3.27.5033 Neptunus deus *O.* 3.28.2 1.234 Melpomene *O.* 3.30.16 A1.535 tria sunt quibus *O.* 4.136 M. dicit Venerem *O.* 4.1 1.137 luna est triformis *O.* 4.2.5838 Thalia dicta est *O.* 4.6.2539 M. dicit globum *O.* 4.6.38 A1.124 tres sunt Gratie *O.* 4.7.5 A1.314 autumnali enim *O.* 4.7.11Note: * = combined with other sources

0 Sardinia a Sardo + Sol. 2

1 cum Neptunus et = Servius 1

19 Mercurius Iovis = *Theb.* Sch. 811 Lybia vocatur a = *Theb.* Sch. 3 + Sol. 4

c. in order of Remigius' commentary

*19 Mercurius Iovis	Remig. ad Mart. titulus + Sch. <i>Theb.</i> 1.9-10	<i>O.</i> 3.11.1
15 Venerem dicit matrem	Remig. 3.14, 4.1 ad Mart. 1.1 +	<i>O.</i> 2.8.13
24 tres sunt Gratie Iovis filie	Remig. 4.2 ad Mart. 1.1	<i>O.</i> 3.19; 4.7
12 Parce sunt exceptrices	Remig. 5.16 ad Mart. 1.3	<i>O.</i> 2.3.15f.
5 aditis id est templis	Remig. 8.2 ad Mart. 1.7	<i>O.</i> 1.16.5
15 Venerem dicit matrem	Remig. 8.22 ad Mart. 1.7 +	<i>O.</i> 2.8.13
6 Apollo est Pythius	Remig. 10.6 ad Mart. 1.10	<i>O.</i> 1.16.6
4 <P>hebus interpretatur	Remig. 11.14-18 ad Mart. 1.12	<i>O.</i> 1.12.23f.
18 Circulus Iovis	Remig. 13.4 ad Mart. 1.15 +	<i>O.</i> 2.17
16 Elisios dicit campos	Remig. 13.6, 8 ad Mart. 1.15	<i>O.</i> 2.13.23
14 autumnali enim tempore	Remig. 14.16 ad M. 1.17	<i>O.</i> 2.5.11; <i>O.</i> 4.7.11
31 corvus auguralis est	Remig. 19.2 ad Mart. 1.26	<i>O.</i> 3.27.11
23 novem Muse sunt	Remig. 19.11 ad Mart. 1.27	<i>O.</i> 3.19.13
34 Melpomene interpretatur	Remig. 19.20 ad Mart. 1.28	<i>O.</i> 3.30.16
38 Thalia dicta est quasi	Remig. 20.5 ad Mart. 1.28	<i>O.</i> 4.6.25
9 Barbit<us> genus est	Remig. 23.2 ad Mart. 1.36	<i>O.</i> 1.32.4
21 Penates autem sunt dicti	Remig. 26.4 ad Mart. 1.41	<i>O.</i> 3.14.3
28 sciendum est quia	Remig. 26.4 ad Mart. 1.41	<i>O.</i> 3.22
29 lares sunt dii ignis	Remig. 27.10, 28.12 ad Mart. 1.46 +	<i>O.</i> 3.23.4
3 Liber est ipse Dionisios	Remig. 28.15 ad Mart. 1.51	<i>O.</i> 1.12.22; 3.21.21
13 Orchus est ipse Pluto	Remig. 29.7 ad Mart. 1.59	<i>O.</i> 2.3.24; 3.27.50
32 adria interpretatur	Remig. 30.3 ad Mart. 1.64	<i>O.</i> 3.27.19
33 Neptunus deus mari	Remig. 31.3 ad Mart. 1.66 +	<i>O.</i> 3.28.2
33 Neptunus deus mari	Remig. 35.17 ad M. 1.80 +	<i>O.</i> 3.28.2
33 Neptunus deus mari	Remig. 35.22 ad M. 1.80-81 +	<i>O.</i> 3.28.2
33 Neptunus deus mari	Remig. 36.2 ad Mart. 1.81 +	<i>O.</i> 3.28.2
8 vis herbarum et omnium	Remig. 36.4 ad Mart. 1.81	<i>O.</i> 1.28.20; 2.13.21
20 Hercules Alcmene et Iov.	Remig. 36.14 ad Mart. 1.84	<i>O.</i> 3.14.1
36 Martianus dicit Venerem	Remig. 36.18-37.1 ad Mart. 1.85	<i>O.</i> 4.1
30 Ceres alumna et cultrix	Remig. 37.3 ad Mart. 1.86	<i>O.</i> 3.24.13
22 alumnus est et qui nutrit	Remig. 37.3 ad Mart. 1.86	<i>O.</i> 3.18.4
25 tibie dicuntur quod	Remig. 49.9 ad Mart. 2.117	<i>O.</i> 3.19.19
2 olon totum lampos	cf. schol. ad Mart. 2.121	<i>O.</i> 1.1.3
27 tres Gratie sunt que et K.	Remig. 57.22 ad Mart. 2.132	<i>O.</i> 3.21.22
35 tria sunt quibus amatores	Remig. 58.7 ad Mart. 2.132	<i>O.</i> 4.1
7 tympanum est qut[is?]	Remig. 58.10 ad Mart. 2.133	<i>O.</i> 1.18.14; 3.15.10
10 phyllira species est arboris	Remig. 59.14 ad Mart. 2.136	<i>O.</i> 1.38.3
17 Eumenides sunt Furie	Remig. 61.24 ad Mart. 2.142	<i>O.</i> 2.13.36
26 due sunt Veneres	Remig. 62.11 ad Mart. 2.144	<i>O.</i> 3.21.21
29 lares sunt dii ignis	?Mart. 2.152 +	<i>O.</i> 3.23.4
29 lares sunt dii ignis	Remig. 66.4 ad Mart. 2.155	<i>O.</i> 3.23.4
29 lares sunt dii ignis	Remig. 68.5 ad Mart. 2.162	<i>O.</i> 3.23.4
39 Marcianus dicit globum	Remig. 70.4-8 ad Mart. 2.169-170	<i>O.</i> 4.6.38
37 luna est triformis	Remig. 70.10 ad Mart. 2.170	<i>O.</i> 4.2.58
11 Libia vocatur a Libia	Remig. 74.13 ad Mart. 2.192 + Sol. + ? + Th. Sch.	<i>O.</i> 2.2.10
18 Circulus Iovis	Remig. 75.10 ad Mart. 2.196 + M. 2.196 +	<i>O.</i> 2.17
18 Circulus Iovis	Remig. 75.18 ad Mart. 2.197 + M. 2.197 +	<i>O.</i> 2.17
1 cum Neptunus et	Remig. 152.1 ad Mart. 4.328 + Servius	by <i>O.</i> 1.1
0 Sardinia a Sardo	Mart. 6.645 + Solinus	<i>O.</i> 1.31.4

1.1 Remigius demonstrated as source: Martianus named**Martianus Scholia Text 39**

In *Odes* 4.6 Horace urges the boys and maidens to sing the praises of Apollo and Diana (37-40):

rite Latonae puerum canentes,
rite crescentem face Noctilucam,
prosperam frugum celeremque pronos
uoluere mensis.

The scholiast offers a note about the substance of the moon (attached to *nocticulam*):

Rem. 70.4. ad Mart. 2.169-170

CONSPICATUR GLOBOSUM id est rotundum, globo similem et spheroidem, compactum EX LEVITATE SUPERNI RORIS. LEVITATE id est subtilitate et teneritudine. Globus enim lunae veluti speculum ex rore constrare dicitur, unde et humoribus praeest et susceptum splendorem solis revibrare, idest reddere potest. **70.7** IN EO subaudis corpore lunari, VIDEBANTUR SISTRA NILIACA. sistrum genus est organi vel tubae quo tantum Aegypti utuntur, quod etiam in simulacro Ysidis depingitur. in luna ergo sistrum dicitur fuisse propter primum tonum qui est a terra usque ad lunam. LAMPAS ELEUSINA Eleusis civitas est Graeciae in qua regnavit Salmoneus, qui volens arrogare sibi divinos honores fecit pontem aereum super Alfeum fluvium, per quem currus agitando videretur imitari tonitrua et super quemcumque facem iecisset iubebat eum occidi, volens imitari fulmen. ergo lampadam Eleusinam ibi dicit fuisse propter facem quam ex sole suscipit luna, sive etiam facem dicit ibi fuisse quia luna praest seminibus quae in terra ex rore proveniunt qui de corpore lunae cadit. apud enim hanc civitatem primum Ceres Celeo regi usum serendarum frugum ostendit, et ideo per lampadem Eleusinam fertilitatem vult ostendere frugum, cuius causa in luna est. **70.8** ARCUSQUE DICTINNAE id est Dianae. Dictinna dicitur Diana a Greco quod est dictis, id est rete. est enim dea venantium; luna enim est Diana, arcum autem habet quia dea est venatorum, vel quia venatores arcu utuntur vel etiam quia venatio maxime noctibus ad Lunam pabulatur.

Odes 4.6.38Martianus dicit globum lunarem

compactum ex levitate superni roris
et veluti
speculum ex rore constare, unde et
humoribus preest.

in corpore lunari videntur
systra Nyliaca. systrum genus est organi vel tube quo tantum Egiptii utuntur, quod etiam in simulacro Ysidis [et] depingitur. in luna ergo systrum dicit fuisse propter primum tonum qui est a terra usque ad lunam. lampas Eleusina: Eleusis civitas est Graeciae, in qua regnavit Salmoneus, qui volens arrogare sibi divinos honores fecit pontem eneum super Alfeum fluvium, per quem currus agitando videretur imitari tonitrua et super quemcumque facem iecisset iubebat eum occidi, volens imitari flumen†. ergo lampadem Eleusinam ibi dicit fuisse propter facem quam ex sole suscipit luna, sive etiam facem dicit ibi fuisse quia luna praest seminibus, quae in terra ex rore proveniunt qui de corpore lune cadit. apud hanc enim civitatem primum Ceres Celeo regi usum serendarum frugum ostendit, et ideo per lampadem Eleusinam fertilitatem vult ostendere frugum, cuius causa in luna est.
Dictynna dicitur Diana a Greco quod est dictis, id est rete. est enim Diana dea venationum arcum autem habet quia dea est venatorum, vel quia venationes arcu utuntur, vel etiam quia venatio maxime noctibus ad Lunam pabulatur.

As in Text 36, here *Martianus dicit* introduces an extract from Remigius' commentary, complete with Martianus lemmata. The Horace scholiast makes several

small abbreviations, removing two glosses (*levitate id est subtilitate et teneritudine* and *Dictinnae id est Dianae*) and Remigius' description of the reflection of the sun, but retains the bulk of the note, which has no immediate relevance to Horace.

1.3 Remigius demonstrated as source: Martianus context

Martianus Scholia Text 24

In *Odes* 3.19 the bard explains his preference for thrice triple drinks by reference to the nine Muses and the Graces (13-17):

qui Musas amat imparis,
ternos ter cyathos attonitus petet
uates, tris prohibet supra
rixarum metuens tangere Gratia
nudis iuncta sororibus.

In *Odes* 4.7 spring is celebrated with the dance of the three Graces and Nymphs (4-5):

Gratia cum Nymphis geminisque sororibus audet
ducere nuda choros.

In both cases the scholiast glosses the Graces with a note matching Remigius [1]:

Rem. 4.2 ad Mart. 1.1

nam Gratiae Iovis sunt filiae et Iunonis,
cuius nepos est Hymeneus ex Venere filia
eius natus. Gratiae tres sunt, quae et Carite
dicuntur, unius nominis et unius
pulchritudinis. quae pinguntur nudae quia
gratia non debet esse simulata et ficta, sed
pura et sincera. pinguntur etiam una nobis
aversa et duae nos respicientes, quia gratia
simples a nobis profecta dupla solet reverti.

Odes 4.7.5

tres sunt Gratiae Iovis filiae,
que et Karythe
dicuntur, unius nominis et unius
pulchritudinis. quae pinguntur nude quia
gratia non debet esse simulata et ficta, sed
pura et sincera. pinguntur etiam una aversa
duae nos respicientes, quia gratia simples a
nobis profecta duplex solet reverti.

This note was clearly inspired by Martianus. The observation about the Graces sharing a single name, explains Martianus' phrase *gratia trina*. 'Three-fold' Grace appears in a hymn to Hymenaeus, together with his other relations, Venus and Bacchus, as sources of Hymenaeus' talents (17-18):

comere vernificis florentia limina sertis
seu consanguineo Gratia trina dedit.

Remigius provides a genealogy in order to explain the allusions to Hymenaeus' relatives, of which all but Jove are omitted in the Harley scholion.

The graphic representation of the Graces has no relevance to Martianus – although Remigius likes to bring out the pictorial elements of Martianus' vivid descriptions of deities – but their nudity happens to be relevant to both Horace odes.

The triple number of Graces is also relevant to *Odes* 3.19, where Horace plays with multiples of three.

Independent evidence in favour of this Harley note coming directly from Remigius is given by Text 18, which is drawn from an adjacent Martianus scholion.

Footnotes:

[1] The *Odes* 3.19.16 version omits the opening *sunt* and has the spelling *Carinthe*.

Martianus Scholia Text 16

In *Odes* 2.13 Horace barely escapes death and nearly glimpses the Elysian fields (21-23):

Quam paene furuae regna Proserpinae
et iudicantem uidimus Aeacum
sedesque descriptas piorum ...

In Harley, *sedes discriptae piorum* are identified by an interlinear gloss, *Elisios campos*, which is found in Porphyrio and Pseudo-Acro. Further information about the Elysian fields is provided in a marginal scholion drawn from Remigius:

7. Remigius

Appendix 7.1 Further Harley examples

Remig. 13.6 ad Mart. 1.15

...Elisios autem campos ubi purgatae animae
requiescunt configunt esse infra
Iovialem circulum. secta autem Platonica dicit
animas purgatas iterum redire ad corpora ut ibi
denuo polluantur ex concretionem corporis et
incipiant rursus egere purgatione quod hic
tangere videtur Martianus dicens ET QUAM
ILLE, subaudis 'fluvius Martis'. //

ALTERI FLUVIO transfundit Fortunas
humanas cum de felicitate infelix quis efficitur,
vel e diverso, felix ex infelici constituitur.
quidam hunc locum ad animarum referunt
purgationem. poetae enim fingunt animas post
corpora inter septem planetarum circulos vel
puniri vel purgari secundum merita prioris
vitae, et infernum quidem dicunt esse infra
circulum lunae, cuius fluvium Pyrflegetonta,
id est igneum Flegetontem, in Martis circulo
dicunt oriri. //

Odes 2.13.23

Elisios dicit campos ubi purgate anime
requiescunt, quos fingunt poete esse intra†
Iovialem circulum. Elisis Grece solutio dicitur,
hinc Elisii campi dicuntur quod ibi
solvuntur et purgantur anime a
maculis carnis.

nam poete fingunt animas post
corpora inter vii planetarum circulos vel
puniri vel purgari secundum merita prioris
vite, et infernum quidem dicunt esse infra
circulum lune, cuius fluvium Pyrflegetonta,
id est igneum Flegetontem, in Martis circulo
dicunt oriri.

Remig. 13.8 ad Mart. 1.15

AUT AMNE MENSARET id est in illo amne
turbido et livido vel in illo sanguineo et
sulphureo, ut illa quae fuerat per purgationem
beata iterum per apostrophiam misera efficiatur.

Elisis Grece solutio,
hinc Elisii campi dicuntur eo quod ibi
solverentur, id est purgarentur, animae a
maculis carnis.

These scholia were written to gloss Martianus 1.15, as is clear from their contents. Remigius is discussing a passage about the rivers flowing from heaven and the fortunes they carry.[1] The idea of shifting fortunes leads him to discuss the purging of souls and Elysium. (The use of another adjacent Martianus scholion is Harley, Text 15, supports the notion that Remigius was used directly.)

The Harley note conflates extracts from two nearby Martianus scholia. The information is selected with the lemma in mind. Excerpts from Remigius 13.6 appear in reverse order in Harley – as marked by // above – so that the note starts with the Elysian fields (the surrogate lemma). The scholiast adds an etymological explanation of *Elisii campi* as a purgatory of souls from Rem. 13.8, perhaps to gloss *piorum*, then returns to Rem. 13.6 for the location of that purgatory, glossing Horace's *sedes descriptas*.

The metaphysical cosmic description of the purgatory, as depicted by unnamed poets (*poetae fingunt...*), contrasts with Horace's setting in the traditional pagan underworld. The scholiast must be aware, that Horace's scene takes place in the underworld, since it is referred to by several Harley scholia on this poem, but he is tolerant of the different levels of reading.[2]

Footnotes

[1] Mart. 1.15 *tunc diversa undarum violensque rapiditas singulas quasque pervadens improvisa vi per declivis alvei praecipites lapsus rapidis turbinibus pertrahebat, ita ut alius easdem plerumque alteri transfunderet fluvio, et quam ille exercitam longa collisione vexarat, alter aut ripae redderet aut amne mersaret*. Remigius uses 'Dunchad' 69.2 and John 13.1 (Lutz), 13.5-18 (Jeauneau).

[2] Remigius Text 14 glosses the Eumenides (36) as *Furie infernales*; Servius Text 32b glosses Tantalus (37) as *dampnatus ... apud inferos*, Servius Text 64a glosses Aeacus (22) as one of the infernal judges (*apud inferos iudices*). ACD notes that the literal sense of 'below' is perhaps no longer strong.

Martianus Scholion Text 8

In *Odes* 1.28 Proserpina represents the inevitability of death (19-20):

mixta senum ac iuuenum densentur funera, nullum
saeua caput Proserpina fugit.

In *Odes* 2.13 Horace describes his near escape from death at the fall of a tree (21-22):

quam paene furuae regna Proserpinae
et iudicantem uidimus Aeacum

In both cases, the scholiast provides a note about Proserpina [1]:

Remig. 36.4 ad Mart. 1.81

vis herbarum et omnium quae semine de terra surgunt Proserpina accipitur, unde et Proserpina vocata a proserpendo, id est porro et multum crescendo. quae bene puella vocatur quia terrarum semina singulis annis innovantur. quod autem dicit

Odes 1.28.20

vis herbarum et omnium quae semine de terra surgunt Proserpina accipitur, unde et Proserpina vocata a proserpendo, id est porr<o> et multum crescendo. quae bene puella vocatur quia terrarum semina singulis annis innovantur,[2]

QUAE ITA FRUGEM EXPOSSENTIBUS
TRIBUT, UT MAGNI NUMINIS VOTA
SINT EIDEM REDHIBERE CENTESI-

MAM subaudis frugem. hoc significat
quod terra duplicata vel centuplicata reddit
semina quae acceperit, unde et Grece ipsa
Proserpina Echate vocatur. Ekaton
namque Grece centum dicitur, per quod
innuitur quod dictum est quia vis terrae
centuplicatum restituit quod acceperit. hinc
et ipsa silvarum vel venatorum dea fertur
quia silvas vis naturae de terra producit et
venatio silvis et pascuis nutritur.

quod terra duplicata vel centuplicata reddit
semina quae acceperit, unde et ipsa
Proserpina Ecathea† vocatur. ekaton
namque centum Grece dicitur, per quod
innuitur quod dictum est, quia vis terre
centuplicatum restituit, quod acceperit. hinc
et ipsa silvarum vel venatorum dea fertur,
quia silvas vis nature de terris producit et
venacio silvis et pascuis nutritur.

This depiction of Proserpina contrasts with her funereal role in Horace. The note was clearly compiled to expound Martianus' description of Proserpina as a source of bounty, for which she receives a hundredth of all produce (Mart. 1.81) [3]:

ille puellam accessibus gratulantem quae ita plerumque frugem exposcentibus
tribuat, ut magni nominis vota sint eidem redhibere centesimam.

The idea that Text 8 comes directly from Remigius is supported by the use of an adjacent Remigius note elsewhere in Harley (Texts 27).

Footnote

[1] The *Odes* 2.13 version of the note is nearly identical: it omits *semine* (in '*que semine de terra surgunt*') and reads *acceperat* in place of the second *acceperit*.

[2] The scholiast probably omits *quod ... significat*, because Remigius is talking about and citing Martianus, unless the lacuna is due to a simple eye-skip from *quod* to *quod*.

[3] John offers the same etymologies, but with different phrasing. The pair of etymologies ultimately goes back to Fulgentius (1.10 *Proserpinam uero quasi segetem uoluerunt, id est terram radicibus proserpentem, unde et Ecate Grece dicitur; hecaton enim Grece centum sunt; et ideo illi hoc nomen inponunt, quia centuplicatum seges proferat fructum.*)

1.4 Remigius demonstrated as source: peculiarities of Remigius

Martianus Scholia Text 23

In *Odes* 3.19 Horace claims poets' great capacity for drink (13-15):

Qui Musas amat imparis,
ternos ter cyathos attonitus petet
uates...

A note on the muses explains their number and connection with speech:

Rem. 19.11 ad Mart. 1.27 [1]

APOLLINE ... cui bene novem Musae
applicantur quia humanae vocis officia viiii
sunt. omnis enim sermo his novem rebus
formatur: primo appulsu quattuor dentium,
repercussione duorum labrorum, plectro
linguae, cavo gutturis, adiutorio
pulmonis. si enim ex his aliquid defuerit,
vox perfecta non erit.

Odes 3.19.13

novem muse sunt
quia humane vocis officia viiii
sunt. omnis enim sermo his viiii rebus
formatur. primo appulsu iiii dentium,
repercussione duorum labiorum, plectro
lingue, cava† gutturis, adiutorio
pulmonum. si enim ex his aliquid defuerit,
vox perfecta non erit.

Remigius' comment is identical to 'Dunchad' (12.20, Teeuwen) in all but one variant, the irregular *aliquid* in place of *quid*. [2] Harley shares Remigius' variant.

These Martianus scholia abbreviate the opening of Fulgentius' chapter 15:

Huic etiam Apollini nouem deputant Musas ipsumque decimum Musis adiciunt illa uidelicet causa, quod humanae uocis decem sint modulamina; unde et cum decacorda Apollo pingitur cithara. sed et lex diuina decacordum dicit psalterium. fit ergo uox quattuor dentibus, id est e contra positis, ad quos lingua percutit et quibus si unus minus fuerit sibilum potius quam uocem reddat necesse est. duo labia uelut cimbala uerborum commoda modulantia, lingua ut plectrum quae curuamine quodam uocalem format spiritum, palatum cuius concauitas profert sonum, gutturis fistula quae tereti meatum spiritalem praebet excursu et pulmo qui uelut aerius follis concepta reddit ac reuocat.

Martianus scholia transform Fulgentius' observation about a single missing tooth into a general conclusion about all the listed body parts being vital for the production of speech: *si enim ex his aliquid defuerit, vox perfecta non erit*. The Horace scholiast clearly shares the redaction of Fulgentius we see in Martianus scholia. [3]

Footnotes

[1] Mart. 1.27 *nam et Tellus floribus luminata, quippe veris deum conspexerat subvolare Mercurium, et Apolline conspicato aerea Temperies sudis tractibus renidebat*.

[2] Lutz reports no variant in her text of Remigius, but Teeuwen cites both readings, *pulmonum* and *pulmonis*.

[3] Remigius' slightly fuller redaction of Fulgentius at 286.17 is further from Harley.

1.5 Remigius demonstrated as source: 'loose' notes matching Remigius

Martianus Scholia Text 5

In *Odes* 1.16 Horace compares iambic anger with Bacchic rage (5-9):

Non Dindymene, non adytis quatit
mentem sacerdotum incola Pythius,
non Liber aequae, non acuta
sic geminant Corybantes aera,
tristes ut irae...

The scholiast glosses *adytis*:

Remig. 8.2 ad Mart. 1.7 [1]

ADITIS id est templis, kata antifrasin,
id est per contrarium, quod a paucis
adeantur, id est a solis tantummodo
sacerdotibus. est enim interior pars templi.

Odes 1.16.5

aditis id est templis, kata antyfrasim,
id est per contrarium, quod a paucis
adeatur, id est <a> solis tantummodo
sacerdotibus. est enim interior pars <tem>pli.

This note was clearly written as a scholion rather than a lexical entry, for it begins with a lemma and a gloss, *aditis id est templis*. The ultimate source of this information is probably Servius *ad Aen.* 2.115: *ADYTIS adytum est locus templi secretior, ad quem nulli est aditus nisi sacerdoti*. The Horace scholion clearly shares the Remigian redaction of the etymology.

Footnotes

[1] Mart. 1.7 *Vranie autem praenitens speculum, quod inter donaria eius adytis Sophia defixerat, quo se renoscens etiam originem vellet exquirere, clementi benignitate largita.*

Martianus Scholia Text 22

In *Odes* 3.18 Horace prays for Faunus' favour on the young of his flock (1-4):

Faune, Nympharum fugientum amator,
per meos finis et aprica rura
lenis incedas abeasque paruis
aequus alumnis...

The scholiast glosses *alumnis*:

alumnus est et qui nutrit et qui nutritur

This brief note features in both Isidore and Remigius. In Isidore, this phrase forms part of a longer explanation (*Et.* 10.A.3):

alumnus ab alendo vocatus, licet et qui alit et qui alitur alumnus dici potest; id est et qui nutrit et qui nutritur; sed melius tamen qui nutritur.

Remigius (37.3) uses the same short phrase as Harley, in order to gloss Martianus' description of Ceres (1.86): '*alumnaque terrarum ac nutrix.*' Remigius probably used Isidore directly, as other elements of Isidore's note appear elsewhere in his commentary.[1] Since in Martianus, *alumna* is synonymous with *nutrix*, Remigius ignores Isidore's final comment, *sed melius tamen qui nutritur*, condemning this (late Latin) usage.

The Harley note clearly matches Remigius' short note rather than Isidore's. (Texts 32 and 40, also drawn from adjacent Martianus scholia, support the notion that the scholiast used Remigius directly.)

Footnotes

[1] Rem. 423.1 *alumnus dicitur et qui alit et qui alitur*; cf. Remig. 71.12 *ALUMNA id est nutrix et educatrix sua. alumnus autem et eum qui nutrit et eum qui nutritur significat.*

Martianus Scholia Texts 7a, 7b

In *Odes* 1.18 Horace urges Bacchus to withhold the Berecynthian horn and the cymbals (14-15):

saeva tene cum Berecynthio
cornu tympana...

In *Odes* 3.15 Chloris is advised to cease from youthful activities, which rather befit her daughter Pholoe (7-10):

Non, si quid Pholoen satis,
et te, Chlorig, decet. Filia rectius
expugnat iuuenum domos,
pulso Thyias uti concita tympano.

In both cases, the word *tympanum* is glossed by a note matching Remigius, in the case of *Odes* 1.18 – with the addition of a gloss *est qut<is?>*:

R. 58.10, M. 2.133 [1]

TYMPANUM autem est
corium extensum quod
percussum magnum edit
sonum.

Odes 3.15.10

tympanum autem est
corium extensum quod
percussum magnum edit
sonitum [1]

Odes 1.18.14

tympanum est qut<is?>, est
corium extensum quod
percussum magnum edit
sonitum [1]

Remigius' note seems to be a verbatim but abbreviated excerpt from Isidore

(3.22.10): *Tympanum est pellis vel corium ligno ex una parte extensum*... Remigius is the only source, explaining that a tympanum is struck to produce a loud noise.

Admittedly, such a trivial observation need not imply reference to a text. Whatever its source, this explanation and this redaction of Isidore are shared by Remigius and Harley.

Footnotes

[1] *Sonus* and *sonitus* are equally appropriate for musical instruments. Martianus here uses *sonitus*: the Horace scholiast may have used the word under Martianus' influence, or indeed this lemma might be an unreported Remigian reading. (Mart. 2.133 *sed ecce magno tympani crepitu crotalorumque tinnitu universa dissultant, eo usque ut Musarum cantus aliquanto bombis tympani obtusior redderetur, et cum sonitu introfertur lectica interstincta sideribus, cui ritu mystico crepitus praecinebant, qua mos fuerat nubentes deas in caelestis thalami pervenire consortia.*)

Martianus Scholia Text 34

Horace ends his first collection with an evocation of Melpomene (14-16):

sume superbiam
quaesitam meritis et mihi Delphica
lauro cinge uolens, Melpomene, comam

The scholiast glosses the Muse:

Rem. 19.20 ad Mart. 1.28

MELPOMENE interpretatur meditationem
faciens, subaudis permanere. meieto Grece
meditor, poio facio.

Odes 3.30.16

Melpomene interpretatur meditationem
faciens, meloto† Grecum
meditor, poye† facio.

This etymology goes back to Fulgentius 15: *Melpomene quasi melenpieomene, id est meditationem faciens permanere*... Fulgentian material on the nine Muses is also used in the commentary on Donatus *ars minor* by Sedulius Scottus, an older contemporary of Remigius, (p. 18 l. 17: *melpomene meditationem faciens permanere*) and in the 'Dunchad' commentary on Martianus (Teeuwen 13.3-4 *MELPOMENE meditationem faciens permanere, id est quasi melon poieon mene*). Whereas Sedulius and Dunchad offer the etymology in its original tripartite form (*meditationem + faciens + permanere*), Remigius' version is corrupt: the third

element, *permanere*, is reduced to a subordinate gloss on *faciens* and receives no Greek equivalent. The Harley note is clearly based on Remigius' corrupt version.

2. Harley and unpublished Martianus scholia

Martianus Scholia Text 20

At the opening of *Odes* 3.14, Augustus' victorious return from Spain is compared to that of Hercules:

Herculis ritu modo dictus, o plebs,
morte uenalem petiisse laurum,
Caesar Hispana repetit penatis
uictor ab ora.

The scholiast glosses Hercules' valour and ubiquitous triumphs:

Rem. 36.14 ad Mart. 1.84

DEHINC subaudis admissus est QUIDAM
INAUDITI ROBORIS hoc est insolitae
fortitudinis. Herculem significat cuius
duodecim triumphi feruntur.
PRAEPARATUS EXSTIRPANDIS id est
evellendis et delendis SEMPER
ADVERSITATIBUS
cuncta enim monstra expugnabat.

Odes 3.14.1

Hercules Alcmene et Iovis filius
inauditi roboris et solite†
fortitudinis erat, cuius
decem† triumphi feruntur.
paratus
evellendis et delendis semper
adversitatibus, qui totum orbem [a] iussu
Euristei regis peragrabat et
cuncta monstra obprimebat.

Martianus' lemmata, incorporated into the Harley note, clearly show Remigius to be the main source.[1] The following three details are absent from this passage of Remigius, but could have been supplied from several readily available sources. Hercules' parentage could be learned from elsewhere in Remigius commentary (66.14 ad Mart. 2.157) or from scholia on the *Thebaid* 6.5-7, 4.147, or 12.300. The phrase *qui totum orbem ... peragrabat* echos Σ on *Odes* 3.3.9, a poem lacking in Harley.[2] The part played by Eurystheus is stated by numerous sources available to our scholiast.[3] Alternatively, the scholiast may have used a slightly fuller version of the Martianus note, than the note known from published Remigius manuscripts.

Footnotes

[1] Contrast John's note on the same (Lutz): *ROBORIS INAUDITI hoc est incognite virtutis, Herculem dicit. Heracles autem interpretatur Iunonis gloriosus, quasi Heras kleos; Hera quippe Iuno, cleos vero gloriosus dicitur. hoc autem aiunt quia Iunonem Herculem nutrisse fabulae fingunt.*

[2] **Porph. Odes 3.3.9 ET VAGUS HERCULES:** *vagus dictus est, quia orbem terrarum peragrauit. PsA ibid. qui omnem orbem peragrauerit...*

[3] Eurystheus appears in Porph. *Epist.* 2.1.11, Serv. *Aen.* 8.292, *Georg.* 3.4; specific labours performed at Eurystheus' instigation are mentioned by Servius and *Thebaid* scholia.

The miscellany at the back of Harley 2724 includes notes on the Muses (fol. 130 vo):

1. nomina novem Musarum. Clio, Cleos enim Grece Latine Fama; Euterpe, idest delectatio vel bene delectans; Melpomene, idest meditatio; Thalia, idest capacitas; Posinia, idest memoria; Eratho, idest inveniens simile; Terpsichore, idest delectans instructione; Urania, idest celestis, uranu Grece Latine celum; Caliope, idest optime vocis.

2. ergo hic est rite ordo: primum est velle doctrinam, secundum est delectari quod velis, tertium est instare ad id quod delectatus es, quartum est accipere ad quod instas, quintum est memorari quod capis, sext<um> est invenire aliquid de tuo simile ad quod memineris, septimum iudicare quod invenias, octavum eligere de quo iudicas, nonum bene perferre quod elegeris.

The Institut für Cusanus-Forschung (1963, p.59) identify Fulgentius 1.15 as the verbatim source of the second item (*ergo hic...*). The same Fulgentius *fabula* is surely the ultimate source of the etymologies collected in the first paragraph. Yet it is by no means clear, if either of the two items arise from Fulgentius directly: the *Fabulae* are certainly never used in Harley lyric scholia.

Fulgentius' explanation of the Muses was excerpted by several Carolingian scholars. It appears in the Martianus commentaries of 'Dunchad' (Teeuwen 12.20, 12.23, 13.3-4) and John (Lutz 19.17, Jeaneau 19.14-20.6).[1] Closest to Harley stands the commentary on Donatus' *Ars Minor* (p. 18 l. 17 - p. 19 l. 22) by Remigius' elder contemporary, Sedulius Scotus. Like Harley, Sedulius presents the two 'items' side by side and quotes Fulgentius verbatim in the second item only:

Sed. on A. M. p. 18 l. 17 - p. 19 l. 22

Clio fama interpretatur,
Euterpe bene delectans,
Melpomene meditationem faciens permanere,
Thalia ponens germina uel capacitas,
Polimnia multam memoriam faciens,
Erato inueniens simile,
Terpsichore delectans instructionem,
Urania caelestis,
Caliope optimae uocis. [19.22]
primum est uelle doctrinam
secundum delectari quod uelis,
tertium instare ad quod delectatus es,
quartum capere ad quod instas,
quintum memorare quod capis,
sextum inuenire de tuo simile
ad quod memineris,
septimum iudicare quod inuenias,
octauum eligere quod iudicas,
nonum bene proferre quod elegeris.

Harl. 2724 130 vo

nomina novem Musarum.
Clio, Cleos enim Grece Latine Fama;
Euterpe, idest delectatio vel bene delectans;
Melpomene, idest meditatio;
Thalia, idest capacitas;
Posinia, idest memoria;
Eratho, idest inveniens simile;
Terpsichore, idest delectans instructione;
Urania, idest celestis, uranu Grece Latine celum;
Caliope, idest optime vocis. ergo hic
est rite ordo: primum est velle doctrinam,
secundum est delectari quod velis,
tertium est instare ad id quod delectatus es,
quartum est accipere ad quod instas,
quintum est memorari quod capis,
sext<um> est invenire aliquid de tuo simile
ad quod memineris,
septimum iudicare quod invenias,
octavum eligere de quo iudicas,
nonum bene perferre quod elegeris.

Investigation of this material falls beyond the scope of the present study, but the Harley note is clearly related to the Carolingian redactions of Fulgentius.

Let us also note that several short glosses on the individual Muses, resembling Martianus scholia, were incorporated into Carolingian Horace scholia compilations (Σ). For example, the Harley glosses on Euterpe and Polyhymnia at *Odes* 1.1.33 (*Euterpe bene delectans; Polimnia interpretatur multe laudis multe memorie*), closely resemble $\lambda\phi\psi$ and u scholia *ad locum* and on *Odes* 2.6.19.

Footnotes

[1] Préaux (1953), investigating the relation between ‘Dunchad’ and Greek glossaries associated with Martin of Laon, discusses several scholia on the Muses.

CATALOGUE OF PASSAGES

* = combined with other sources

A = in Appendix 8.1

a. in chapter order**1. Statius *Thebaid****Argo in Tesalia *Epode* 5**2. *Thebaid* scholia as Harley source**2 Herculis fabulam *Odes* 2.1210 Hystmos terra *Odes* 4.5.39 prima ergo *Odes* 4.5.3*8 Mercurius Iovis *Odes* 3.11.16 Danaus Beli *Odes* 2.14.18A7 Danaus et Egystus *O.* 3.11.26f.11 Niobe Tantali filia *Odes* 4.6.1**b. by Horace line****Ch**1a Circe vero *O.* 1.17.202 Herculis fabulam *O.* 2.12*3 Libia vocatur *O.* 2.2.10*4 Nestorem dicit *O.* 2.9.145a Sysiphus Eoli *O.* 2.14.206 Danaus Beli *O.* 2.14.187 Danaus et Egystus *O.* 3.11.26f.*8 Mercurius Iovis *O.* 3.11.19 prima ergo *O.* 4.5.3810 Hystmos terra *O.* 4.5.3811 Niobe Tantali filia *O.* 4.6.180* Argo in Tesalia *E.* 5*1b Circe autem ideo *E.* 17.175b Sisiphus Eoli *E.* 17.68

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c. In order of the *Thebaid**Stat. *Theb.* Argo in Tesalia*8 Sch. *Theb.* 1.9-10 Mercurius Iovis

7 1.324 Danaus et Egystus

6 2.222 Danaus Beli

5 2.380 Sysiphus/ cum inter

11 3.191f. Niobe Tantali filia

4 4.126f. Nestorem dicit

5a 4.537 Sisiphus Eoli

1 4.550 Circe vero

11 4.576 Niobe Tantali filia

*3 4.737 Libia vocatur

2 5.261f. Herculis fabulam

9 6.5-6 prima ergo

10 6.13f. Hystmos terra

11 7.351? Niobe Tantali filia

* = combined with other sources0 = Trojan Historians 8; Hyginus *de Astr.* 2

1b = Servius 124

3 = Remigius Martianus 11; Solinus 4

4 = Trojan Historians 5

8 = Remigius Martianus 20

Stat. Theb. 5.376-444 : Catalogue of Argonauts

In *Thebaid* 5 Argonauts are received by the Lemnian women at first with hostility and then – with hospitality. Not all the Argonauts named by Statius (underlined) are included in the scholiast's list: those appearing in Harley are in **bold**.

nos quoque per rupes murorumque aggere ab omni, dum labor ille uiris fretaque indignantur et Austros, desuper inualidis fluitantia tela lacertis (quid non ausa manus?) <u>Telamona</u> et Pelea contra spargimus, et nostro petitur <u>Tirynthius</u> arcu.	376 380
...	
cernimus <u>Aeacid</u> as murisque inmane minantem	398
<u>Ancaem</u> et longa pellentem cuspide rupes	
<u>Iphiton</u> ; attonito manifestus in agmine supra est	400
<u>Amphitryoniades</u> puppemque alternus utrimque ingrauat et medias ardet descendere in undas. at leuis et miserae nondum mihi notus Iason transtra per et remos impressaque terga uirorum nunc magnum <u>Oeniden</u> , nunc ille hortatibus <u>Idan</u> et <u>Talaum</u> et cana rorantem aspergine ponti <u>Tyndariden</u> iterans gelidique in nube parentis uela laborantem <u>Calain</u> subnectere malo uoce manuque rogat;	405 409
... [Tiphys 413, Mopsus 417]	
hic et ab adserto nuper Marathone superbum	431
<u>Thesea</u> et Ismarios, <u>Aquilonia</u> pignora, fratres, utraq; quis rutila stridebant tempora penna, cernimus, hic Phoebos non indignante priorem <u>Admetum</u> et durae similem nihil <u>Orphea</u> Thracae, tunc prolem Calydone satam generumque profundi <u>Nereos</u> , ambiguo uisus errore lacesunt <u>Oebalidae</u> gemini; chlamys huic, chlamys ardet et illi, ambo hostile gerunt, umeros exertus uterque, nudus uterque genas, simili coma fulgurat astro.	435 440
audet iter magnique sequens uestigia mutat <u>Herculis</u> et tarda quamuis se mole ferentem uix cursu tener aequat <u>Hylas</u> Lernaeaque tollens arma sub ingenti gaudet sudare pharetra.	444

for Thebaid Scholia Text 2

Hyg. 33

Hercules

cum in hospitium ad Dexamenum regem
uenisset, eiusque filiam Deianiram
deuirginasset, fidemque dedisset se eam
uxorem ducturum, post discessum eius
Eurytion Ixionis et Nubis filius Centaurus
petit Deianiram uxorem. cuius pater uim
timens pollicitus est se daturum.
die constituto uenit cum fratribus ad
nuptias:

Hercules interuenit et
Centaurum interfecit, suam speratam
abduxit.
item aliis in nuptiis,
Pirithous Hippodamiam Adrasti filiam cum
uxorem duceret, uino pleni Centauri conati
sunt rapere uxores Lapithis; eos centauri
multos interfecerunt, ab ipsis interierunt.

Sch. Theb. 5.261-3

Centauri, Ixionis et nubis filii, quam pro se
Iuno mutavit. qui cum in nuptiis Pirithoi
ebrietate caluissent et vellent puellae
nubentis irrumpere thalamum a Lapithis,
quorum rex Pirithous fuit, interempti sunt.
Herculis fabulam tangit, qui
cum in hospitio ad (D)examenum regem
uenisset, Deianiram filiam eius
corrupit et fidem dediit se eam uxorem esse
ducturum. post eius discessum Eurytion
Ixionis filius Centaurus
uxorem Deianiram petiit. quam pater vim
timens Eurytioni promisit, qui
constituto die cum fratribus ad nuptias
venit. eo forte die quo nuptiae
celebrabantur superveniens Alcides
Centaurus interfecit, Deianiramque
insperate suo matrimonio copulavit.
item aliter: Centauri, cum
in matrimonium Pirithous Hippodamiam
duceret, vino pleni Lapitharum uxores
conati sunt rapere. qui omnes a Lapithis
occisi sunt, unde Vergilius (*Georg.* 2.457)
‘et magno Hylaeum Lapithis cratere
minantem’.

Thebaid Scholia Text 6

The *Thebaid* scholion was also used (with slight alterations) by the First Vatican Mythographer. Zorzetti observes (1995, p.76, note 395), that reference to the underworld punishment of the Danaids, appended by the Mythographer, may have been inspired by *Odes* 3.11.26-7. Zorzetti (note 396) suggests that the Mythographer's Clytemnestra variant arose from Horace scholia (Σ), but I wonder if that addition could have arisen from the corruption of *Aegyptus* to *Aegysthus* within *Thebaid* scholia.

Hyginus 168

Danaus Beli filius ex pluribus coniugibus quinquaginta filias habuit, totidemque filios frater Aegyptus, qui Danaum fratrem et filias eius interficere uoluit ut regnum paternum solus obtineret; filiis uxores a fratre poposcit. Danaus re cognita Minerua adiutrice ex Africa

Argos profugit; tunc primum dicitur Minerua nauem fecisse biproram in qua Danaus profugeret. at Aegyptus ut rescit Danaum profugisse, mittit filios ad persequendum fratrem, et eis praecepit ut aut Danaum interficerent aut ad se non reuerterentur. qui postquam Argos uenerunt, oppugnare patrum coeperunt. Danaus ut uidit se eis obsistere non posse, pollicetur eis filias suas uxores ut pugna absisterent. impetratas sorores patrueles acceperunt uxores, quae patris iussu uiros suos interfecerunt. sola Hypermetra Lynceum seruauit. ob id ceterae dicuntur apud inferos in dolium pertusum aquam ingerere. Hypermetrae et Lynceo fanum factum est.

Sch. Theb. 2.222

Danaus Beli filius ex pluribus coniugibus quinquaginta filias habuit, totidem Aegyptus, frater eius, filios, qui Danaum fratrem

filiis suis filiis in matrimonium postulauit. Danaus responso comperit quod generi sui manibus interiret.

Argos profectus est et primum dicitur nauem fecisse a cuius nomine Argo dicta est navis. Aegyptus

misit filios suos ad persequendum fratrem hisque praecepit ut aut Danaum interficerent aut ad se non redirent, ut Agenor filio impetaverat. qui postquam uenerunt Argos, coeperunt patrum oppugnare. Danaus postquam uidit se resistere non posse, filias suas fratris sui filiis spopondit uxores.

quae patris iussu uiros universae suos interfecerunt. sola Hypermetra Lynceo pepercit.

VM 1.131 (= 1.1.32)

Danaus Beli filius ex pluribus coniugibus 1 filias habuit, totidemque frater eius Egistus filios, qui Danaum fratrem,

ut filias filiis suis in matrimonium copularet, postulauit. Danaus responso accepto a diis, quod generi sui manibus interiret, Argos profectus est et primum dicitur nauim fecisse, a cuius nomine Argo dicta est nauis. Egistus

mittit filios suos ad persequendum fratrem, hisque precepit ut aut Danaum occiderent aut domum non redirent, ut Agenor filio Cadmo imperauerat. qui postquam Argos uenerunt, ceperunt patrum oppugnare. Danaus postquam uidit se non posse resistere, filias suas eis uxores spopondit.

que patris iussu in nocte uiros suos uniuerse interfecerunt, preter Clitimestram seu Ypermestram que sola Linceo uiro suo pepercit. Ob hoc scelus Danae filie apud inferos hac dicuntur pena dampnate ut aquam in dolium pertusum mittant

Thebaid Scholia Text 7 (cf. Text 6)

In *Odes* 3.11 the punishment of the Danaids is used as warning to faithless Lyde (25-9):

Audiat Lyde scelus atque notas
uirginum poenas et inane lymphae
 dolium fundo pereuntis imo
 seraque fata,
 quae manent culpas etiam sub Orco.

The scholiast provides the story of how the Danaids deserved this punishment:

Sch. Theb. 1.324

Danaus et Aegyptus fratres fuerunt. Danao fuit virilis sexus quinquaginta numerus filiorum, e diverso Aegypto par numerus filiarum. voluit ergo Danaus fratris filias liberis suis matrimonio sociare. Aegyptus oraculo cognoverat, quod generi sui manibus interiret. iussit filiabus, ut sponso occiderent. sola Hypermetra, dum ceterae facinus perpetrassent, Lynceo pepercit.

***Odes* 3.11.26-7**

Danaus et Egystus fratres fuerunt. Danao fuit virilis sexus quinquaginta numerus filiorum, e diverso Egysto par numerus filiarum fuit. voluit igitur Danaus fratris filias liberis suis in matrimonium sociare. Egystus oraculo cognosc<it>, quod generis sui manibus interiret, precepit filiabus, ut sponso occiderent. sola Ipermestra, dum ceterae facinus perpetrassent, Linceo pepercit.

Catalogue of passages discussed in this chapter

Full catalogue of Harley passages of unknown or suspect origin

(= Hor. scholia (?) [= Chapters 2-8 * = combined with other source

a. Catalogue of passages discussed in this chapter † = shared by Clm 375

<i>Odes</i> 1.4.17/ 1.5.16?	? (Sch. Virgil?)	Iuppiter et Neptunus
† <i>Odes</i> 1.11.5f.	= Sch. Boeth. 3 m. 8.8.	Tyrrhenum mare a Tirrenis
* <i>Odes</i> 1.12.59	= Sch. Pers. 2.26 (5, 9)	pollutis secundum pontificum
* <i>Odes</i> 1.15	? cf. Dict., VM 2 + S. <i>Aen.</i> 5.370	Hecuba Dimantis
<i>Odes</i> 1.25	= Sch. Luc. 8.458	per virilia celi in mare
† <i>Odes</i> 1.28.10	? cf. Sch. Pers. 6.10	anima Phitagore prius
* <i>Odes</i> 2.11.18	= Sch. Pers. 1.102	Liber pater
<i>Odes.</i> 2.11.21	? cf. Sch. Ter. Eun. 424	scortum
* <i>Odes</i> 3.16.1	Sch. Ter. <i>Eun.</i> 585 + S. <i>Aen.</i> 7.372	Danae filia fuit Acrisii
<i>Odes</i> 3.27.11	? cf. Serv. <i>Aen</i> 3.361	aves aut oscines sunt
* <i>Odes</i> 3.27.76	? cf. Is. 14.4.1 + Oros. 1.2.4-7	tertia pars mundi Europa
* <i>Odes</i> 4.4.4	? cf. λφψ, <i>Aen.</i> 5.252-5, Theod. 77-80	Ganimedes
<i>Odes.</i> 4.5.2	= Greg. <i>Mor.</i> 9.16	terre pri<n>ceps Greco eloquio
† <i>Ep.</i> 5.13	= Prisc. 6.249.18-23 + PsA?	pubes pubis iuventus

b. Full catalogue of Harley passages of unknown or suspect origin

[<i>Odes</i> 1.1.3	? cf. Dunch. 52.3 ad M. 2.121	olon totum lampos (Remig. 2)
(<i>Odes</i> 1.1.12		Attalus fuit rex Pergam<en>orum
(<i>Odes</i> 1.2.16		TEMPLAQUE V. Numa
(<i>Odes</i> 1.2.47		NEVE T. N. V. I. quia adhuc Parti
(<i>Odes</i> 1.4.15	?	INCHOARE LONGAM dictum
<i>Odes</i> 1.4.17/ 1.5.16?	?	Iuppiter et Neptunus
(<i>Odes</i> 1.6.13	?	adamans lapis durissimus
<i>Odes</i> 1.11.5f.	= Sch. Boeth. 3 m. 8.8.	Tyrrhenum mare a Tirrenis
[* <i>Odes</i> 1.12.38	?	Lucius Emilius Paulus (Hist. 3a)
[* <i>Odes</i> 1.12.41	? cf. Liv. <i>Per.</i> / PsA	regem Epirot. (<i>de Sen.</i> , Ch. 4)
* <i>Odes</i> 1.12.59	= Sch. Pers. 2.26.(5, 9)	pollutis secundum pontificum
* <i>Odes</i> 1.15	? cf. Dict., VM 2 + S. <i>Aen.</i> 5.370	Hecuba Dimantis
([<i>Odes</i> 1.15.22		hic Nestor filius Nelei (cf. Hist. T5)
(<i>Odes</i> 1.17.16		dicit cornu quem† Hercules
<i>Odes</i> 1.25	= Sch. Luc. 8.458	per virilia celi in mare
<i>Odes</i> 1.28.10	? cf. Sch. Pers. 6.10	anima Phitagore prius
[* <i>Odes</i> 2.2.10	? cf. Solin.? + Pl. <i>NH</i> ?	Libia vocatur (Sol. 4)
* <i>Odes</i> 2.11.18	= Sch. Pers. 1.102	Liber pater
<i>Odes.</i> 2.11.21	? cf. Sch. Ter. Eun. 424	scortum
* <i>Odes</i> 3.16.1	Sch. Ter. <i>Eun.</i> 585 + S. <i>Aen.</i> 7.372	Danae filia fuit Acrisii
<i>Odes</i> 3.27.11	? cf. Serv. <i>Aen</i> 3.361	aves aut oscines sunt
([<i>Odes</i> 3.27.18		Iapia† est Apulia (cf. Serv. 4)
[<i>O.</i> 3.27.76	? cf. Is. 14.4.1 + Oros. 1.2.4-7	tertia pars mundi
[* <i>Odes</i> 3.30.2	? (cf. Amm. 22.15.28-9, Isid. <i>Et.</i> 3.12, John ad Mart 361.6)	pyramides (Sol. 11)
* <i>Odes</i> 4.4.4	? cf. λφψ, <i>Aen.</i> 5.252-5, Theod. 77-80	Ganimedes regis
<i>Odes.</i> 4.5.2	= Greg. <i>Mor.</i> 9.16	terre pri<n>ceps Greco eloquio
(<i>Odes</i> 4.5.25		Scythe, Hispani et Parthi
[* <i>Odes</i> 4.6.1	Sch. <i>Theb.</i> 7.351?	Niobe Tantali filia (Sch. <i>Th.</i> 11)
† <i>Ep.</i> 5.13	= Prisc. 6.249.18-23 + PsA?	pubes pubis iuventus
[* <i>Ep.</i> 16.17	= Is. 15.1.63 = Sch. Luc. 3.339 sub Philippo (Hist. 21)	